

THE MATERIAL LIFE OF ROMAN SLAVES

The Material Life of Roman Slaves is a major contribution to scholarly debates on the archaeology of Roman slavery. Rather than regard slaves as irretrievable in the ruins of ancient Roman cities and villas, the book takes the archaeological record as a key form of evidence for reconstructing slaves' lives and experiences. Interweaving literature, law, and material evidence, the book searches for ways to see slaves in these various contexts – to make them visible where texts tell us they were in fact present. Part of this project involves understanding how slaves are often actively, if unwittingly, left out of guidebooks and scholarly literature. Individual chapters explore the dichotomy between visibility and invisibility and between appearance and disappearance in four physical and social locations – urban houses, city streets and neighborhoods, workshops, and villas.

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To Michael L. Hackworth and Robert B. Joshel

THE MATERIAL LIFE *of* ROMAN SLAVES

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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521191647

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First published 2014

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-0-521-19164-7 Hardback

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Publication of this book has been made possible in part with the assistance of the Department of Art History and the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Delaware and the Department of History at the University of Washington.

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PREFACE

It was . . . hard to observe borders, to see and unsee only what I should, on my way home. I was hemmed in by people not in my city, walking slowly through areas crowded but not crowded in Beszel. I focused on the stones really around me – that I had grown up with. I ignored the rest or tried. . . .

. . . Unseeing, of course, but I could not fail to be aware of all the familiar places I passed grosstopically, the streets at home I regularly walked, now a whole city away, particular cafés I frequented that we passed, but in another country. I had them in background now, hardly any more present than Ul Qoma was when I was at home. I held my breath. I was unseeing Beszel. I had forgotten what this was like; I had tried and failed to imagine it. I was seeing Ul Qoma.

—CHINA MIÉVILLE, *The City & the City*

IN *THE CITY & the City*, a novel by China Miéville, the cities of Beszel and Ul Qoma exist side by side. At points, areas of the cities overlap and interweave, so the same street, albeit with a different name, can belong to both. Although no wall separates the two cities, the people of Beszel must have no visual or physical contact with the people of Ul Qoma: in the terms of the novel, they must not “breach.” Thus, two people may “live, grosstopically, next door to each other . . . , each in their own city, . . . never breaching, never quite touching, never speaking a word across the border” (134). From childhood, the inhabitants of each city learn the key signifiers of difference in order to see only the buildings, people, animals, and vehicles in their own city and to un-see everything in the other city. Yet, as a weary Inspector Tyador Borlú of Beszel makes clear, un-seeing takes effort because nothing but “unseeing others with care” or “polite unsensing” separates the sights and sounds of his own Beszel from those of the supposedly alien Ul Qoma. And when Borlú officially crosses

over to Ul Qoma, he must see what he has always un-seen and un-see what he has always seen.

The Material Life of Roman Slaves is a book about seeing and un-seeing in the terms imagined by Miéville, but we talk about slaves and owners rather than the inhabitants of different cities that are really the same. We consider how we have been trained to recognize owners and the free in the archaeological record of ancient Italy and how we learn to ignore the slaves who were “grosstopically” in the same places. In the following chapters, without making owners or the free disappear, we look for the slaves whom we have been taught to un-see. In a way, then, at least metaphorically to borrow Miéville’s language, this book “breaches” the divide between owners and slaves to live in between the two.

Many people have helped us to see and un-see, and it is our great pleasure to thank them. John Clarke read individual chapters and provided sage advice along the way. The observations and expertise of Michael Thomas on villas in general and on Villa A at Oplontis and the Villa of the Mysteries have been invaluable. For our work at Oplontis we also appreciate the insights and generosity of Jess Galloway, Lea Cline, and Nayla Muntasser. Our friend and colleague Margaret Laird gave us the benefit of her perception and knowledge. The work and support of Eleanor Winsor Leach, Jennifer Trimble, and Natalie Kampen have enriched our project in many different ways. Lawrence Bliquez, Catherine Conners, Alain Gowing, Jeremy Hartnett, Deborah Kamen, Darby Langdon, Margaret Malamud, and Amy Richlin commented on various chapters, offering valuable observations and criticism. Beatrice Rehl encouraged this project from its inception, and Anastasia Graf shepherded it toward publication. We thank Susan Greenberg for her judicious editorial help. Most especially we are grateful for Stephen Petersen’s insight, photographic abilities, and time spent on the book’s illustrations. Without his work, ours would not have been possible.

Individuals and institutions facilitated our research in Italy. We thank the American Academy in Rome for a place to stay and to work in its wonderful library; we are especially grateful to the library staff and to Professor Corey Brennan during our stay in January 2012. We express our gratitude to the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma and the Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei and especially to the former and current Soprintendente at Pompeii, Dottore Pietro Giovanni Guzzo and Dottoressa Teresa Elena Cinquantaquattro, and to Signore Vitale at Herculaneum. The custodial staffs at Pompeii, Herculaneum, Villa San Marco, Villa Arianna, and Ostia were unfailingly helpful. The Hotel Diana at Pompeii and its wonderful staff provided us with a home away from home for many weeks in 2010, 2011, and 2012. We owe a special thanks to Signore Alfonso Boccia for getting us where we needed to go.

The illustrations in this book would not have been possible without the efforts of many people. We thank Derek Churchill and George Freeman of the Visual Resources Center, University of Delaware, for their generosity and patience in working up many of the plans, and Glynnis Fawkes for her excellent drawings and plans. We are pleased to have permission to use the beautiful photographs of Michael Larvey. Art Resource helped with the acquisition of images and permissions. The British Museum, Bridgeman Art Library International, Fototeca Unione at the American Academy in Rome, Special

Collections at the University of Delaware Library, and Professor Andrew Wallace-Hadrill have all given us permission to use various images.

The book would never have seen the light of day without the financial support of a number of sources. An ACLS Collaborative Research Fellowship (2011–12) and a Loeb Classical Library Foundation Fellowship (for Lauren Petersen, 2012–13) made possible the time and resources for research and writing. A General University Research Grant from the University of Delaware and the Jon Bridgman Endowed Professorship in the Department of History at the University of Washington provided funds for research trips. The illustration program of the book was supported by subventions from the College of Arts and Sciences and the Department of Art History at the University of Delaware and the Department of History at the University of Washington. In this context, Lauren would like to express her appreciation to Professor Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, former chair of the Department of Art History at the University of Delaware, for her unending support, and Sandra hers to Professor Lynn Thomas, chair of the Department of History at the University of Washington. Susan Brynteson provided Lauren with a study to work in at the University of Delaware Library, and Lydia Gold and Jeri Park in the Department of History at the University of Washington helped with the intricacies of managing a major grant and booking travel arrangements.

Finally, we dedicate this book to our fathers, who believed in their daughters and instilled in each the value of perseverance and a sense of humor.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

IN 79 CE before the eruption of Vesuvius buried the city of Pompeii, the prostitutes in the Large Brothel (VII.12.18) and the workers in a wool-treatment shop (VII.12.17) were next-door neighbors, the entryways of their places of business opening on Vicolo del Lupanare (Figs. 1–2). Both the sex workers and the wool workers were in all likelihood slaves. Side by side, brothel and workshop reveal something of the material life of two groups of slaves in ancient Roman society: at the least, their arrangements of space and equipment show us something of the material conditions of their laborers. In the brothel, prostitutes serviced their customers in the five cramped cubicles, each with its own masonry bed, opening off a central hallway. The erotic paintings on the walls above the doorways, which show couples in different sexual positions, may well display the sex acts performed by the women. Some 134 separate graffiti name sexual activities, the male customers, and the women themselves.¹ There are no surviving pictures of the work in the wool-treatment shop, only a list or calculations written in charcoal and now no longer visible. What exactly took place in the workshop – fulling, dyeing, wool washing – has been the subject of scholarly debate. Yet the features of the shop point to the kinds of movements of the workers and even to their tasks: two large basins; a hearth; a long, low counter with two lead-lined bowls heated by built-in furnaces beneath; and a room with nail holes, perhaps for hanging lines.²

Our uneven knowledge in these two cases seems to be a simple matter – sex work is easier to read; however, there is something more where the slave laborers are concerned. Brothel and workshop represent not only the material life of Roman slaves but also the conditions of our knowing them. Today, the attention directed to these workplaces is not equal. A major site on nearly every tour of Pompeii, the brothel is carefully preserved and maintained: it is roofed, and its erotic paintings are well lit. Visitors stream in and out of the brothel, whereas the workshop is kept locked, accessible only by permission (Fig. 3). Its counters, lead-lined bowls, and basins are covered in moss and crumbling. It has no roof,



1. Interior of the Large Brothel (VII.12.18), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

2. Work space of the wool-treatment shop (VII.12.17) next door to the Large Brothel, Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

and any paintings or wall decorations were exposed to the elements and disappeared long ago.³ There are few visitors and then only scholars. At first glance, the brothel appears to make its slave prostitutes present in its cubicles, masonry beds, graffiti, and erotic paintings, accompanied by the explanatory patter of guides. The workshop, decaying, has already made its workers absent. Seemingly, slaves are forgotten in the workshop and remembered in the brothel, yet in fact how the brothel remembers its prostitutes eclipses the slave women who labored here. Tourists and guides alike tell sly, tongue-in-cheek, dirty jokes in nearly every language, and their smug laughter erases the realities of the prostitutes, their labor, and their working conditions. If the women in the paintings above the doors allude to prostitutes at work, we have pictures of slave women. Yet we overlook them, for what we notice are the sex acts: thus, slave women are visible but absent.⁴ In effect, slaves are obscured in how they are represented in the carefully maintained



3. Tourists lining up to visit the Large Brothel (VII.12.18), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

environment of the brothel, as they are in a different way in the crumbling remains of the workshop.

The current conditions of the neighboring brothel and workshop stage the central concerns of this book: the absence and presence of Roman slaves in the material remains of the world they inhabited. We look not only at how slaves seem absent in the archaeological record but also at how they are often actively, if unwittingly, made to disappear in guidebooks and scholarly literature: that is, the slaves themselves seem to be forgotten even as their homes, workplaces, and neighborhoods are described and discussed. *The Material Life of Roman Slaves* seeks a way to make slaves appear or, more accurately, it searches for ways to see them – to make slaves visible where other evidence tells us they were in fact present. Each of the following chapters explores the dichotomy between visibility and invisibility, appearance and disappearance, in four physical and social locations – urban houses, city streets and neighborhoods, workshops, and villas – and each chapter takes on this dichotomy in ways particular to its topic. The stakes in our project involve the practices of art history, archaeology, and history and how these practices might intertwine. In effect, then, this is also a book about how these fields – how we – remember or forget some of the subjects of our studies.

INVISIBILITY IN ARCHAEOLOGY

Slaves were everywhere in the world of ancient Rome. They worked on the land, served their owners in their homes, labored in workshops, and walked the streets of ancient cities. Yet visitors to the archaeological sites of Pompeii or Ostia walk through a landscape that appears untouched by slavery. For the most part, slave servants and workers did not mark their passages through city streets or within their owners' residences or workplaces. We have objects, some of which were made by slaves, but we can rarely name their makers. Even where we can trace property lines and plantings, the vines tended by slaves, the crops harvested by them, and the animals they raised are, of course, long gone, and so, too, is the presence of slaves on the land. We can often point to service areas in Roman houses and villas, kitchens and stables, where we might expect slaves, but beyond graffiti, only indirect evidence of the slaves' existence survives. Most of the time, we cannot even identify slave quarters (George 1997b, 15).

Because we cannot see the distinctive marks of slaves in objects or architecture, many scholars of antiquity regard slaves as irretrievable in the archaeological remains and therefore, by implication, invisible (Scheidel 2003, 581; Schumacher 2001, 100–1, 238–39; Thompson 2003, 267–70; Webster 2005, 163). Indeed, as Jane Webster points out, the very orientation of Roman archaeology, with its emphasis on agency theory, inhibits even the attempt to look for slaves in the archaeological record because “gross structural inequalities” mean that owners not slaves determined most of what we can now see: for example, the architecture and decoration of a house, the alignment of mills in a bakery, or the location of a fountain at the intersection of two streets (Webster 2008a, 110–11).⁵ This is simply to say that masterly power and the state of slaves – owned and usually owning little themselves – leave different and unequal traces in the archaeological remains.⁶

In the last ten years, Ian Morris in Greek archaeology and Jane Webster in Roman archaeology have developed various strategies for finding the material culture of slaves in ceramics, artifact assemblages, houses, and graffiti based on identifiable ethnic markers.⁷ Interesting and provocative, their work “focuses primarily on objects and patterns that are associated with resistance and used in the interstices of power” (Mullins 2008, 127). Their approach, however, cannot deal with slaves born and bred in Italy, captives who lost any connection to their cultures of origin, or slaves whose cultural expressions involved evanescent sounds, gestures, or physical demeanors that left the material record untouched (cf. Webster 2008a, 116–17). In other words, the search for distinctive ethnic markers often will not enable us to put the majority of slaves into the predominant archaeological landscape available to modern eyes – the remains of houses, streets, workshops, and villas that seem to bear little trace of slaves' existence.

The Material Life of Roman Slaves takes a different approach. Unlike Morris and Webster, we do not look for material traces that uniquely and exclusively belonged to enslaved men and women. Rather, we view the archaeological record as readable for the material lives of slaves. In a slaveholding society like ancient Rome, slaves were ubiquitous and were critical in producing both the income and social status of the elite.⁸ This is not to

say that every object or structure was made by slaves, or that they occupied every or any place that we can see. It is to say that slaves inhabited many of the houses, streets, villas, and farmsteads of ancient Italy that compose our archaeological record. This approach places slaves on the well-traveled paths of spatial theory, historical archaeology in other fields, and Roman archaeology. Theorists as diverse as Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, Henri Lefebvre, Yi-Fu Tuan, and Edward Soja assume that space and its patterning are essentially social.⁹ Not only do its patterns rely on human behavior, but “the meaning of space is a product of social translation, transformation, and experience,” in the words of Soja (1989, 79–80; see also 129–30). More concretely, for historical archaeologists and scholars of material culture like the American historian Rhys Isaac, “a society necessarily leaves marks of use upon the terrain it occupies.” These remains signal the particular “relations of a people to the environment” and “the distribution and control of access to essential resources” (1999, 19).

At the same time, a focus on the inequities of power in society has led scholars to emphasize inequities in the material record. Like scholars of other periods, historians of ancient Roman art and society have long discussed material remains as expressions of the possessing classes – the imperial family, senatorial class, and local urban elites – a situation that has resulted in a bias toward interpretation that favors elite men.¹⁰ Indeed, scholarship has tended to make elite men most present, especially in the almost unconscious assumption that their experience and behavior is “Roman” and not one of many possibilities (Revell 2009, 152). In the terms of the Haitian historian and theorist Michel-Rolph Trouillot, scholars participate in creating not only presence but also silence (1995). He argues that silences “enter the process of historical production at four crucial moments: the moment of fact creation (the making of *sources*); the moment of fact assembly (the making of *archives*); the moment of retrieval (the making of *narratives*); the moment of retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance)” (26).

Thinking in terms of Trouillot’s “four crucial moments” helps us to “see” the silences in the Roman sources and our scholarship; that is, we begin to grasp that silence is also a matter of invisibility or rather the making of invisibility. The first moment (the making of the sources) is seemingly contradictory: Roman writers and jurists filled their texts with slaves, so that we can see slaves in action. However, without the testimony of the slaves themselves, we can glimpse them only through the veil of these slaveholding authors, who often meld slaves into objects or erase them from the scene altogether (Joshel 2011, 230–39). Further, most Roman slaves had very little, not only as a condition of their lack of economic opportunities but also as a condition of their enslavement. While some slaves did control property in the form of the *peculium* (purse, fund), ultimately its contents belonged to the master (*Digest* 15.1.4) – thus their faint mark on the archaeological landscape. In the making of the archives (Trouillot’s second moment), Roman archaeologists concentrated on rooms with painted walls and mosaic floors, spaces associated with owners and the privileged, and ignored or treated carelessly service areas like kitchens, where we might expect to find slaves.¹¹ Crafting their narratives of ancient material life (Trouillot’s third moment), modern historians have often repeated the silences of sources and archives.¹² Accounts of villa life include the philosophical or literary debates held in porticoes and peristyles but omit the

labor of the slaves who served in these leisure spaces, descriptions of the ancient experience in reception and dining rooms rarely mention the slave waiters and foot servants who also occupied these places, and discussions of workshops recount the presence of equipment or the relevant technological processes but often seem to forget the workers.¹³

But as Trouillot suggests, we do not have to stop at the “uneven power” in the production of sources, archives, and narratives; rather, we can “reposition [the] evidence to generate a new narrative” and hence a new way of recounting history (1995, 27). While there may be no new facts *per se*, we can shift our thinking on where we need to look, what we need to look for, and how we need to look.¹⁴ If Roman archaeological remains preserve the plans and intents of slaveholders, these material expressions of slave owners can be taken as the beginning of understanding the slave’s material life. Established by slaveholders, the physical environments of farm, workshop, villa, or house also represent what John Michael Vlach, studying the plantation South in the United States, calls the “contexts of servitude” that shaped the lives of the enslaved who lived and worked in them. Further, slave owners “did not control those contexts absolutely,” for slaves disrupted the slaveholders’ plans and practices and recrafted the “contexts of servitude.” In effect, at least in terms of experience, the same space became a different place for slave and slaveholder (cf. Tuan 1977, 41). Thus, Vlach warns that “appearances can be deceiving. . . . An apparent order on the land may not be the only order present” (1993, xi, 1).

We know that Roman slaves moved around the spaces uncovered by archaeology because some of their movements and actions are represented in literature and law. In effect, the textual sources populate a described physical world with slaves. Cooks work in kitchens or cart their equipment tableside to prepare dishes before the eyes of the guests; waiters move in and out of the dining room and stand about; maids and foot servants wait at their owners’ sides, at the foot of their beds, or on the threshold of their rooms; doorkeepers, chained or unchained, watch over the front door.¹⁵ Smiths pound away at their hearths; shoemakers sweat over their lasts; fullers stomp in their tubs; and peddlers fill the streets with noise.¹⁶ Slave owners note, and most often complain about, runaways, wanderers, and slaves idling in the streets, bars, brothels, and public places of the city.¹⁷ Agricultural manuals prescribe the place of workers in farmsteads, their movements in the fields, and the surveillance of overseers. Finally, law defines slaves’ status as property, draws out the implications for slaves’ work and social lives, and spells out enslaved people’s relations to objects and their possession of certain goods or lack thereof.

SILENCING IN TEXTS

Rich as it is on the physical conditions and activities of enslaved men and women, the written testimony presents two problems as evidence for slaves: (1) its point of view, and (2) its relation to the material remains. Any study of Roman slaves copes with a particular condition of silence: since enslaved men and women have left little testimony of their own beyond fables, graffiti, and epitaphs, to know them we must delve into the words of their owners. Roman jurists most often speak to the propertied, not to those who were property.

Excepting Phaedrus and perhaps Plautus, Roman authors, most of them elite men, take the perspective of slaveholders.¹⁸ Even where elements of popular culture were appropriated or re-created in elite literature, they are difficult to see below the surface of the text, and the culture of slaves per se is not easily untangled from “popular” culture in general (Forsdyke 2012, 3, 8, 9, 50). The problem of the sources’ perspective, observed by many scholars of Roman society, is more than simply the point of view of slaveholders: it is their very construction of the realities of slavery.¹⁹

It is useful to think of the observations of lawyers and authors, their depiction of slave owners’ relations with the enslaved, their ideals of slave behavior, and their prescriptions for slaves’ proper places and movements in the terms laid out by the political theorist James C. Scott (1990). He examines “how the process of domination generates a hegemonic public conduct and a backstage discourse consisting of what cannot be spoken in the face of power” (xii). Roman law and elite literature, then, represent the “hegemonic public conduct,” reflecting what Scott calls the “public transcript” – that is, the permitted words and actions employed by dominant and subordinate groups in each other’s presence. As a kind of self-portrait, the public transcript “is designed . . . to affirm and naturalize the power of dominant elites, and to conceal or euphemize the dirty linen of their rule” (xii, 18). The “backstage discourse,” or what Scott calls the “hidden transcript,” is created by the dominated group: it “represents a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant.” Consisting of both words and acts, the hidden transcript occurs not only “offstage” but also in public in disguised form – “partly sanitized, ambiguous, and coded” (xii, 18–19).

Divining the hidden transcript for Roman slaves is difficult, since, without slave testimony, we rely on the words of slave owners – in effect, the public transcript. Working through the dominant discourse means several reading practices.²⁰ First, we must acknowledge that although Roman slaveholders often criticized the behavior of their slaves, they still provide testimony to the actions themselves, even where the slave’s cause or end is difficult to see. Especially important are owners’ reports of slaves’ daily, mundane acts that so often irritated them: in the owners’ terms, malingering, idling, wasting time, damaging property, theft, muttering, making noise, and insolence.²¹ The very pervasiveness of these sorts of charges bespeak how they troubled slaveholders, and troubling the slave owner, Scott argues, achieved one goal of the hidden transcript, a critique of power: an expression, albeit masked, of indignation; and a challenge to the authority and control of the master. Second, whatever the act, we have cause to question the masterly characterization of behavior. Roman slaveholders judged their slaves’ actions in terms of their own interests, and hence the naming of those actions stakes claims about the slave’s motives and character that cannot dispassionately denote the action. Malingering, idling, and wasting time, for example, are all varied instances of not working (or choosing not to work) but framed as the slave’s failure or moral flaw.²² We need to interrogate the relations between the slave’s act and what he or she believed or rather is said to have believed. Bowing and groveling may be a performance of deference, solemn loyalty a mask of consent, shirking work or sluggishness a play with masterly stereotypes, dishonesty a diversion. As Scott puts it, “What may look from above like the extraction of a

required performance can easily look from below like artful manipulation of deference and flattery to achieve its own ends” (1990, 34). Roman literature from Plautus to Juvenal reflects how such performances worried Roman slaveholders.²³ Third, we must listen for silences and look for what seem to be moments of slave owners’ blindness: not only do they misname or misjudge, they simply cannot see what happens for and to the slave.²⁴

Following Martin Hall, we deal with the relations between text and material by viewing transcripts, both public and hidden, as “web[s] of relations that entwine both objects and words” (2000, 16). To borrow Hall’s metaphor, by marrying “words” and “things,” we assume at the most basic level that Roman legal and literary texts belong to the same world as Roman architecture and artifacts. The bits of evidence when patched together or set in dialogue with each other form a picture of the material life of slaves in Roman Italy in the early Empire. Rather than using texts to fill in lacks in the archaeological record (and vice versa), *The Material Life of Roman Slaves* examines the complex relations of words and things that construct history. At points, the practices indicated in and the discourses of literature and law find their parallels or like in the material world that we observe in archaeological remains: words translate into objects, objects into words. At other points, a misfit of words and things shows what the sources, textual and archaeological, say about one another and about slavery.

SEEING SLAVES: STRATEGIES AND TACTICS

To fathom how owners made and slaves dealt with the “contexts of servitude” we rely on the distinction between strategy and tactic made by Michel de Certeau (1988) because these concepts provide a special emphasis on space and time in the calculation of public and private transcripts.²⁵ Strategy and tactic differ in the type of operation (of actions) and the role of space (30). For de Certeau, a strategy belongs to the dominating class – for our project, the slaveholder: “I call a *strategy* the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships. . . . It postulates a *place* that can be delimited as its *own* and serve as the base from which relations with an *exteriority* composed of targets or threats . . . can be managed” (35–36). Thus, de Certeau claims, a strategy is “a *triumph of place over time*” and “a mastery of places through sight” (36). In contrast, a tactic is an “art of the weak” because it is not backed by the power of law and institutions. It lacks its own place and “must play on and with a terrain imposed on it” (37). Without the power to control its own space, “a tactic depends on time – it is always on the watch for opportunities that must be seized ‘on the wing’” (xiv). Tactics rely on the “chance offerings of the moment” and “constantly manipulate events in order to turn them into opportunities” (37, xiv). “Miniscule” and “quotidian,” tactics do not, indeed cannot, reject or alter the imposed order; rather, they use that order “with respect to ends and references foreign to the system that they had no choice but to accept” (xiii–xiv).

Each of the following chapters takes up strategy and tactics in particular spaces and places of the Roman social environment. Yet, at the beginning, it is useful to map the general pattern and concerns shared across all the chapters.

MASTER STRATEGIES

De Certeau's notion of strategy fits well with Roman notions that associate power with the control of space. Romans lawyers track in almost obsessive detail who (owner, possessor, or legitimate user) has the authority to shape urban and rural space. In particular, Romans of various classes thought about architecture in terms of power.²⁶ The construction or remodeling of houses, villas, and public monuments expressed the builder's assertion of control over nature.²⁷ Even where the pose of the owner is self-consciously humble, his house or farm bespeaks his ability to shape lived space (Horace, *Odes* 2.18 and *Letters* 1.10, 1.16; Martial 1.55, 3.58, 5.78). For the wealthy elite of Roman society, and even for the moderately propertied, building and the arrangement of space also figured prominently in the representation and practice of social prestige. A man's house or villa symbolized his status. Practically, it made his reputation and was a vehicle for the reception of clients and for the rituals of social power like dinners.²⁸

The control of space was often accompanied by the control of objects in space – their arrangement, disposition, and use. In general, Roman law is much concerned with various types of property holding. And jurists' opinions on legacies make clear that the control of a particular space – house, villa, farm, workshop, baths, mill, and so on – entailed the control of objects, whether they counted as equipment or furnishings (*instrumentum* or *instructum*) (*Digest* 33.7).²⁹ In Latin literature, objects often figure in the accusations of luxury or the ridicule of men's worthless preoccupations, but even in moral discourse, it is clear that things, like architecture, had symbolic and practical uses. They displayed a man's or woman's status and the power to possess and arrange the material world. Practically, possessions functioned as tools of social power, impressing free Romans of equal or lesser rank or simply asserting one's wealth or culture or both.³⁰ And, as Roman satire makes so clear, things gave their owners indirect power over other free, but poorer, Romans. The deployment of wine, food, oil, cups, and servants in *the patron's home*, for example, enabled the patron to denigrate his client, manipulate his behavior, and determine his experience.³¹

The strategic arrangement and display of possessions extended to the slaves who are included in lists of tableware, clothes, furniture, and tools in both legal and literary texts.³² Here, the power of the owner over the lives of others directly affected their bodies, behavior, and daily activities. A variety of sources attest to the hairdressing, depilation, skin treatments, and even castration of slave boys used as servants and sexual favorites.³³ Some owners dressed their servants in special outfits and expected that clothes would be worn in a particular way. Agricultural writers prescribe the clothing of farmworkers.³⁴ Slave owners tried to mold the behavior of bondsmen and bondswomen, and the regime often meant bans on talking, laughing, or even coughing and sneezing, as well as attempts to control the slaves' gestures, timing, and performance of assigned tasks.³⁵ In effect, slaveholders tried to make particular slaves present and others absent both aurally and visually.

It seems obvious but important to remember that slave owners determined a slave's work and often the organization of labor.³⁶ Associated with the assignment of job was the assignment of place. The *vilicus* (slave manager) belonged on the farm, the peddler in the

streets, the miller in the bakery.³⁷ Domestic servants were attached to a particular room or place, like an *ostiarius* or *ianitor* (doorkeeper) at the front door, or to a particular person and his or her location, like an *ancilla* (slave girl) who lay at her owner's feet, stood at the foot of her dining couch, or walked beside her on a stroll.³⁸ Although certain kinds of work were associated with the farm or the urban establishment, owners could move slaves from their city house to their farm or country villa as they wished.³⁹

In the chapters that follow, these aspects of strategy often appear under the theme of the control of movement, much akin to Stephanie Camp's concept of the "geography of containment." Writing on slavery in the antebellum American South, Camp argues that "laws, customs, and ideals [came] together into a systematic constriction of slave movement that helped to establish slaveholders' sense of mastery" (2004, 6–7, 12). Camp's point is not that American slaves were locked up but that law, customs, and ideals enabled and legitimated certain forms of movement and not others.

The Roman "geography of containment" included various practices for controlling slave mobility.⁴⁰ The material remains of chains, shackles, and fetters, as well as literary references to chaining, mark the extreme restriction of captives, fugitives, and troublesome slaves.⁴¹ At least by the first century BCE, Roman slave owners had legal means and tried practices for chasing down and recovering slave fugitives. Keith Bradley has given us a synthetic analysis of them. We only emphasize that the use of slave catchers, the help of civic officials, provincial governors, and troops, and the posting in public places of advertisements for runaways created fairly daunting boundaries for slaves who sought to escape slavery.⁴² In effect, an invisible net formed by owners and their agents and neighbors, the law, and governmental authorities seems to have circumscribed slave mobility, and this net became particularly important in the urban setting where slaves moved about the city outside their owners' houses and business establishments.

The attempt to tie servants and workers to a particular place, defined by job, location, or person, was only part of the "geography of containment." Keeping slaves in motion at their jobs was as important as place. In the following chapters, the concern with motion figures as a different, but related, aspect of containment, which we call the choreography of slave movement. Three aspects of choreography concern us: (1) the constraint of slaves to prescribed paths; (2) the control of timing; and (3) more literally, the scripting of the gestures and motions of slaves at their jobs. Slave owners often arranged the routes for slaves in a variety of situations.⁴³ In houses or villas, the movement of servants depended on the desires and activities of owners. Since many domestic slaves served to display their owners' wealth and social importance, the plotting of their movements around master and guests mattered.⁴⁴ The control of slaves traveling about the city on errands or business belongs to attempts to prevent what from the perspective of slaveholders was random, unpurposeful slave movement defined as truancy or wandering (*Digest* 21.1.17.14). In the workshop, the direction of movement had everything to do with the ordering of tasks and arrangement of equipment. In the agricultural manual of Columella, control of the motions of farmhands is aimed at the efficient operation of the farm, but, as pointed out in Chapter 5, this control had as much to do with mastery as with economics.

Routing slaves on determined paths is associated with the attempt to control time. Owners' demands dictated the pace at which their personal servants, domestic workers, readers, and secretaries fulfilled their tasks.⁴⁵ In a house or villa, a gesture with the thumb or the snapping of fingers by the master was supposed to put the slave in motion immediately.⁴⁶ In general, domestic servants were expected to hustle to obey an order or to complete their assigned tasks; otherwise they stood around waiting.⁴⁷ All of the agricultural writers calculate tasks by *iugera* (acreage) and days: how many *iugera* of land can be plowed by so many workers in so many days, how many *iugera* of vines can be trimmed and dressed in a day, how many *iugera* of meadows can be cut in a day.⁴⁸ In effect, the control of movement was to be achieved through the control of time, or to put this in de Certeau's terms, such calculations were an "attempt to reduce temporal relations to spatial ones" (38).

Timing figured more literally in the choreography of gestures and body movements. In the *Satyrica*, at the dinner of the former slave Trimalchio, Petronius pokes fun at the excessive contortions of Trimalchio's slaves as they guide guests into the dining room and serve the meal: the slaves' every motion, every gesture, every sound is scripted, often accompanied by music to keep all on pace, and usually coordinated with their master's quips. The choreography becomes literal and the subject of ridicule, as the novel's narrator, Encolpius, observes: "You would have thought it was the performance of a pantomime chorus and not the dining room of a *paterfamilias*" (*pantomimi chorum, non patris familiae triclinium crederes*) (31.7). Yet the careful scripting of slaves at work typifies descriptions of service in many wealthy, elite houses.⁴⁹ At first glance, such choreography would seem to be a domestic affair, yet we find in the recommendations of Columella's agricultural treatise the same sort of detailed instructions on the appropriate movements for slave bodies at work on the farm and in many different tasks (2.2.22–26, 6.2.4–6).

While slave movement in general and choreography in particular occupies Roman authors from the late Republic through the mid-second century CE, it seems to have become a concern especially in late Claudian and Neronian literature – in particular, in Seneca, Petronius, and Columella. Beyond the use of servility in the moral discourse of all three, slaves as servants and laborers play a central role in their texts. In Seneca, slaveholders' control of the behavior and movements of servants figures importantly in the elite's display of luxury and taste. At the dinner party of Petronius's Trimalchio, the scripting of servants, too, belongs to a show of standing and wealth, but of a vulgar freed slave whose orders themselves mark a lack of taste, suggesting that culture and refinement should be associated with birth and class, not wealth alone. In Columella, the ordering of slave movements makes agricultural laborers, and hence the farm on which they work, more productive and successful.

We suggest that this attention paid to choreography in these three authors belongs to the variety of elite responses to what Matthew Roller terms the Principate's "massive and unprecedented relocation of power and authority in the Roman world" (2001, 6).⁵⁰ Senators and nobles found the republican avenues of power and glory cut off; especially important, the emperor's monopoly of military honor robbed the former ruling class of its "highest and most prestigious" route to distinction in the competitive arena of politics. Senators could hold office and lead armies but at the dispensation, and under the authority,

of the princeps. Roller argues that “these shifts . . . stimulated . . . ideological activity” and a search for new avenues and means of distinction (9), and he details Seneca’s attempt to redefine *virtus* (manly courage, virtue), adapting “old aristocratic impulses to a new imperial order” (107).⁵¹ Petronius and Columella, too, adapted traditional modes of aristocratic excellence – expenditure and morality – to the new order. Where Seneca urged a turn inward, away from the outer world, the consul Petronius (at least in Tacitus’s *Annals* the arbiter of elegance at Nero’s court) apparently did the opposite, as he distinguished himself in the practices of luxury. If, as is common, we assume that Tacitus’s Petronius is the author of the *Satyrical*, then we have an expert in the choreography of material life ridiculing the practice in the hands of the lowborn.⁵² Columella, like Seneca, criticized the elite’s meticulous attention to style and luxury, but like Petronius, he sought distinction in an outer world; however, his arena was agriculture, a pursuit originally associated with the great men of the Republic, like Cincinnatus or Dentatus, whom he adduces in the preface of his work (Pref. 13–14). Whereas early republican aristocrats could succeed both in the farm field and on the battlefield, the Principate limited Columella’s field of excellence to the farm.⁵³

In each case, there is an assertion of power over and in the material world – control of houses, villas, furniture, accoutrements, vineyards, fields, animals, servants, and laborers – in place of power within the political world.⁵⁴ Although Seneca rejected the life of luxury, he and his like-minded readers still had to arrange their houses, food, and servants to demonstrate that rejection and display their frugality (*On Tranquility of the Mind* 1.5–7). For the mid-first-century elite, this expression of power over the lived environment perhaps took on special significance. Its expression in the public arena was increasingly limited, the power of the emperor becoming more and more evident in the activities of Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius, and the domination of the emperor dramatically and savagely on display in the behavior of Nero. Where the emperor’s control over the wills and behavior of elite subjects became part of an imperial spectacle, slaves scripted to their owners’ desires and needs provided aristocrats with a vivid display of their own power.⁵⁵

The archaeological remains in Campania and at Ostia allow us to look at the material manifestations of slaveholders’ strategy, which, as noted earlier, give us the “contexts of servitude.” Throughout the subsequent chapters, when we focus on the arrangement of space, we rely on the terms used by Mark Grahame to analyze space in the House of the Faun (VI.12.5) at Pompeii. These terms help us to see how “segmentation in architecture” structures “relations between people by control over the body through its location and movement in space” (1997, 146). Especially important for us is Grahame’s distinction between open and closed spaces. Some spaces are “more ‘open’ in that they . . . permit relatively free movement.” In open spaces, “the probability that an encounter will occur is increased, because in such space one is more visible to others. In short, it involves *disclosure* of the body” (145). Closed spaces are cell-like and have a single entrance; walls act as an “architectural barrier,” making individuals within them “less visible” (145).⁵⁶ If, as Grahame suggests, “privacy relates to the ability to enclose the body and remove oneself from the sight of others,” then a closed room offers its occupant some concealment, or, rather, some “power to control the degree of knowledge which others may have about oneself.” Yet, as Grahame notes, a space that allows the individual an escape

from scrutiny may limit the privacy it provides if the person cannot move elsewhere “without coming under surveillance.” That is, enclosure may become “confinement” (146).

In addition, the material record offers very specific instances of strategy beyond the arrangement of space. Other architectural features, such as thresholds and evidence of locking mechanisms, extend the analysis of control and of the possibilities of mobility. Wall paintings and floor mosaics point to the decorative scripting of people and their movements. The location of equipment – for example, the mills in bakeries or stalls in fulleries – reflect the desired organization of labor in the city’s workshops. Benches and sidewalks trace the efforts of the propertied to shape a city’s streets.

Literature and law delineate the servants and laborers who populated the material environment. Yet even if we cannot locate any one named slave messenger in the streets, cook in a kitchen, cleaner in an atrium, or worker on a farmstead, we can locate unnamed slaves in the remains of such sites and predict the movements that fulfilled their owners’ needs for surveillance, visibility and invisibility, and control. This slaveholders’ view of the location of slaves in the archaeological record, where they now seem to be absent, is the beginning of the quest for the material life of Roman slaves. To see how slaves dealt with their owners’ strategic plotting of space and behavior, how they lived the “contexts of servitude,” we turn to tactics.

SLAVE TACTICS

Slaveholders’ complaints about slaves, their depictions of slave actions, and their measures against slave misbehavior offer a picture of slave tactics in the near absence of slave testimony. Yet, as already observed, the point of view that shapes this evidence and slaveholding ideology mean that beyond noting the behavior, legal and literary sources testify more to the effect of slave acts – the disturbance of owners – and less to the causes of or motives for such acts. To rename a slave’s acts accurately, we must assume that which is so often hidden by the master’s discourse – that is, the slave’s purposes and understanding – and this is not always possible without reinscribing some meaning of our own. Thus, throughout this book, where we cannot find a suitably neutral term and use the slaveholder’s term, we frame it as such.

Considered as a whole, slaveholders’ complaints and attempts to counter slaves’ actions suggest a thoroughgoing, constant resistance to slaveholders’ strategies.⁵⁷ The detailed permutations in mentions of flight, damage, and theft, in particular, indicate not only the intensity of slave owners’ concerns but also how numerous and individual such acts were. Slaves ran away alone, with a single companion, with stolen goods, with a *vicarius/a* (slave of a slave, often a spouse), or simply empty-handed. Some planned, some acted on the spur of the moment, some hid in the city and others in the countryside, and some simply jumped off a bridge or found some other way to die and thus escape servitude.⁵⁸ Reports of damage caused by slaves include fires, injured or dead animals or other slaves, broken dishes and cups, ruined metals, ripped clothes, damaged tools and equipment, and simply unspecified

damage to property.⁵⁹ Slaves “robbed” their owners as well as their heirs and legatees, the persons to whom they had been lent or hired out, customers, and even thieves and the dead; they acted alone, with another, or with the entire *familia* (slaves of one household). They stole (or “relocated”) money, silver, clothes, furniture, the contents of storerooms, tools, vines, produce, milk, grain, fleeces, other slaves, their spouses, and their children.⁶⁰

Beyond flight, damage, and theft, wide variation in the innumerable charges about slave misbehavior – and for us, slave tactics – makes it difficult to categorize or organize the acts in any systematic way. Indeed, as de Certeau observes, tactics are “isolated actions” that recur “blow by blow” (1988, 37). At the most general level, the acts slaveholders reported indicate the nearly incalculable ways that slaves “failed” at their work. Charges of shirking, laziness, carelessness, and malingering are ubiquitous.⁶¹ And slaves are repeatedly accused of gambling, excessive drinking, and gluttony: in their owners’ view, slaves not only lack self-control they also expend and waste resources rather than producing them.⁶²

Slave noise and what we might call speech acts also undermined the slaveholder’s arrangements. By talking, clanging pots, sneezing, coughing, or shouting when out of their owners’ sight, slaves ruined a meticulously scripted dinner or interrupted a slaveholder’s peace and quiet, and all such acts offered slaves the possibility of anonymity.⁶³ Gossip could undermine a slave owner’s carefully crafted public persona and did not necessarily reveal the perpetrator. Telling on the master, reporting his crimes to the authorities, or even lying about him could endanger more than a slaveholder’s reputation (though without the protection of anonymity for the slave). Juvenal claims that the tongue is the vilest part of a bad slave (*lingua mali pars pessima servi*), for slaves made up charges against their owners in revenge for beatings (9.103 ff., esp. 9.121).⁶⁴ Most direct was the “uppity” slave whose words openly showed contempt for his owner (*dominum contemnat*) (*Digest* 11.3.15; cf. Seneca, *On Constancy* 11.3).

All of these tactics seized “opportunities,” openings in the regime that ordered the lives of slaves. Most often, we must glimpse these “chance offerings of the moment” in the slaveholder’s account. An errand presented the chance to roam; familiarity with storerooms opened the possibility of taking their contents; responsibility for a chest permitted the expropriation of the rents that should have been paid into it; dark allowed the exchange of a stolen tool for food; broken tools or the need to call in a doctor, fuller, or smith enabled a miniholiday or lounging around on a work day.⁶⁵ In several instances, opportunity (*ocasio*) is recognized for what it is. For example, the story told by Nicerus, one of Trimalchio’s freedmen guests, begins with his owner’s departure for Capua, enabling the then-slave to visit his girlfriend: “so,” Nicerus relates, “I seized my chance” (*nactus ego occasionem*) (Petronius 62.2; cf. Seneca, *Moral Letters* 107.1).

Such acts depended on particular circumstances: indeed, they could not have existed except in specific, individual situations. At the same time, a slave often had to seize a specific moment within those circumstances – ducking out of sight, avoiding the gaze of an owner, eluding the surveillance of his agents, or temporarily usurping his space. More specifically, slave tactics often changed the expected or assigned tempo of an activity, evoking charges of slowness or laziness (*desidiosus, somniculosus, piger, tardus*) (*Digest* 21.1.18). Timing also meant being out of place: slaves appeared where they should not

have been or were not where they were supposed to be. Instead of following a prescribed path and routine, a truant wandered, called on a mother or a lover, stayed out overnight, visited art galleries, or watched the games (*Digest* 21.1.17.4–5, 21.1.65).

Sometimes, such actions or moments required disguise or pretending, an example of the dishonesty stereotypically associated with the slave.⁶⁶ The legal sources record numerous instances of what the jurist Pomponius calls *impostores* and *mendaces* (imposters and liars) – slaves who pretend to lose things, or borrow money that should have been used for their masters’ purposes, or give false testimony, or act as free persons.⁶⁷ Above all, clever, tricky slaves inhabit the realm of slaveholders’ literature. Like their comic ancestors, the clever slaves of Plautus, they mask what they are really doing, putting on a show of one thing when the situation is the other. At times, we must suspect that slaves disguised their actions, intentions, and motives by manipulating stereotypes of slave gestures, posture, and words that met owners’ expectations of deference. At least Horace can talk about a “comic Davus” (the name of his own slave) who performs servility: standing with bowed head, acting afraid or overawed, and snowing the slaveholder with flattery.⁶⁸ In de Certeau’s terms, such slaves “conform[ed] to [mechanisms of discipline] only in order to evade them” (1988, xiv).

This sort of masking raises questions about the causes attributed to slave actions. The widespread accusations of slaves’ negligence may not be what they seem.⁶⁹ The term “negligence,” of course, takes the owner’s point of view, yet the specific acts themselves may “trace out the ruses of other interests and desires” (de Certeau 1988, xviii): that is, what looks like carelessness may be part of a tactic to conceal the slaves’ purposes. Similarly, we might suspect that at times slaves feigned what slaveholders saw as clumsiness, confusion, or madness, putting on a mask or a performance for their owners to disguise their own purposes or to achieve other ends.⁷⁰

While such disguises obscured slaves’ motives and feelings, we can observe in some cases, and glimpse in others, the short-term results of slave tactics. Tactics did not overthrow the slaveholder’s strategy; rather, they worked on and within it, enacting changes in that strategy to effect ends other than those intended by the slaveholder. In a few instances, slave thefts attributed to greed or some character flaw may in fact have been part of a larger attempt to make money or to gain a desired object.⁷¹ When slaves broke or harmed household items, tools, animals, produce, or some other type of property, the damage may not have been the goal or the by-product of anger or carelessness but a means to some end unseen by the slaveholder and now lost to us.⁷²

Although slaveholders had the power to punish slave misbehavior, slaves may have found protection against the harsher and more violent responses of owners in the latter’s view that much slave behavior was petty or unthreatening. Frequently, slaveholders diminished both the acts and their ubiquity by trivializing them. Domestic thefts (*furta domestica*), or slave pilfering, according to Marcian, if of a trifling kind (*viliora*), were beyond, below, or outside the law, and slaveholders made jokes that belittled such thefts (*Digest* 48.19.11.1). Discussing humor that depends on the double meaning of some words, Quintilian cites the example of Gaius Claudius Nero who “said of the worst slave that there was no one in his household more trusted because nothing was either closed or sealed to

him” (*Nero de servo pessimo dixit nulli plus apud se fidei haberi, nihil ei neque oclusum neque signatum esse*) (6.3.50). Nothing was closed to the slave because he broke into everything; his owner’s response belittles the slave’s thefts by turning them and him into the butt of a joke. Like pilfering, talking back was dismissed by trivializing it as harmless: Seneca claims that some men buy boys to train them to spew abuse at owners and their guests because these slaveholders enjoy the impudence of slaves, calling their insults witty (Seneca, *On Constancy* 11.3).

In addition, the difficulty that some slaveholders had in identifying particular slaves provided anonymity for a misbehaving slave. Seneca criticizes the man who is so careless that he does not know his few slaves or so extravagant that he has too many to remember (*On the Happy Life* 17.2). While the comment certainly belongs to moral discourse, it also refers to a more widespread phenomenon. The law on noxal actions took into account those who encountered another person’s slaves and could not recall either which slave had committed the offense or the slave’s name by providing the accuser with a line-up of slaves (*Digest* 10.4.3.7). Moreover, legal sources suggest that slave owners themselves misrecognized their own slaves: they made mistakes about slaves’ names, could not distinguish between slaves with the same name, or identified slaves only by their occupation (*Digest* 6.1.5.6, 6.1.6, 28.1.21.1, 35.1.17.1, 40.4.31). This latter form of identification perhaps was easier for the owners of large households and for outsiders, both of whom could identify slaves by what they were doing or where they were stationed – as in the case of *atrienses*, *ostiarum*, and *ianitores* (hall porters or doorkeepers).⁷³ Still, owners were confused. Labeo notes the case of a man who owned a fuller named Flaccus and a baker named Philonicus, but in his will the man left “Flaccus the baker” to his wife. If it could not be determined which slave he intended, the first consideration should be, according to the jurist, whether the owner in fact knew the names of his slaves (*Digest* 34.5.28).⁷⁴ The slaveholder’s difficulty gave the slave an advantage. Gossipers, mumblers, noisemakers, and even thieves were protected not only by the stealth of their actions but also by the inability of slave owner and guest to pick out the slave by name. The free person who was jostled by a slave on the street, the target of shouted abuse, or the subject of some other offense might not be able to identify the offending slave. Three slaves named Eros might protect one of their number who had committed some offense simply by having a shared name.⁷⁵

Playing with time as they did, tactics left few marks in the material record. In effect, then, slave tactics did not have their *own* places, yet they had a spatial dimension as they occurred in a house, street, shop, or field, and the enactment of a tactical maneuver, as we shall see, depended on slaves’ comprehension of spaces that they did not control but in which they lived and worked. In the chapters that follow, we take three approaches to the spatial dimensions of slave tactics. First, locating slaves in their owners’ geography enables us to calculate the slaves’ points of view as an initial step in a discussion of the physical circumstances of tactics. Different viewpoints, broadly defined, become the basis for glimpsing how the slave owner’s space might have been put to other uses by the slave. In other words, we need to consider domestic, urban, and agricultural spaces from the point of view that makes possible or facilitates the tactics that slaveholders labeled as idling or

shirking. For the so-called loitering or malingering slave, the farmhouse became a place of respite from work, an empty courtyard in a maritime villa a place to rest or relax when the slaveholder was elsewhere, the back door of a house an entry into the world of city streets, a fountain a site for meeting neighbors. A tactic rescripted masterly space – even appropriated it for the slave’s use, albeit temporarily.

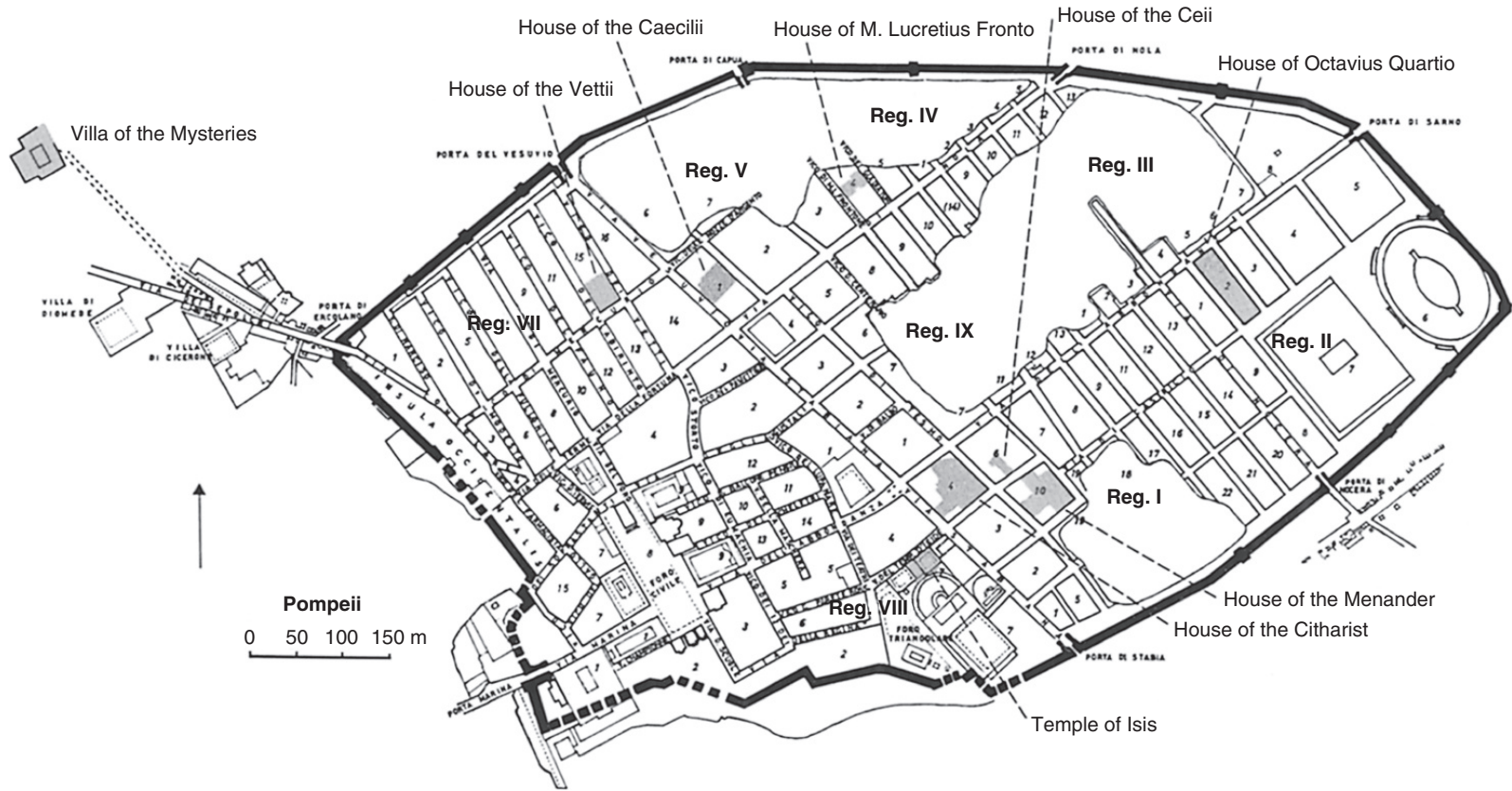
Second, emphasizing areas like kitchens, stable yards, and back doors belongs to an attempt not only to re-see slaveholders’ space but also to pay attention to different features of the lived environment. The marginalization of kitchens or stable yards and the surveillance of movement out of them often left activities within them unobserved: this separation made space for slave social life and activities out of the gaze of owners (though slave managers were another matter). Similarly, in literature and law, slaves hide out for a variety of reasons or do not come when called, and we examine urban and rural sites for where the slaves could have gone.⁷⁶ The commonsensical tone of slave owners’ complaints about such behavior suggests that slaves may well have had mental plans of their residences, farms, neighborhoods, and streets that included places for socialization and temporary escape. Quite simply, we ask what the material environment reveals when taking into account what we know happened but cannot see in the present archaeological record.

Third, tracing the slaveholder’s choreography of movement, which sets out where slaves were supposed to or permitted to go, enables us to think about alternative routes and ways of moving. Mapping these movements – mapping tactics in actual spaces – then, makes us think more carefully about the depiction of tactics in the literary and legal sources. Roman authors and jurists often portray slave misbehavior as simple acts arising out of stereotypical motives that have everything to do with the slave owner and little to do with the slave (for, in fact, the slave’s self also becomes a masterly construct). In this way, we might say that Roman law and literature are solipsistic. Slave testimony from other historical societies, comparative material, and theory help us to move past or through the solipsism, giving us useful analogies and raising new considerations (though of course much of the hidden transcript, as we shall see, remains hidden). Yet when we try to physically locate what the slaveholders’ texts name only as shirking work, to understand exactly how a slave would avoid work in the House of the Menander (I.10.4, 14–16) in Pompeii, Villa A at Oplontis, Vicolo del Mercurio, or the House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27) in Pompeii, we are thrown into three dimensions, and a host of questions emerge about slaves’ knowledge of their owners’ strategies and spaces. We may err in our estimations of slaves’ tactical movements or may miss something; however, what we do find are the often complex temporal and spatial calculations involved in the reality of tactics. In these cases, the material record adds a dimension that we cannot see in the textual record.

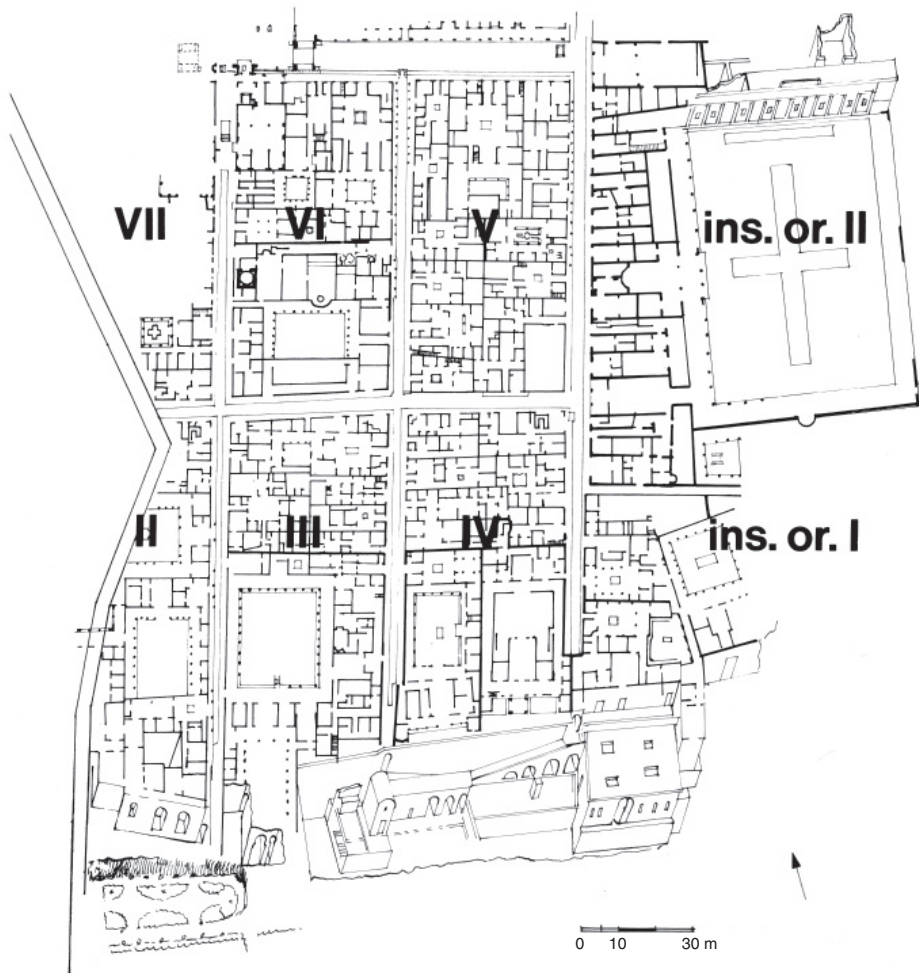
THE MATERIAL LIFE OF ROMAN SLAVES

The Material Life of Roman Slaves begins in the city and moves to the country. The second chapter, “Slaves in the House,” examines large and small houses in Pompeii and Herculaneum, with a short digression to Ostia. We focus on the ritual of the banquet and the attendant choreography of slaves through architectural design. We also consider the possibilities for the appropriation of domestic spaces and objects by slaves when the time was right at the banquet and beyond. The third chapter, “Slaves in the City Streets,” follows slaves into the streets of Pompeii. We are especially interested in the various possibilities for slave movement – directed circulation, loitering, visiting – and in the features of streets, such as fountains, bars and cookshops, and benches that enabled such movements and diversions. By attending to the back doors of Pompeian houses (a point of access for slaves) and neighborhood taverns along a number of streets, this study animates the “backdoor culture” and points to the places in the city where slaves from different households could socialize. The fourth chapter, “Slaves in the Workshop,” moves into the shops and workplaces of Pompeii and Ostia. Focusing on the bakery as an almost stereotypical site of slave labor, we look at the activity both inside the shop and in the world immediately outside it. Within the bakery, we are concerned with the physical conditions of work and the spatial arrangements of tasks. By mapping the tasks of baking on the archaeological remains of equipment, we see how space shaped social relations, juxtaposing the owner’s spatial strategies and the possibilities for slave tactics. The fifth chapter, “Slaves in the Villa,” leaves the city for the country and seaside. Specifically, we explore both the famous villa at Settefinestre in Tuscany and villas located around the Bay of Naples. We approach the extraurban villa as a large and different type of property that required particular kinds of controls by their owners and offered alternative opportunities for slaves as well as limits on their activities. We engage the book’s key concerns with circulation and movement to include multiple arenas and activities: the actions of domestic servants in the villa, the agricultural labors of fieldhands, and the comings and goings of owners, guests, and their staffs. By way of conclusion, we consider funerary settings for slaves – the cemetery at Isola Sacra (outside Ostia) and communal tombs (*columbaria*) at Rome – to reflect on the work of the previous chapters and the kinds of knowledge that shape our history of Roman slaves.

It is evident from the summary that this book does not deal with every slave, in every situation, in every place throughout the Roman empire. Gladiators, actors, musicians, prostitutes, and imperial bureaucrats barely make an appearance in these pages, and even ordinary secretaries and financial agents show up only on the margins of the discussion. Thus, certain sites where we might expect slaves are absent – the arena, the gladiatorial school, the stage, the brothel, and the palace. In addition, the geographical focus is Roman Italy and in particular the Campanian cities and villas preserved by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE (Figs. 4–5). The primary reason for our emphasis on Pompeii and Herculaneum at the expense of Ostia lies in the state of their respective archaeological records. Ostia’s ruins date primarily to the second century CE and later, and the long



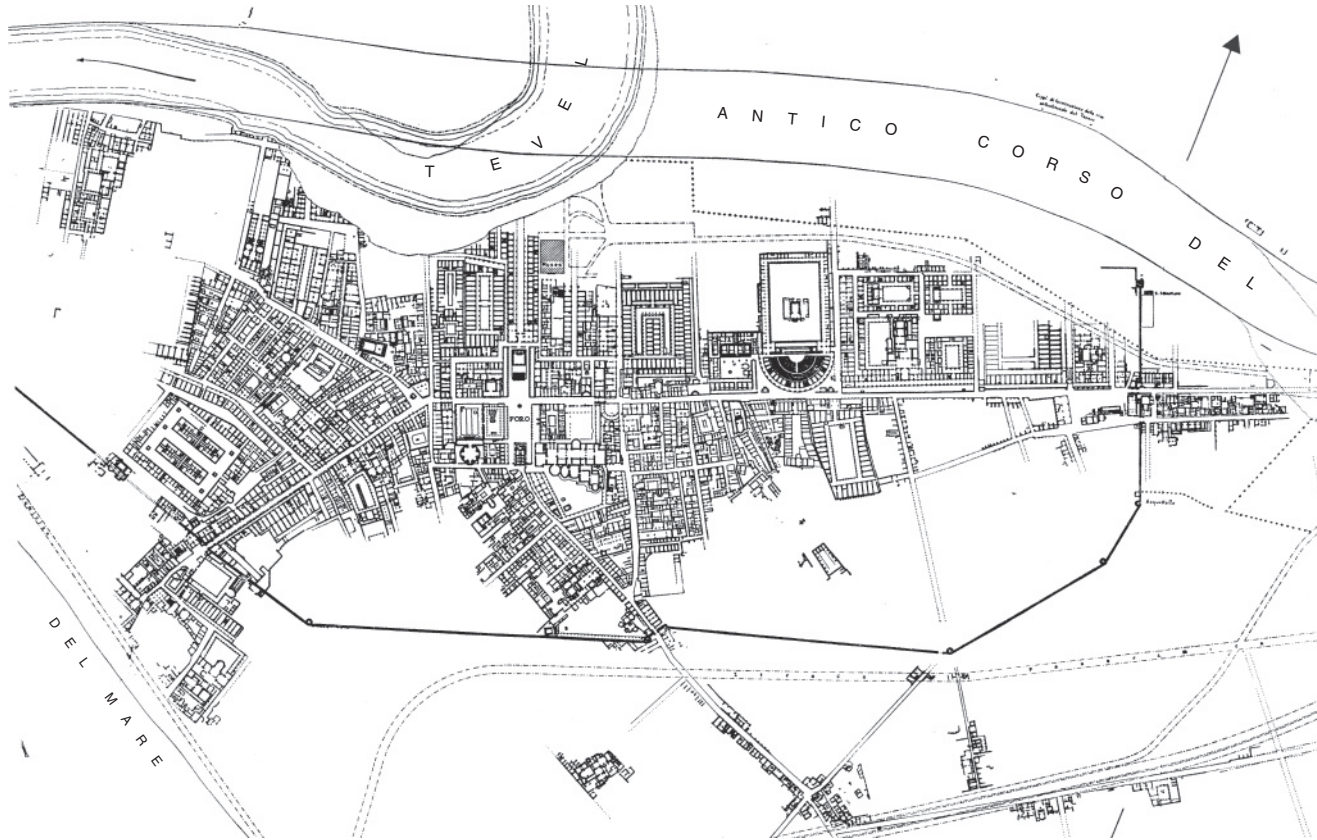
4. Map of Pompeii. (After Clarke 1991, map 2.)



5. Map of Herculaneum. (After Jashemski 1993, plan 4.)

occupation of the site (from the Republic to Late Antiquity) and the often-spotty archaeological documentation make it difficult to isolate particular moments in time (Fig. 6).⁷⁷ Nonetheless, unlike the Campanian cities, Ostia serviced both the ancient port of Rome and the metropole itself, and it bears the mark of high-density living quite distinct from Pompeii or Herculaneum. We adduce examples and patterns from Ostia in our discussions of houses and workshops where the contrast with the Campanian cities is particularly striking in the material life of slaves; however, the evidence from the provinces is entirely absent here.

The geographical concentration is quite deliberate. This book is a search for a methodology that will enable us to see slaves in the archaeological record – to make visible those who were present but who left no distinctive markers.⁷⁸ The “thicker” the archaeological remains, as with the sites we engage, the more detailed the built



6. Map of Ostia. (After Calza 1953, fig. 36.)

environment available for exploration. The presence of many variations of house forms, workshops, and street networks allows generalizations about strategy and therefore about the possibilities of the space of tactics. This is not to claim that Pompeii, Herculaneum, or the villas around the Bay of Naples can stand in as representatives for the material life of slaves in the empire as a whole or even in its western half. However, thorough study of the most complete Roman sites establishes a base from which we can examine other cities and villas.

This focus must contend with the perceived gap between the metropolitan environment of the literature and the local Italian sites of our best material evidence – the cities and villas around the Bay of Naples. Roman recommendations on architecture, comments on the building and decoration of houses and villas, and observations on the practices of daily life (especially of the elite) come from literary sources associated with Rome, the capital of empire, seat of the imperial court, and center of the senatorial elite, whereas the material remains of Herculaneum or Pompeii belong to considerably smaller cities dominated by local elites. Several factors, however, should make us pause before throwing out the baby with the bathwater. Many of the authors adduced in the following pages came from other parts of Italy and the provinces: Cicero, Varro, Horace, Seneca, Columella, Pliny the Elder, Statius, Martial, Quintilian, Pliny the Younger, for example.⁷⁹ Moreover, the site of the narratives in metropolitan literature is not always Rome. Petronius's *Satyricon* is set in Campania; Horace, Seneca, Martial, and Pliny the Younger often write from and about other sites in Italy.⁸⁰ The gap between Roman and Italian, metropolitan and local, may not weigh as heavily when we reevaluate the meaning of "Roman." As Emma Dench argues, the construction of Roman identity, at least from the late Republic on, involved the incorporation of local and foreign elements into understandings of Romanness and vice versa (2005, 298–361). Where Italian villas are concerned, the metropolitan-local gap closes, as many of their owners belonged to the Roman elite.⁸¹

Comparative material from other slave societies, especially the sources for and the scholarship on the antebellum United States, helps to expand what and how we can imagine in patching together representations of slaves that inhabited the sites discussed throughout this book. There is nothing new in the use of comparative work. For some time, Roman archaeologists have been wary of comparative material, while historians of slavery have used the sources for slavery in the Americas and the interpretative schema of its historians to suggest what lies behind the silences in the Roman record, to highlight aspects of slavery, and to develop approaches to the ancient material.⁸²

Like most comparative work in Roman slavery, our use of comparison could be defined as "soft" rather than "rigorous." As Webster explains, "soft" "plac[es] a single case study in a broader context of historical comparison" and "rigorous" "adopt[s] a 'compare-and-contrast' approach to two case studies of equal weight" (2008a, 107). Inspired by the work of Hall, Webster herself has cleared the ground for a reinvigorated use of comparative material, especially in its productive potential for shifting our questions and attention.⁸³ *The Material Life of Roman Slaves* assumes neither universal structures nor a continuum of practices, although it may be, as Webster, drawing on Hall, suggests, "that strategies of living are

not infinite in societies containing masters and slaves: there are only so many transcripts (material or otherwise) to be written, only so many ways to coerce, to suppress, to rebel, or to adapt” (113). Like Webster, we find comparison productive methodologically.⁸⁴ In particular, similar patterns in different contexts enable us “to see the underlying dynamics of power at work” (Hall 2008, 129) The point, says Hall, is “to reach beneath the immediate and specific to look for the interests at play beneath the surface” (129).



THE SEARCH FOR A method obviously does not preclude specific assertions for specific slaves at specific sites. Yet the problem of visibility discussed earlier means that, for example, the slave cook of Chapter 2 or the slave baker in Chapter 4 will be a fiction in the sense that we cannot document a particular cook in the kitchen of the House of the Menander (I.10.4, 14–16) or an individual baker in the House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27) in Pompeii. “Real” slaves exist only in epitaphs like the small plaque with a name and a job title that records the life of the cook Zena, slave of the Statilian family (*Corpus of Latin Inscriptions* 6.6249). The slaves who appear in this book are produced by pastiche functioning as a heuristic device. The cook in the House of the Menander is pieced together from the kitchen of the house; the cook in law who figures as a legacy, dowry, or equipment; the cook in literature who appears as a stock comic character, a sign of Roman luxury, or a servant in need of a flogging for a job poorly done; and the slave cooks of epitaphs. The tomb may be the only archaeological site where at least some “real” slaves have a name and an identity, yet without cooks in literature and law, and without kitchens, we have little to say about the “real” slave cook or the other “real” men and women who are the subject of *The Material Life of Roman Slaves*.

Chapter 2

SLAVES IN THE HOUSE

The past is what we choose to preserve.

—PAVEL 2011

Roman domestic architecture is obsessively concerned with distinctions of social rank, and the distinctions involved are not merely between one house and another . . . but within the social space of the house.

—WALLACE-HADRILL 1994, 10

A VISIT TO the houses of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Ostia is at once a rewarding and disappointing experience for tourists and scholars alike. On the one hand, the extraordinary survival of the houses allows visitors to walk through the domestic spaces of ancient Romans, inviting one to imagine the rituals and practices of everyday life that took place in them. On the other hand, one senses a loss – something is missing. Some of the decoration that adorned the interiors is in situ and subject to the elements, but much is on display or in storage in a museum elsewhere, in private collections, destroyed, or lost, leaving one to piece together the various elements in an attempt to create a whole as effectively as possible. And, of course, the people that once populated these residences are long gone and so, too, are their actions as they negotiated life within them. What remains, the ruins and artifacts, are the physical traces of the inhabitants' actions, and these, combined with the words of ancient writers, have permitted us to know something about the daily lives, attitudes, and priorities of Romans.

This chapter focuses on the material life of slaves within the Roman house. It attempts to trace the circulation, movement, and choreography of slaves as described in the written sources and as presented in the arrangement of rooms within houses, large and small, at Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Ostia. We also look for the possibilities of slave appropriation of domestic spaces and manipulation of time. To begin, however, it is useful to rehearse the

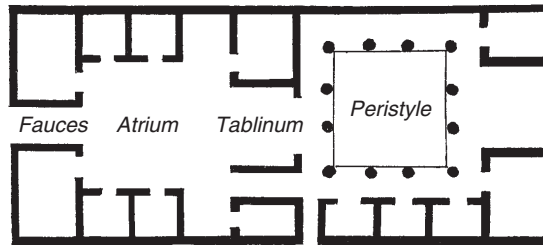
master narratives of Roman houses to demonstrate the extent to which slaves, although central to the functioning of domestic life, have been effectively marginalized and silenced in these narratives – then and now, physically and conceptually. This chapter, as it attempts to shift our point of view and to ask new questions of the remains, then considers the spaces, material culture, and timing of slave tactics in domestic urban settings.

WHAT WE CLAIM TO KNOW

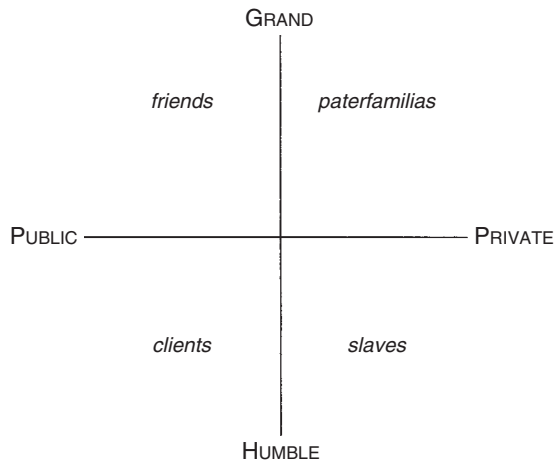
Our knowledge of Roman houses is based heavily on the dwellings in the cities of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Ostia and their general concordance with the textual record. While early studies of houses tend to discuss domestic architecture and decoration in terms of chronology and typologies,¹ scholarship from the 1990s onward has produced some excellent synthetic analyses of Roman houses as carefully constructed ensembles. These ensembles, in turn, have enabled us to explore how the Roman house projects the social identity (or aspirations) of its owner.² What follows is a summary taken from this most recent scholarship – what we claim to know of Roman houses. This is the stuff of strategy, to put it in Michel de Certeau’s terms (1988, esp. 29ff.).³

In his influential study of social life in Roman houses, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill pithily observes that the owner’s “house was a powerhouse” (1994, 12). In his home, the *paterfamilias* cultivated relationships and engaged in activities that often shaped and defined his external self, that is, his standing in the city. But it was also a “powerhouse” in terms of the social relations that took place within the house. As Wallace-Hadrill and others have shown, the Roman house not only reflected the social standing of the owner, but it also articulated, enacted, and shaped the very relationships and activities of the owner’s family within it.⁴

Key aspects of this knowledge are based on our reading of the ancient architect Vitruvius, whose treatise *On Architecture* in the age of Augustus (27 BCE–14 CE) extols the virtues of appropriate domestic architecture and decoration based on a man’s social standing (6.5). Vitruvius makes the now well-known distinction between the more public and more private areas of the house (“places reserved for the owners, and those shared commonly with outsiders,” 6.5.1). Examples of the more “private” rooms are those toward the back of the house, such as bedrooms, dining rooms (triclinia), and rooms for bathing, whereas the more “common” rooms are located at the front of the house where daily business took place, namely, the atrium and tablinum (the public reception space between atrium and peristyle) (Fig. 7). Vitruvius then addresses the need for more utilitarian accommodations for those individuals who do business by frequenting the houses of others, in contrast to the more “sumptuous” and “spacious” rooms and attendant decorations for men of rank who receive clients and dependents (6.5.1–2). He has been instrumental in getting us to think about how the layout, size, and decoration of Roman houses worked together to create the social life of a house and reflect the social standing of its owner. Indeed, Wallace-Hadrill’s axes of differentiation, adapted for the most part from Vitruvius’s ideals, have become a staple in thinking about Roman domestic space (Fig. 8). Architecture and



7. Plan of a typical Roman peristyle house. (After Mau 1899, fig. 110.)



8. Axes of differentiation in a Roman house. (After Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 38.)

decoration collaborated to articulate along a continuum those spaces designated as public and grand (the atrium and tablinum for clients and dependents), private and grand (rooms for the *paterfamilias* and his guests), public and humble (shops, for example), and private and humble (service areas).

Other ancient writers reify the Vitruvian principles, if sometimes indirectly. One salient example includes the Neronian novelist Petronius, who presents a world in which a host utterly fails to follow the rules of elite, domestic decorum during his dinner party. Trimalchio, a boorish, fabulously rich ex-slave, describes his house:

Meanwhile, with Mercury's help, I built this house. As you know, it used to be a shack; now it's a shrine. It has four dining rooms, twenty bedrooms, two marble porticoes, an upstairs dining room, the master bedroom where I sleep . . . a fine porter's lodge, and guestrooms enough for all my guests. (77.4; trans. Arrowsmith 1987)

Petronius's ex-slave is the butt of a joke when he brags about his house, assuming the role of a man of rank that his freed status, lack of culture, and business dealings should deny him. At this moment and others, Trimalchio crosses all sorts of boundaries of social

etiquette, making his social ambitions seem all the more ridiculous. At the same time, Petronius reasserts the rules of propriety by reminding readers that wealth alone – and, by extension, a man’s house – cannot determine a man’s social standing: birth, class, and culture count.⁵ As Vitruvius advises his readers, the rooms and the house as a whole should properly reflect the social standing of the head of house and his family (6.5). With this notion in mind, scholars look at the remains of Roman houses to determine whether any given house belonged to an owner of rank or whether an owner might have inflated his standing through the manipulation of domestic architecture and decoration, much like Petronius’s Trimalchio.⁶

In addition, Vitruvius considers the correct proportions of the principal rooms of a house: the atrium, tablinum, peristyle, and dining rooms, among others. Ideally, all of these spaces should be symmetrical and exposed properly to take into account the light and heat of the sun (6.3–4). Summer dining rooms, for example, should face north so that they are not exposed to the sun’s course in the hottest months of the year, thus making the rooms “healthy and pleasant” (6.4.2). One could argue that his prescriptions are about control – control over the natural terrain and nature’s elements – in order to create harmonious proportion, symmetry, and suitable living spaces. The owner of the house is ultimately charged with asserting this control. Moreover, Vitruvius exercises power through silencing. Spaces used primarily by others than the owner are notably absent from the text.⁷ Slaves do not have an explicit place in Vitruvius’s discussion.⁸

Yet slaves figured as part of the domestic landscape, as Roman literature, law, and epitaphs make clear.⁹ When we see these slaves, they are identified by their tasks, by what they do, or by their place: the doorkeeper (*ostiarius*), cook (*cocus*), meat carver (*structor*), hairdresser (*ornatrix*), attendant (*pedisequus*), bedchamber servant (*cubicularius*), provisioner (*cellarius*), litter bearer (*lecticarius*), child nurse (*nutrix*), child attendant (*paedagogus*), name caller (*nomenclator*), steward (*dispensator*), majordomo or servant who cleaned and maintained the house (*atriensis*), waiter (*ministrator*), kitchen gardener (*holitor*), ornamental gardener (*topiarius*). The list could go on. Suffice it to say, however, that domestic slaves were considered, in the mind-set of upper-class Romans and, arguably, of modern scholars as well, to be part of the furnishings of a house.¹⁰ As possessions, slaves were also part of an owner’s self-definition; as his property, their sheer numbers could enhance their owner’s status as commander of an army of slaves, each with his or her own area of specialty.¹¹

Visual representations of domestic slaves, typically in frescoes, survive in a few Pompeian houses.¹² When slaves figure in domestic art, it is important to bear two (obvious) points in mind. First, domestic slaves were not depicting themselves; rather, their owner commissioned images of servants that fit his own interests and perspective. Second, slaves tend not to be the protagonists in the imagery; rather, they form part of the scenery as anonymous props, in a way that seems analogous to the Roman practice of identifying slaves by task or place. In the banqueting scenes from room *g* of the House of the Chaste Lovers (IX.12.6–7), for example, attendants, servers, and music players are peripheral to the action but are nonetheless present as this was necessary for the smooth functioning of the dinner party.¹³ In the fresco on the east wall, a female attendant, shown smaller in scale than the banqueters, stands behind the couches and to the right as she fans a slumbering

individual (Plate I).¹⁴ Likewise, a male servant in the painting on the west wall literally plays a supporting role: he holds the right arm of a female banqueter and attempts to keep her upright (Plate II). A similar pattern of portraying slaves as facilitators of the main action can also be seen at the House of the Triclinium (V.2.4).¹⁵ In the banqueting scene from the north wall of dining room *r*, two servants frame the image: a female attendant, now barely visible, stands behind the couches at the left proffering a casket to the reclining woman; at the right, before the banqueting couch, stands a servant with a wine pitcher in his left hand and perhaps holding another in his right hand (Plate III). But in one image, from the east wall of the same dining room, slaves take center stage within the pictorial field. Here they more actively assist the banqueters, as if their appearance in the foreground necessitates their depiction in action rather than as waiting or assisting at the margins (Fig. 9). Three servants attend to two banqueters: one bends down to remove the shoe of a seated male, while another moves forward to offer him a cup of wine; to the right, a servant supports a vomiting banqueter. A fourth figure, a dark-skinned boy, is seated on the couch, next to an older male at the center. This boy is often identified as a slave boy and sex object; he assumes the more passive, and hence marginalized, presence of the slaves within the pictorial field.

Other types of slaves, such as bedchamber servants (*cubicularii*), appear in wall paintings, often in the background. Perhaps the most oft-cited image comes from the House of the Caeciliii (V.I.26) at Pompeii. In this intimate scene, the unequivocal subject is the coupling of a man and woman on a bed; a female servant is barely discernible behind them (Fig. 10). The slave is not doing anything in particular and is, in fact, ignored by the couple. However, in her elegant tunic, and with gold applied to her hairnet and armband, she seems to be present as a marker of her owner's status.¹⁶ Whether this image represents a reality – this owner adorned (some of) his servants in finery – or an ideal, it nonetheless depicts a servant as an extension of the owner. The fact that the *cubicularia* gazes out at the viewer calls our attention to the servant's presence even as her figure literally fades into the background, indicative of her subservient role.¹⁷

In essence, then, domestic slaves are represented in words and images as both visible and invisible. Slaves were omnipresent but described as having no place of their own in the Roman house.¹⁸ This condition is repeated in how scholars depict, and how tourists visit, houses. By way of an example, we begin with what scholars have assumed to be a “typical Roman house,” the House of the Menander (I.I0.4, 14–16) at Pompeii.¹⁹ In part what makes it seem typical is our ability to map what we know from various written sources about the ideals and activities within a house onto actual remains.²⁰ For instance, when scholars describe the morning ritual, the *salutatio*, it is the grand atrium and tablinum of this house that provide a large and clearly articulated space for imagining an atrium filled with clients waiting to conduct business with the *paterfamilias*, who stood in the tablinum, a slightly elevated space to augment his presence and importance (Figs. 11–12). Beyond the tablinum, the peristyle and its columns form a backdrop to frame the owner during the *salutatio*. Of the more private spaces, two receive special treatment in the secondary literature: the main dining room (18), the largest at Pompeii, and the bath complex (46–49) across the peristyle from the triclinium. Scholars frequently point out



9. Banquet scene with three slaves in front of the dining couches, House of the Triclinium (V.2.4), dining room 1, east wall, Pompeii, first century (MANN inv. 120029). *Photo: Michael Larvey (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

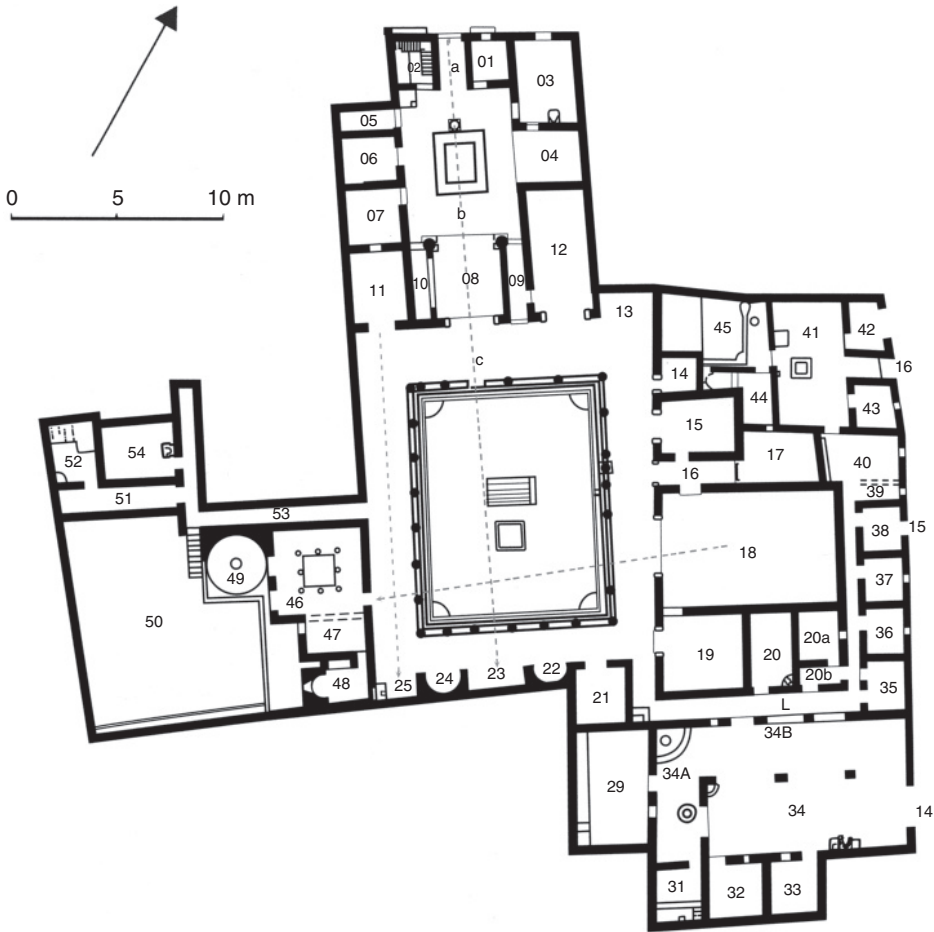
how the columns in front of the dining room have been carefully placed to give diners an unimpeded view of the garden beyond (Fig. 13).²¹ And the bath complex retains extensive frescoes and mosaic floors; one floor includes an image of a male bath attendant, literally underfoot as owner and guests walked on it to enter the heated room.²² Architecture, sight lines, plantings, and decoration have been meticulously scripted to project the social standing of the *paterfamilias* and to provide him and his guests with lavish surroundings and views.

The House of the Menander is also cited as one of the few examples in which we can see slave quarters and work areas; these spaces, too, are scripted, but with the intention of marking them as marginal and largely invisible to guests and inhabitants, with the exception of the slaves themselves. The entrance to the kitchen and its adjacent



10. Bedroom scene with slave attendant standing behind the couple, House of the Caecilii (V.I.26), peristyle, north wall, Pompeii, first century (MANN inv. 110569).
Photo: MANN neg. 5556 (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).

kitchen garden (and the so-called cellars beneath the baths) is accessed by a long, narrow, and dark passageway (53) on the west side of the peristyle (Fig. 14) (Ling 1997, 64, 92–95). Another long passageway (*L*) leads to the stable yard at the southeast corner of the house and to the staff quarters and storage rooms along the eastern side of the property. As Wallace-Hadrill observes, “The narrowness of the corridor further signals that this is not a reception area” (1994, 40). Clearly, the perspective adopted by Wallace-Hadrill, and he is certainly not alone, when describing the layout of the house and its decoration is that of the owner and his guests; these are the individuals – and not the slaves – who were to be dissuaded from entering these areas by various visual and architectural cues.



ii. Plan of the House of the Menander (I.10.4, 14–16) marked with the three primary visual axes of the owner, Pompeii. (After Allison 2004, fig. A.3.)

Tourists attempting to enter these two service spaces today are confronted with a similar situation. Access to these areas is through a locked door; custodians must be present to open the gate (see Fig. 14).²³ This is not because these spaces preserve precious frescoes or mosaic floors in need of protection from the throngs of visitors to Pompeii, as is the case with many houses. Rather, a constellation of factors seems to lie behind the securing of these corridors. The poor state of preservation necessitates certain safety precautions, especially for the kitchen and its garden area (the stairs leading to the lower garden and “cellars” are not intact). Another factor could be a perceived absence of public interest in such spaces, as they lack the grand decoration that visitors expect to see; these spaces are not the stuff of guidebooks (and have thus been left to the natural elements). And because these spaces are hidden from view by an original design that tucked them away, they are now difficult to guard. Locking the passages to these spaces provides a ready fix. Finally,



12. View from the entrance to the peristyle, House of the Menander (I.10.4, 14–16), Pompeii. *Photo: Stephen Petersen (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



13. View from the large dining room 18 to the garden, House of the Menander (I.10.4, 14–16), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



14. Service corridor 53, view from the west looking toward the peristyle, House of the Menander (I.10.4, 14–16), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

there is continuity between the past and the present. Some service spaces in Pompeian houses function today as storage spaces. For example, room 44 in the staff quarters at the House of the Menander served in antiquity as a kitchen and storeroom and possibly a latrine (Fig. 15) (Ling 1997, 118, 319–20). Today, it is filled with artifacts from excavations and largely inaccessible. The point is that these service areas remain marginalized and largely invisible to modern visitors – both silencing and making disappear the slaves that worked in them.

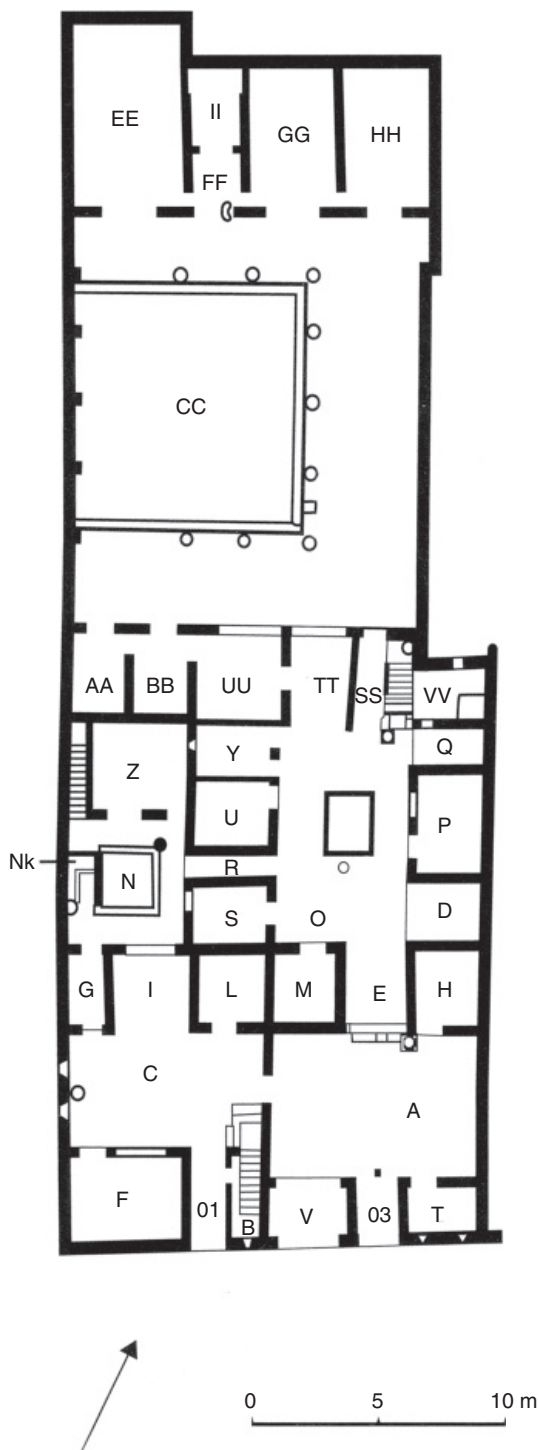
Indeed, modern scholars often repeat ancient silences. They recite Vitruvius, Petronius, and Cicero in discussions of Roman houses and look for what is already present – the slaveholder’s intent. Archaeology along the Bay of Naples began as a treasure hunt.²⁴ And in many cases it continues to privilege paintings, mosaics, sculptures, jewelry, and silver, among other items perceived to have high value in terms of both monetary worth and



15. Storage in room 44, House of the Menander (I.10.4, 14–16), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

historical significance. Cooktops, utensils, pots and pans, and objects from kitchen shrines are, for the most part, long gone or stashed in a storage room, and their find spots left largely unrecorded.²⁵ In selecting what to preserve based mainly on priorities inherited from the ancient tradition, scholars have generally written slaves out of the material record. Indeed, how often have we heard “the archaeological evidence for them [slaves] in the Roman house is rare”²⁶ or some other such statement being deployed to justify, perhaps unwittingly, scholarly persistence in repeating master narratives?

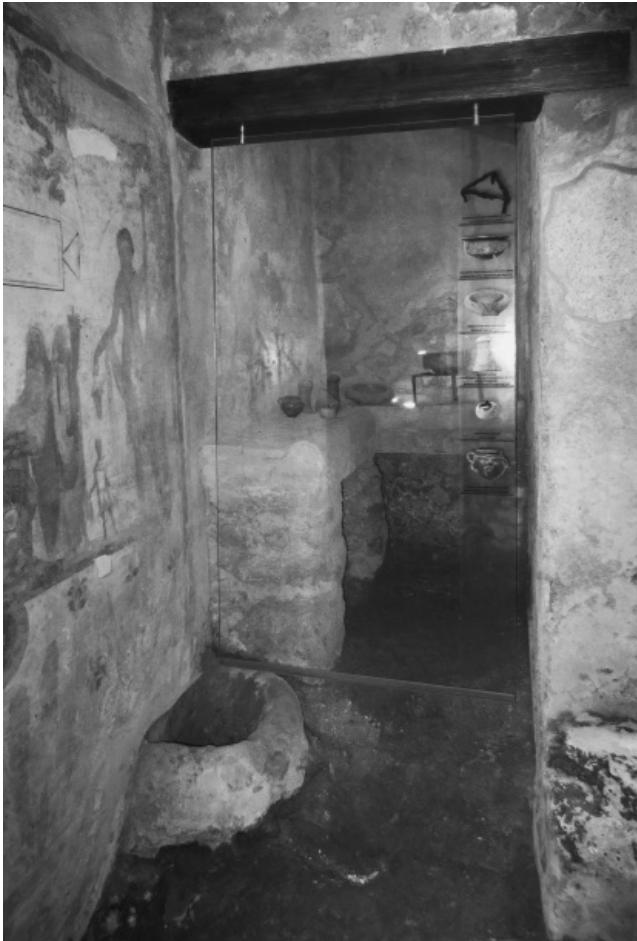
Important recent work on the material culture of Pompeian houses, along with new studies that look at Rome’s richly textured past, has made domestic space come alive.²⁷ It is refreshing to witness, for example, the domestic environment re-created at the House of Julius Polybius (IX.13.1–3) at Pompeii (Fig. 16). Visitors to the house are greeted by a projection of the owner, who stands appropriately near the tablinum *TT* (the projection is from room *Q*). Modern re-creations of banqueting couches in dining room *EE* animate the luxury of the dinner party and invite the visitor to assume the persona of a Roman guest (Fig. 17). The service courtyard, with its preserved small cooktop, and a collection of cooking utensils evoke the places and lives of slaves, if only for a moment, as one moves through the house (Fig. 18). However, such attempts to re-create whole environments risk fixing slaves in the Roman house on the margins and in the service areas, even though we *know* that slaves were omnipresent in houses.²⁸ The situation becomes more challenging with modest-sized residences, where segregating spaces was simply not an option. Slaves were more readily integrated into the domestic landscape of smaller houses, making them paradoxically more difficult to find from an archaeological perspective. Even so, the issue is not only a matter of inserting slaves into designated places but also one of thinking more expansively and imaginatively about their presences and actions within the built environment imposed on them.



16. Plan of the House of Julius Polybius (IX.13.1-3), Pompeii. (After Allison 2004, fig. A.1.)



17. Banquet couches set up in dining room *EE*, House of Julius Polybius (IX.13.1-3), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



18. Kitchen (*Nk*) with cooktop, House of Julius Polybius (IX.13.1-3), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

SLAVE CHOREOGRAPHY AT THE BANQUET

Roman literature and law indicate that owners tried to control the movement of slaves inside the house. Slaveholders had a vested interest in scripting the movements of servants so as to make them both visible and invisible. On the one hand, owner and guests were supposed to *see* the ministrations of domestic servants as a complement to the elegance of the dwelling's decoration. On the other hand, slaves were supposed to go about their work, including their time spent waiting around, unobtrusively – a part of the scenery until called out to some task.²⁹ In the literary topos of the banquet we see Roman domestic servants most vividly in our ancient sources.³⁰ The dinner party was the opportunity par excellence for the house owner to project and control his public persona before his peers and subordinates. He not only contrived the material world of architecture, views, and objects and the sensorial world of entertainment, but he also staged the biological moments of eating and drinking, and even eliminating. In fact, the dinner party appears again and again in literature as an event where things could go exceedingly well or poorly for the host in his attempt at self-definition.³¹ And slaves were necessary for and integral to the smooth functioning of the event. According to John D'Arms, they were “the human props essential to the support of upper-class convivial comforts” (1991, 171).

Trimalchio's dinner party in Petronius's *Satyrice* is the most famous depiction of a banquet. Although this episode is satirical and filled with hyperbole, it nonetheless portrays themes that recur in other written sources, suggesting that it represents upper-class concerns more generally. It is cited so often in the secondary literature that it warrants another look here with an exclusive focus on questions about slaves' presence and actions. At the beginning of the evening, as Trimalchio's guests arrive, they encounter a number of slaves as they enter the house and settle in the dining room: the doorkeeper (*ostiarius*), who is shelling peas (28.8); an attendant (*atriensis*) near the biographical frescoes (29.9); a slave boy stationed at the entrance to the dining room (30.5); a slave who is about to be whipped for letting someone steal the clothing of an accountant at the bath and the accountant himself (*dispensator*) (30.7–11); slaves from Alexandria assigned to wash the banqueters' hands (31.3); singing slaves offering pedicures (31.4); a slave bringing a game board to Trimalchio as he is seated (33.2); and two slaves retrieving eggs from a peahen's nest (33.4). Petronius puts these slaves in the foreground of his account of the arrival of the guests and beginning of the party, but they are only a few of the many slaves who populate these early scenes.

There are also invisible slaves – invisible as far as Petronius's literary devices go. The sign at the entrance to Trimalchio's house threatens with one hundred lashes any slave, but no slave in particular, who leaves without the owner's permission (28.7). And there are also those slaves whose actions are understood only through the author's use of the passive voice: the hors d'oeuvres were served (31.8), Trimalchio was carried in (32.1), and a tray (of food) was brought in (33.3). Slaves, though not identified explicitly, are the implied agents of these actions. The slaves themselves seem unimportant compared to the named things that they act upon – hors d'oeuvres, Trimalchio, a tray of food. Finally, there are

those slaves who are eclipsed from the narrative discourse entirely: the cooks who prepared the dishes served on the Corinthian bronze donkey (31.9–11), the musicians who herald Trimalchio's arrival (32.1), and so on. Here and elsewhere in Petronius's account, such slaves' presence is not even implied through the use of the passive voice. Rather, the effects of their work, food and trumpet sounds, in shaping their owner's status are illustrated in these passages.

Petronius's Trimalchio owns a veritable army of slaves, visible and invisible, and the dizzying confrontations with slaves witnessed in the opening scenes (28–33) persist throughout the remainder of the story. D'Arms counts no fewer than thirty-five separate entrances of slaves performing highly specialized tasks at Trimalchio's dinner party (1991, 173). Other Roman authors perhaps exaggerate when they claim that slaves in attendance at banquets could actually outnumber diners.³² But Seneca's terms for the number of slaves kept busy to humor a single belly are telling: flocks (*greges*); troops (*agmina*); and crowds (*turbae*) (*Moral Letters* 95.24).

D'Arms has categorized slaves at the dinner party into three broad groups based on function: supervisory duties, gatekeeping, and guest control; food service; and wine staff duties (1991, 172). To these we should add personal attendants who, in other accounts, assist their owners. Martial ridicules the use of such servants in his depiction of a wealthy host attended by a youth holding feathers and toothpicks, a concubine holding a fan, a boy carrying a flyswatter, a masseuse, and a eunuch to bring the chamber pot (3.82). Slave specialization was a sign of an owner's status, and the opposite, a slave performing more than one household function, was considered, at least for the elite, "déclassé" (Saller 1987, 71).³³ In a highly charged speech, Cicero claims that the senator Lucius Calpurnius Piso was so stingy that his cook and majordomo (*atriensis*) were one and the same (*Piso* 67). Ideally, slaves in an elite, wealthy household were supposed to focus on one type of task, but in more typical Roman households the slaves were expected to cover more ground.³⁴ Trimalchio's organization of his army of slaves into *decuriae* (divisions) of different job-holders indicates his exaggerated attempt to organize his domestic staff through specialization. Yet despite his wealth and social pretenses, the freedman's assignment of proper slave tasks is decidedly off: the doorkeeper shells peas; a litter bearer sweeps up a broken dish and other debris (34.3). And this mismatch of task and job title is perhaps all the more jarring because Petronius's Trimalchio seems not to notice.

Roman authors, in fact, seem obsessively concerned with slaves at banquets – their numbers, appearance and dress, gestures and movements – along with the petty details of the meal, as all these "things" served as external signs of the wealth and prestige of their owner.³⁵ Satire comments on the outrageous efforts of hosts to secure their standing, as well as on their laughable failures.³⁶ Borrowing the point of view of a critical guest, Horace ridicules both the extremes to which a rich host would go and the anxieties that resulted (*Satires* 2.8):

It's the condition of living! Rewards are never equal to the efforts to attain them!
You, for instance, are racked, torn limb from limb by anxieties of every imaginable
sort: Will the toast be burnt? Will the sauce be served up ill-seasoned? Will the

slaves be dressed all right, all of them, neatly turned out to serve, just so that I may be lavishly looked after? It's a fete worse than death! Think of the risks, the canopy slipping, the way it just did; or a dumb slave loses his footing, and a dish goes crash! But the host plays a role like the general's: When things go wrong, his genius comes most into play; when the going is smooth, you'd never know he had any. (*Satires* 2.8.65–74; trans. S. P. Bovie)

Despite all the servants in attendance and the sumptuous courses served, the hosts in Horace and Petronius fall short: their choreography of the meal is filled with bungles and missteps, and their guests are more than eager to flee the scene. The rich man showing off at dinner is also a favorite target for the moralist and moral discourse. Seneca offers lavish details about those who derive their sense of importance from spending on food, dishes, furniture, and slaves.³⁷ Whatever the genre, such texts highlight a key aspect of masterly strategy: how the host manages “things,” animate and inanimate, at the banquet reveals his ability to control his domain.

From the owners' perspective, the stakes in slaves' performance of a task to perfection were extremely high, especially with specialized slaves such as cooks, bakers, carvers, and wine waiters.³⁸ In literature, carving and cooking are viewed as arts that take training and skill. Carving is often depicted as elaborately scripted (Juvenal 5.120, 11.136; Seneca, *Moral Letters* 47.6 and *On the Shortness of Life* 12.5).³⁹ Martial would have a cook adopt his owner's sense of taste, literally have his “gullet”: “Art alone is not enough for a cook; I would not want him to not have the palate (*palatum*) of a slave: a cook should have the taste (*gulam*) of his master” (14.220).⁴⁰ That these highly trained slaves were subject to their owners' judgments and whims is dramatized in the *Satyrica*. When one of Trimalchio's cooks serves a pig that seems not to be gutted properly (49), Trimalchio at first condemns the cook to a whipping.⁴¹ Yet even this threat belongs to a scripted performance, for once the cook opens the pig and prepared foodstuff pours out, Trimalchio rewards him with a silver crown and a drink served on a Corinthian bronze platter.

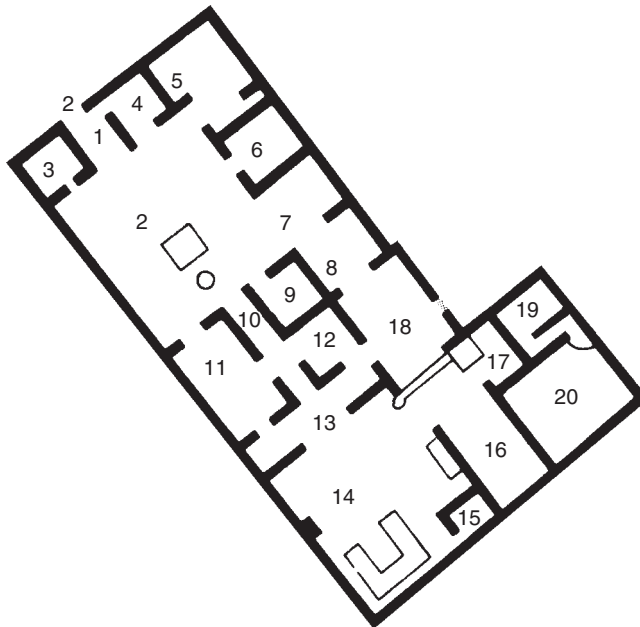
Moral tract and satire instance the multiple uses of slave servants in owners' dining strategies: slaves appear in the scripting of service and the guests' experience, as devices for the control of guests, and as decorative props. Choreography lay at the heart of the banquet; the host's ability to stage and time the spectacle by deploying his slaves was critical to his display.⁴² As a result, slaves were expected to read accurately the owner's signals, both his words and his gestures. Seneca criticizes men who worried about the speed of slave boys running to perform their assigned tasks on time and bakers and waiters scurrying to carry in the courses at the given signal (*On the Shortness of Life* 12.5 and *Moral Letters* 95.24).⁴³ Not surprisingly, in Trimalchio's domain the host choreographs his slaves to choreograph the guests. As Trimalchio's guests enter the dining room, the slave boy positioned at its entrance commands, “*Dextro pede*” (right foot first) (30.5). Whether this command points to Trimalchio's superstition that the left was unlucky or is an attempt to control his guests using a slave does not matter; the slave instructs the guests on how to move through the house. Slaves could also be deployed to degrade a client. Juvenal imagines the denigration of a client when the patron assigns him unattractive waiters,

whereas the patron's waiter is the flower of Asia (5.51ff.). Martial complains that a beloved wine pourer became a cook, his beauty now marred by kitchen soot and his hair polluted by greasy flames (10.66). Martial questions the reasons for a change that means, for him, that the sight of the beautiful boy is taken away (and so, too, the opportunity for touching and fondling the boy).

SLAVES ON THE MOVE IN THE MATERIAL WORLD OF THE BANQUET

Architectural design also scripted the movements of slaves within the house to accommodate the needs and desires of the owner for visible and invisible servants. The aim here is to map the slaveholders' concerns onto the remains of different houses to explore how slaves might have negotiated the constructed landscape. We intend to be suggestive rather than exhaustive in thinking about slaves and slave activity in the Roman house. Most houses that we consider here are much smaller than the House of the Menander or the House of Julius Polybius, but they nonetheless offer examples of how we might see the architectural attempt to control slave movement. In this regard, we can see points of intersection between the thought world of literature and the archaeological remains of the built environment and thus begin to construct the material life of the slaves within houses.

The House of Sutoria Primigenia (I.13.2) at Pompeii, located on the busy Via dell'Abbondanza, is a relatively modest dwelling (Fig. 19).⁴⁴ In part because of its size, the



19. Plan of the House of Sutoria Primigenia (I.13.2), Pompeii. (After Clarke 2003, fig. 38.)

house does not have discrete staff quarters to the degree that the House of the Menander does. There was therefore no easy place to marginalize the slaves within the house except for the kitchen (17), and possibly the surrounding area at the back of the house (rooms 16, 19, and 20), which seems to have been a work and storage area.⁴⁵ In this house, the staff, surely smaller in number than at the House of the Menander, perhaps was more integrated within its spaces as compared to larger residences. That said, this house is also outfitted with a feature not always identifiable in Campanian houses – a doorkeeper’s lodge (4) at the entrance. The doorkeeper (*ostiarius*), often a slave himself, patrolled access in and out of the house’s only entrance.⁴⁶ His very job invested him with a certain amount of the owner’s trust and a place of his own.⁴⁷ Some writers thought that doorkeepers wielded too much control, and they became the source of frustration and anger when they challenged free callers at the front door (Seneca, *On Anger* 3.37.2). The doorkeeper was, in fact, the first of several slaves that visitors and guests encountered – the first agent in realizing the owner’s choreography.

Both textual and material evidence disempower the doorkeeper by associating them with guard dogs. Seneca explicitly compares the two – the former placated by a tip, the latter by food (*On Anger* 3.37.2 and *On Firmness* 14.2).⁴⁸ Both were or could be chained: indeed, the nature of the job made the human doorkeeper relatively constrained within a specific place (Ovid, *Amores* 1.6.1–2). Writing from a different perspective than Seneca’s, Phaedrus, the freed fabulist, makes clear that whatever seeming power the slave exercised over callers, in fact he was only an agent at the beck and call of his owner, who may offer him a “bone” or goodie but keeps him tied down even as he patrols the movement of others (3.7). Pompeian floor mosaics depicting dogs, often chained, are found only at the entrance halls (fauces) of houses.⁴⁹ Located near, and in some cases in place of, a doorkeeper’s room, such mosaics suggest the elision of slave and dog. The inscription “beware of the dog” (*cave canem*) at one such house might indicate that a dog, even if only pictured, could prevent a visitor’s entrance, much as a doorkeeper could (Fig. 20). Indeed, Trimalchio has a painting of “a huge dog straining at his leash” at the entrance to his house, under which is scrawled “*cave canem*” (Petronius 29.1–2). Although Trimalchio’s house has a doorkeeper’s lodge and an *ostiarius*, the latter is too distracted shelling peas to perform his task, so the dog does it for him, or at least the painted dog terrifies Encolpius, the novel’s narrator.⁵⁰

A human doorkeeper did more than patrol visitors’ access to the house. Whereas mosaic dogs look outward, the human guard faces both the world outside the house and the domestic scene inside. At the House of Sutoria Primigenia, the doorkeeper’s lodge (4) has two doorways: one to the entrance, the other to the atrium (see Fig. 19). The doorkeeper could guard the entrance to the house and had limited visual access to many of the activities within the house, including slave activities, as heavy slave traffic would have occurred along the east–west axis at the back of the house, where the kitchen (17) and reception areas (11 and 14) are located, and along the north–south axis that leads from the front to the back of the house. Given the relatively modest size of the house, the doorkeeper likely also had aural access to the activities within. Slaves were thus under the surveillance not only of the slaveholder but also of one of their own as they performed their daily duties.



20. Beware-of-the-dog mosaic at the entrance to the House of the Tragic Poet (VI.8.5), Pompeii. *Photo: Scala / Art Resource, NY, ART56973.*

The House of Sutoria Primigenia is rather compact, and servants must have quickly grasped the layout and its implications for surveillance. Even so, slave choreography for entertaining was articulated in part through architectural design.⁵¹ The dramatic differences in the heights of the doorways throughout the house played a critical but often overlooked role in the scripting of movement within the house.⁵² Standing in the atrium and looking toward the back of the house, one sees that there are tall doorways and short ones (here and elsewhere, we resist providing exact measurements for the heights of the doors; rather, we propose that what is important is to be able to see the relative differences) (Fig. 21). The tall doorways appear at the entrances to rooms 7 and 9 from the atrium and to corridor 10. The heights of these taller doorways roughly correspond to that of the large window frame of room 11 that opens to the atrium.⁵³ The taller doorways at rooms 7 and 9 lead to what are generally characterized as reception spaces, while 10 leads to the main entrance of room 11 and to the back garden, a reception area (14) with a summer triclinium and masonry furnishings (Fig. 22).

A doorway of notably lower height leads to room 8, which was a small room decorated in a simple Second Style and with a barrel vault.⁵⁴ Room 8 connects by another low door to 18, which must have functioned as some type of hall (the doorway on the south side of this



21. View of doorways at the southeast corner of the atrium, House of Sutoria Primigenia (I.13.2), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



22. Dining couches in the garden (with a niche above for a statuette of Minerva), House of Sutoria Primigenia (I.13.2), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

room was filled in at some point, thus closing off its direct access to 17).⁵⁵ The low entrance to 8 is much less inviting than the other doorways, perhaps indicating its use as a passageway from 8 to 18 (and once 18 to 17). It would seem that whereas guests were discouraged from moving through these physically limiting doorways, slaves likely were encouraged to use the rooms as passageways, akin to what has been observed with the narrow passageways in the House of the Menander.⁵⁶ The lower doorways may have served as the primary conduits for slave traffic to and from the service areas (the kitchen at 17 and annex area 19 and 20),⁵⁷ albeit around a jog through peristyle 13 (with access between 18 and 17 closed). This path would have mitigated the interference of slaves' activities with the house owner and guests moving from the atrium to the garden area, or with visual access to the garden area for someone standing in the atrium or passing by the house and looking in.

The architectural choreography of movement is particularly evident in the design of the access points to reception room II, which has more than one entrance (Fig. 23). The taller and wider entrance provided the grand, visual access to the garden and physical entry to the reception space itself for the slaveholder and guests; the other entrance, at the east side of the room, is shorter and narrower, and it seems to have functioned as an unobtrusive side door for service, making slaves seem invisible.⁵⁸ This side door could link the kitchen with the room when it was used for dining, but without the “visual clutter” of slaves and



23. Doors to reception room II, House of Sutoria Primigenia (I.13.2), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



24. Lararium painting in the kitchen (17), House of Sutoria Primigenia (I.13.2), Pompeii. Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).

slave activity interrupting the view to the garden. For the slaves in this house it meant a relatively direct path from the kitchen to dining room 11 (and even more so to the summer triclinium). But the task of carrying plates and trays of foodstuffs must have been all the more challenging because of the narrow and short passageway to room 11 with the risk of bumping plates and trays into the door frame, or possibly one's head above.

A unique painting in the kitchen of this house provides an instructive comparison with the varying heights of doorways for slaves and slaveholders.⁵⁹ In this image, the *Genius* and *Juno* of the house (the *paterfamilias* and his wife), along with other members of the family, prepare for a sacrifice (Fig. 24). Except for the two oversized lares (household deities) on either side of the family group, the husband and wife are the largest figures, both in height and in the width of their faces, which are framed by a toga pulled over the head (for the *paterfamilias*) and by a *stola* (for the wife). They stand closest to the altar, along with the double oboe (*tibia*) player. The thirteen individuals on the right side of the *paterfamilias* and his wife are dressed in simple tunics; all make the same gesture, with the right arm crossing the chest. The individuals in the front row are the shortest of the group and likely represent the slaves of the household and other dependents of lower standing (typically in Roman art, hierarchy of size illustrates status – the taller or larger the figure, the higher the status).⁶⁰ The household slaves confronted these painted slaves on a daily basis, as they

prepared meals on the cooktop along the adjacent wall and effected rituals at the niche between the cooktop and the family in the picture. It would seem that the social hierarchy of size in the pictorial arts mirrors and reinforces the architectural inscription of status articulated by the heights of doors.

This architectural pattern is recognizable in other houses at Pompeii and Herculaneum, and somewhat at Ostia, although there are exceptions to be sure. We would expect this type of articulation for service choreography within larger houses, where the stakes for entertaining well, from the perspective of the owner, were especially acute. Indeed, at the aforementioned large House of Julius Polybius, it is striking how closely the suite of reception rooms at the back of the house follows this general pattern (see Fig. 16).⁶¹ The main doorways to rooms *EE*, *FF*, *GG*, and *HH*, which open directly on the peristyle, are much taller than the auxiliary entrances between *GG* and *HH*, *FF* and *GG*, and *EE* and *FF* (the passageway connecting *EE* and *FF* stands out as the tallest of the three auxiliary entrances but is still shorter than the main entrances) (Fig. 25). The same holds true for rooms *AA* and *BB* across the peristyle; access to each of these rooms is granted through a passageway that by comparison seems shorter than their counterparts across the way, suggesting that these were rooms not for banqueting and entertaining but for more intimate gatherings among the free members of the household. Still, the side door connecting this suite of rooms is relatively shorter and narrower than those giving access to the peristyle (Fig. 26).

In the House of Julius Polybius, slaves carting foodstuff and braziers for cooking table side walked an indirect path to the reception area: from the tiny kitchen at *Nk*, through the narrow passage at *R*, a turn to the left and up through *TT*. Service in rooms *EE* and *GG* permitted the slaves to move discretely or “invisibly” along the eastern side of the peristyle, arriving at *HH* or *FF* for service to the respective triclinia *GG* and *EE*, or entering visibly



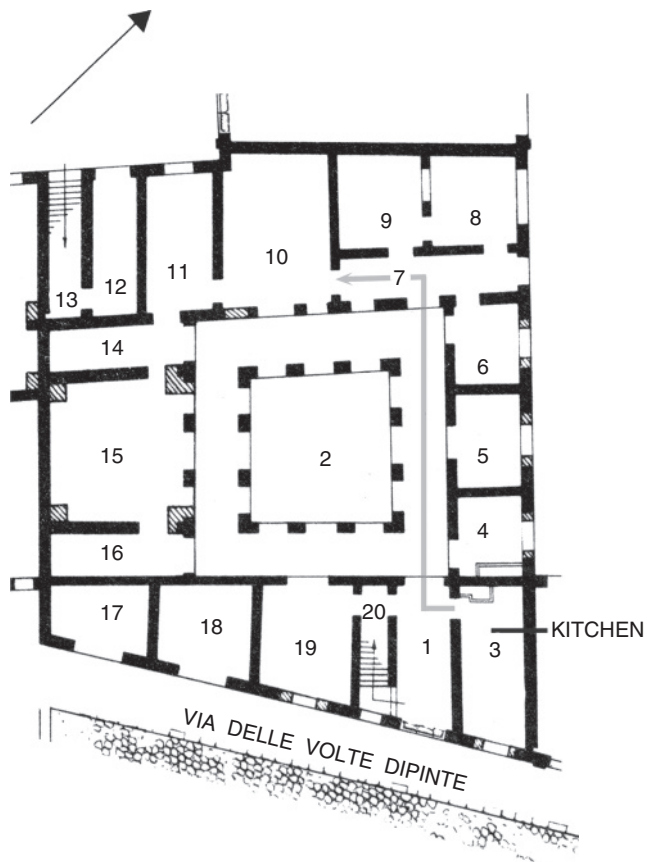
25. Doorways to rooms *FF* (left) and *GG* (right), with a service door connecting the rooms, House of Julius Polybius (IX.13.1-3), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



26. Doorways to rooms *BB* (left) and *AA* (right), with a service door connecting the rooms, House of Julius Polybius (IX.13.1–3), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

through the main doorways to *GG* and *EE*. Staff serving diners in *HH*, however, must have been on constant display and under surveillance as they moved to and from the kitchen to arrive at *HH*, or as they stood discretely at the side entrance to *HH*. In any case, service to the back of the house posed challenges for slaves. The path was not direct, and it covered a distance (even more challenging when carrying items for service). At times slaves were monitored closely and at other times less so, depending on where dining took place. And slaves on the move were not always within earshot of the owner (especially when there was entertainment): slaves might have missed a verbal command (or a gesture) and risked punishment.

Later in date, the House of the Muses (III.9.22) at Ostia (c. 128 CE) preserves a similar pattern of articulation of door heights, despite having a radically different plan from its counterparts along the Bay of Naples (Fig. 27). This house, among others in the city, does not have the typical Pompeian sequence of atrium, tablinum, and peristyle. Rather, the layout of this house is centralized around a majestic courtyard. The kitchen (3) is located along the east side of the long entrance hall, right before one enters a covered walkway around the courtyard. The kitchen is distinguished by both its marginal position in the house and the low height of its doorway relative to others (Fig. 28). Nonetheless, because of the centralized plan, service to diners in room 10, for instance, would have been a straightforward endeavor for the slaves, who simply walked to the northern section of the courtyard to arrive at corridor or anteroom 7 before entering the dining room. The shorter doorway connecting room 7 to 10 signals its inferior status compared to the taller opening leading from room 10 to a view of the well-lit courtyard (Fig. 29). Even with the centralized floor plan of this house, door heights helped to script slave movements to effect the owner's desire for a well-choreographed banquet in a more compact space.



27. Plan of the House of the Muses (III.9.22) marked with slave route from the kitchen to dining room 10, Ostia, second century. (Plan only after Calza 1953, tav. 6.)

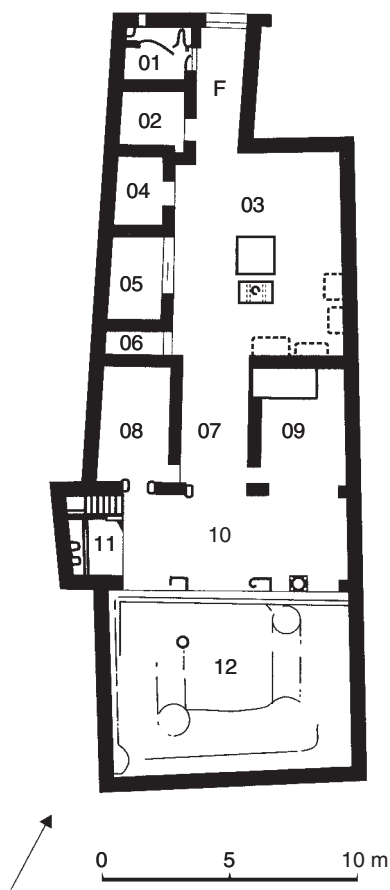


28. Door to the kitchen (3), at right, from the house entrance toward the central peristyle, House of the Muses (III.9.22), Ostia. Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma).



29. Doors of dining room 10, looking out to the peristyle, House of the Muses (III.9.22), Ostia. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma).*

Architectural choreography is to be expected in larger residences. Since it also persists in smaller residences, like the House of Sutoria Primigenia, one could argue that movement within the house was limited by the space available, and so all the more reason to create paths for the orchestration of servants. Sometimes, however, the results were imperfect or unnecessary. At the House of the Smith (I.10.7) at Pompeii, a modest-sized dwelling, the owner had at least one interior dining area (9) and an outdoor dining space in the garden at 12 (Fig. 30).⁶² A third room, 8, may have also been used for dining in the house's late phase.⁶³ Access to 9 was achieved through two passageways: one facing the garden, the taller and wider of the two doorways, and a side entrance from tablinum 7 (Fig. 31).⁶⁴ (The same pattern holds for room 8.) For the slaves preparing a meal in the kitchen (11), which was closed off from portico 10 by a cheaply constructed partition, service would have been easy to negotiate (Foss 1994, 299) (Fig. 32). Passage from the kitchen to the diners in room 8 or 9 meant that slaves undertook a quick jaunt through the doorway connecting 10 and 7 to the side doors of the dining rooms. Service to the outdoor dining area would have been even more direct, as there was fluid access from the kitchen to the garden. If room 8 was in fact used for entertaining, slaves traversing 10 to access the side door to 8 from 7 must have caused a visual distraction for the owner and his guests. The same could be said for diners in the garden area; the proximity of the kitchen meant the proximity of slaves. The noise, smell, and commotion of preparing a meal were additional distractions. Slaves had a palpable presence in this house, which meant that they were likely under the watchful gaze of their owner and expected to be on the ready to serve.



30. Plan of the House of the Smith (I.10.7), Pompeii. (After Allison 2004, fig. A.4.)



31. Doorways to room 9, seen from the kitchen area, House of the Smith (I.10.7), Pompeii. Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).

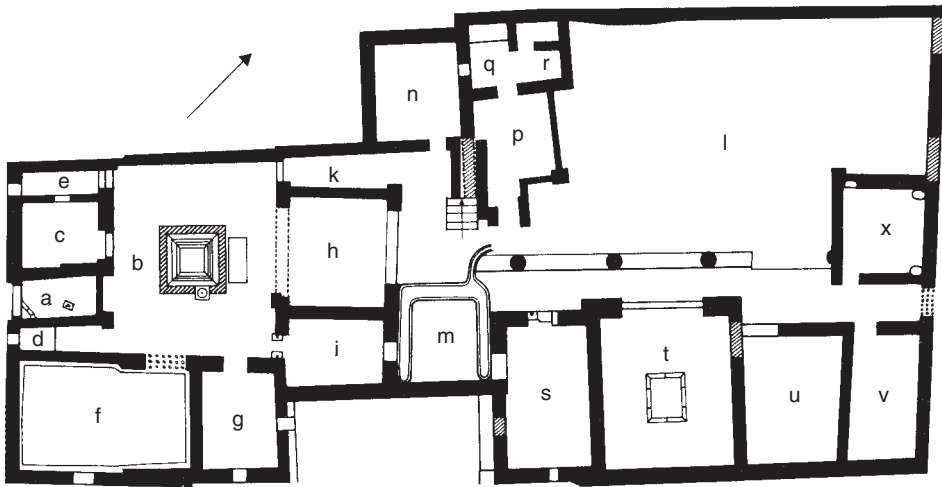


32. Kitchen, House of the Smith (I.10.7), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

A different situation existed at the House of Lucretius Fronto (V.4.a) at Pompeii, a house best known for its manipulation of architecture and exquisite Third-Style frescoes (Fig. 33).⁶⁵ In the reception area facing the garden, the varying heights of doorways do less to script movement to and from the dining rooms than to differentiate rooms for reception from utilitarian workspaces. Triclinium *t* has only one point of entry. Its wide and high doorway provided guests with an unimpeded view of the garden and the extensive fresco of a wild-animal park on its north wall (Fig. 34). Room *s* also has a relatively tall doorway, but it is neither as wide nor as tall as that belonging to room *t*, perhaps signaling its function as a more private reception space. These two rooms stand in contrast to those at the back of the house, rooms *u*, *v*, and *x*. Notably, rooms *u* and *v* are hidden from view, as they are set back from the triclinium (Fig. 35); moreover, the shorter doorways of all three in comparison to those of *s* and *t* perhaps indicate the utilitarian nature of these spaces. That said, the primary preparations for the banquet took place in another area altogether – in the cluster of rooms, *p*, *q*, and *r*, somewhat segregated from the rest of the house by a corridor although occupying its very center. Service at this house would have been uncomplicated, as a walk out of *p* and to the triclinium was relatively direct and could be achieved without interrupting the diners' view of the garden and its painting. Service staff meant to be invisible could wait unobtrusively outside of *t* (at the west), or even at the entrance to *p*, and still be in earshot of the host. Entry through the single doorway to the dining room would have been granted at the command of the owner.

Two smaller houses will also serve as examples of how the choreography of movement could be inscribed through architectural design. At the House of the Ceii (I.6.15) at

0 5 10 m



33. Plan of the House of Lucretius Fronto (V.4.a), Pompeii. (After Clarke, 1991, fig. 69.)

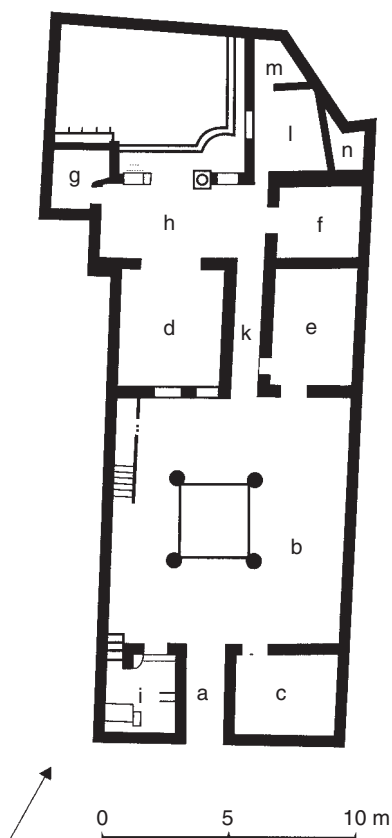


34. Garden and animal-park fresco, House of Lucretius Fronto (V.4.a), Pompeii. Photo: Stephen Petersen (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).

Pompeii, across the street from the House of the Menander, the area for food preparation appears to have been moved from the back of the house at *l*, *m*, and *n* to room *i* at the front of the house, which originally functioned as a bedroom (Fig. 36). At this time, the kitchen was outfitted with fixed masonry facilities.⁶⁶ Pedar Foss has hypothesized that the transfer of the cooking area from the back to the front of the house may have



35. Doorways to rooms *v*, *u*, and *t* (left to right), House of Lucretius Fronto (V.4.a), Pompeii. Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).



36. Plan of the House of the Ceii (I.6.15), Pompeii. (After Allison 2004, fig. A.14.)

been a response to “the installation and subsequent fumes of the work-basins of the *fullonica* [of Stephanus] (I.6.7) immediately to the N [that] made the space uncomfortable for food preparation” (1994, 240). This scenario hardly seems plausible, as latrines and kitchens are often linked in Roman houses.⁶⁷ Perhaps a better explanation can be found in the motivation of the house owner. Mariette de Vos notes that the owner refurbished the house in the 70s, when he may have been running for office. His political ambitions may have translated into a need to entertain, hence a reshaped and redecorated house (1990, 408). Prior to the renovation, the primary dining room of the house, located at *d*, faced the service area – a situation that might not have been ideal. The later placement of the kitchen at the front of the house put the food preparation behind the banqueters and largely out of sight, or at least not competing with the view to the garden.⁶⁸

It is also important to think about what these changes meant for slaves besides a longer walk to the dining rooms. Prior to its conversion to a kitchen, room *i*, with its pendant room *c* across the entrance hall (*fauces*), was level with the atrium.⁶⁹ The installation of the latrine (and stairs) in the southwest corner of *i* may have necessitated lowering the room’s floor, which now measures about .40 m below the atrium floor (Fig. 37) (Foss 1994, 239). Slaves then had to negotiate two steps up while carrying trays of food and other accoutrements to serve the owner and his guests. And, as would be expected, the doorway that connects the kitchen and latrine area to the atrium is relatively short, especially when compared to the door to room *c* across the *fauces* (Fig. 38). Service to dining room *e* could also be approached by the markedly shorter side entrance to the



37. View down into room *i*, with kitchen cooktop (*left*) and latrine (*right*), House of the Ceii (I.6.15), Pompeii. Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).



38. View to the kitchen and latrine area (low doorway at right) from the atrium, House of the Ceii (I.6.15), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

room, with the staff moving from the kitchen along the western side of the atrium through corridor *k* to *e*. Room *d* likely functioned as both a tablinum and a triclinium and does not have such an articulation of the doorways. The north doorway that faces the garden is wide and tall. The passageway connecting room *d* with the atrium is reconstructed as tall, matching the height of the doorways to *k* and *e* (Fig. 39). Since this space was a reception room in both the morning (for the *salutatio*) and the evening (for the dinner party), the height of the door makes sense, as clients and guests could have been ushered into this space directly from the atrium. But this passageway also could have served as the entryway for slaves during the banquet, making them largely invisible as they approached from behind the guests, who would then have an unobstructed view of the small garden and its frescoes. The accommodation of guests required more effort by slaves, with the additional two steps that led to room *d* posing yet another set of potential physical challenges for the service staff. Slaves, when serving in *d*, were constantly stepping up to serve the owner and then back down to their workspaces. Their place in the hierarchy of the household was inscribed experientially even within this modest-sized residence.

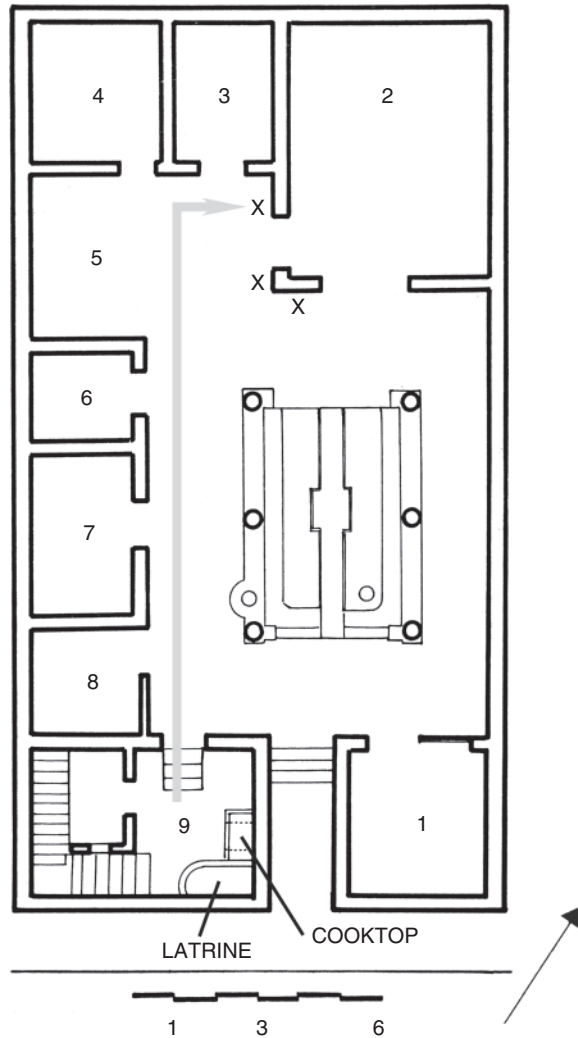
At the small and compact House of the Corinthian Atrium (V.30) at Herculaneum, slaves were indeed meant to feel their place (Fig. 40).⁷⁰ Across the entryway lies the main reception room (2) that has a full view of the peristyle and its garden features. The kitchen area (9) next to the fauces contains the cooktop, latrine, stairs leading to the second story,



39. View to rooms *d*, *k*, and *e* (with a low service doorway), House of the Ceii (I.6.15), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

and a dark room beneath the stairs (for slaves or storage, or both). A steep ascent of four steps from the kitchen meant that service to room 2 was especially precarious (Fig. 41). From the kitchen, servants moved along the south side of the peristyle to access the reception space through the usual side, and much shorter, entrance in the southern wall of the room (Fig. 42).

While steps and stairs appear on house plans, scholars tend to give little thought to how these affected the movements of individuals. There are exceptions, as with staircases that lead to second stories, allowing us brief glimpses of the upstairs of some houses.⁷¹ Scholars are also careful to note when a visitor must step up to approach the *paterfamilias* during the *salutatio*, as at the House of the Menander (Clarke 1991, 6) or walk up the sloping grade of a *fauces*, as in the Samnite House (V.1) at Herculaneum (Fig. 43) (Clarke 1991, 87). These observations privilege the effects of the slaveholder's built environment on the creation of his self-presentation. Less often discussed is the effect of stairs (and sloping grades) on the slaves who served meals or moved furniture and furnishings about the house to accommodate the host and his guests. Furthermore, the stable yard and slave quarters in the House of the Menander, at a lower level than most of the house, meant that slaves inhabited a world physically below the slaveholder's (analogous to the hierarchy of size in wall paintings), and they disappeared from view except when they moved up to the core of the house (Clarke 1991, 14).



40. Plan of the House of the Corinthian Atrium (V.30) marked with a path from the kitchen to room 2 and Xs for possible slave stations, Herculaneum. (*Plan only after Maiuri 1958, fig. 209.*)

The varying heights of doors that have been presented here cannot be seen in floor plans, and, not surprisingly, doorways rarely appear in descriptions of houses. Instead, architectural features mapped on plans and house decoration receive attention as traces of the intentions of the slave owner.⁷² This tendency limits assessments of the social life of Roman houses by overlooking how archaeological features marked slaves' lives. The articulation of doorways was important in slave choreography and constituted a vital part of the contexts of servitude and hence the social life of the house. Moreover, consideration of the paths walked by slaves in the course of their work permits us to see what

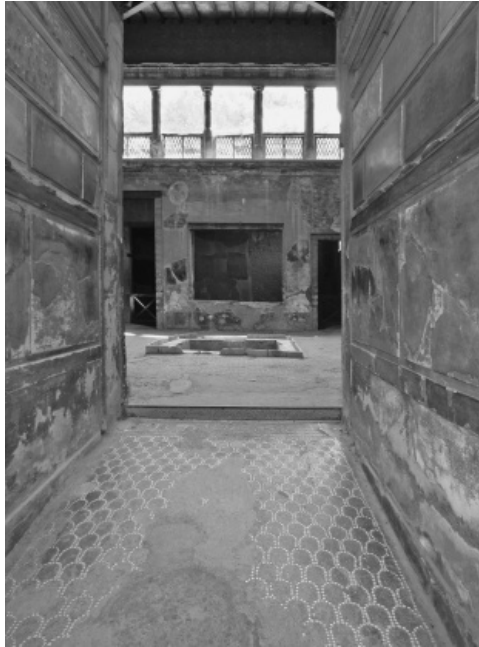


41. Kitchen area (9), House of the Corinthian Atrium (V.30), Herculaneum. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



42. Doorways to reception room 2, House of the Corinthian Atrium (V.30), Herculaneum. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

slaveholders do not tell us beyond their depiction of food appearing as if from nowhere or servants scurrying about. To erase these doorways and paths from the discourse of the Roman house is akin to removing from view slaves as people moving through a built environment.



43. Entrance hall that slopes up with a step to the atrium, Samnite House (V.1), Herculaneum. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

SLAVE TACTICS AT THE BANQUET

To stop here would miss opportunities for thinking more expansively about slaves in the Roman house. It would also mean a reassertion of the slaveholder's perspective with limited attention to the slaves' point of view. We can push things farther. Matthew Roller describes a potential paradox in how dining postures at the banquet reversed the usual "hierarchical principle" in representation and architecture.

The heads of the lowest-status persons – the standing slaves – must typically have been higher than the heads of the more privileged reclining persons, and also higher than anyone who happened to be seated. A different hierarchical principle is at work here: the body that must move or take action in response to another body or bodies is inferior, while the body that does not move or act in response to others is superior; likewise, if one body must remain in a state of poised tension (e.g., "standing attention"), hence *ready* to act, when in proximity to another body that is more relaxed, the former is inferior and the latter superior. (2006, 20)

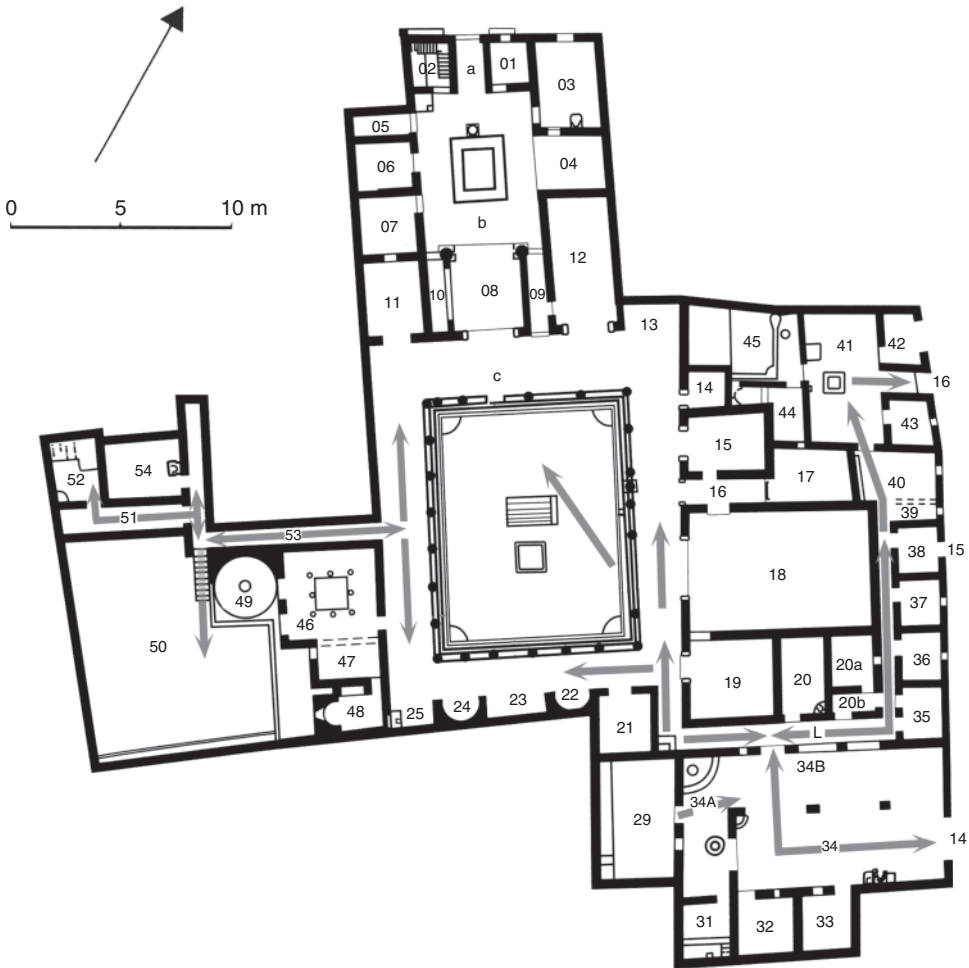
Whereas the principles of hierarchy in the pictorial arts dictate that slaves appear smaller in stature than slave owners and free persons and, correspondingly, slaves' points of access to dining rooms are also usually smaller in scale in the architectural landscape, the opposite

holds true in the physical presences of standing slaves and reclining or seated owners at the banquet. While Roller is careful to note that the banquet is not the only social setting in which the slaveholders were seated or relatively immobile (2006, 20–21), the banquet presents a potentially unstable moment in which the bodies of slaves dominated those of host and guests. In addition, slave bodies were active, while the host's and guests' bodies were passive and dependent.⁷³ The latter bodies were the commanding ones, but they were also relaxed, expecting that slaves would perform according to the scripted choreography of the banquet. And herein lay the space for slave resistance.

We make a simple but often overlooked point that not all slaves performed according to script. This is where slave tactics – interruptions or manipulations to master narratives – come into play. To see the space of tactics, we have to reread slaveholders' complaints about slaves and re-see domestic space. Such an approach, though it cannot re-create the point of view of the slave, makes possible a look at slave actions. Slaveholders' complaints about slave laziness, idleness, shirking of work, disruption, and so on, permeate written testimony. Seneca suggests how commonplace such masterly accusations are. He calls it madness that owners should be incensed by such trifling incidents as a slave boy's working too slowly.⁷⁴ Whatever the motive for or even truth of the behavior that so irked slaveholders, for slaves to avoid or rearrange work required that they avoid the sight lines intended for the owner's choreography.

Elegant and eloquent descriptions of Campanian houses and villas attend first and foremost to the points of view of owner and guests or to what we assume were their intentions.⁷⁵ According to John Clarke, among others, the views in the House of the Menander, for example, are dictated by three visual axes: from the fauces to the peristyle, from triclinium 18 to the garden and bath complex (entrance at 46), and from reception room 11 to space 25 with the shrine to ancestors (see Fig. 11) (1991, 14–19). However, if we begin with the stable yard or kitchen, the places of slaves, the views will look rather different and so, too, the configuration of space. The built environment of slaves, as they moved within the service areas and slave quarters, consists of a labyrinth-like arrangement of long, narrow, and dark corridors with small rooms and work areas attached (Fig. 44). The movements of the slaves within these closed areas are indicated by the arrows, along with directional movements from these spaces to the reception rooms and more open areas of the house, areas to which the slave staff habitually moved during the course of a banquet.

A formal dinner at the ninth or tenth hour in the House of the Menander would typically have found owner and guests in room 18 (Plate IV). The view out of the dining room toward the peristyle is for the slave a patrolling gaze. This gaze is particularly acute, as it is directed toward the garden primarily, beyond which is also the passageway leading to the kitchen and its garden. Any slave – cook, gardener, baker, furnace stoker, server, or waiter – moving to or from this service area was within easy sight of the host and his guests; one imagines that slave activity here, across the garden, formed part of a backdrop that put slaves on view. When it came to the actual dinner service, however, slave positioning and timing were more structured. Paintings and literary descriptions of dinner parties often locate waiters and wine pourers at the edges of the triclinium – as, for example, at the green Xs on the plan (see Plate IV). Indeed, it appears that room 17 was



44. Plan of the House of the Menander (I.10.4, 14–16) marked with arrows depicting possible slave routes from and within the service area and stable yard, Pompeii. (Plan only after Allison 2004, fig. A3.)

a staging ground for banquets: this room’s painting is described as simple and its threshold as “much worn,”⁷⁶ suggesting high traffic in this space for the final food preparations, the shuffling of equipment for such preparations, the movement of waiters and wine pourers going back and forth, and the circulation of servants who had accompanied the guests and were attending to their individual owners.

Tactics that took slaves away from their work required that they move out of the sight of owner and guests, as indicated by the green arrows. A waiter stationed in corridor 16 could take a few steps north to room 15, if unoccupied, and maybe even proceed from 15 to room 14 farther to the north and farther from his assigned duties. Or, by hugging the edge of the low garden wall and perhaps crouching a bit, the servant stationed in corridor 16 or at the north side of the entrance to dining room 18 had the best chance of walking away

unnoticed by diners, especially when other sights and sounds occupied them. As an on-site experiment demonstrated, such a slave had to calculate the slaveholder's gaze and his own movements until he reached the northeast corner of the garden, at which point he was safely out of sight of the owner (see Fig. 13). This same servant might even go as far as the atrium to "idle," although he risked drawing the attention of the doorkeeper patrolling the activities of the house in this area. Servants located at the threshold between rooms 18 and 19 or a slave at the south side of the main entrance to 18 had safer avenues of escape. These slaves could quickly step into the corridor leading to the slave quarters and stable yard virtually unnoticed. In either case, a servant would be moving out of earshot of the owner, and thus appear to be idling, lazy, or sneaky according to the owner's perspective. But it was in fact the slave's calculations that permitted him to interfere with the choreography of the banquet. In effect, the slave brought together different kinds of knowledge: of the domestic space, of the rhythm of the banquet, and of his owner's practices and habits.

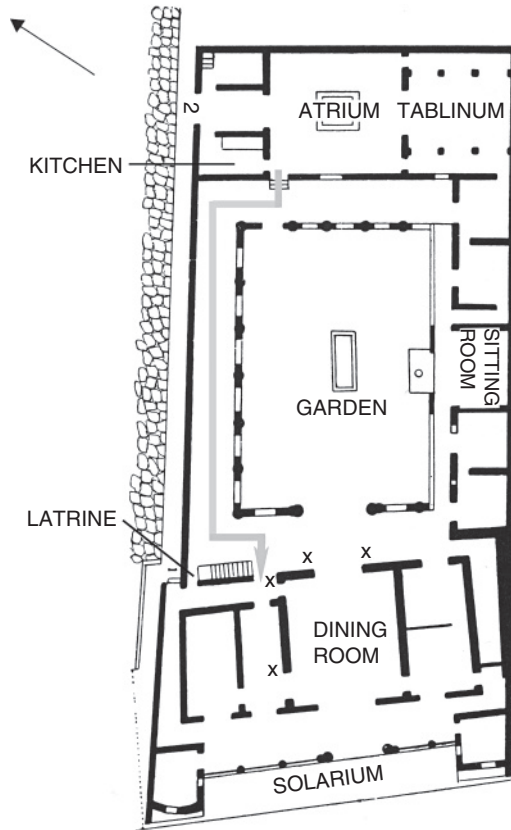
Besides the disappearance of servants from sight, there was also the appearance of slaves who were not part of the regular orchestration of the banquet (shown with the red arrow in the same plan). For example, slaves whose primary tasks had little to do with the banquet, who wandered out of the stable yard into the peristyle, where they did not belong, could spoil the careful coordination of paintings, architecture, and scripted movements of the proper table servants. In addition, slaves who walked out of the corridor from the kitchen area probably knew that in the peristyle they were visible to the banqueters. A cleaner, for example, who was meant to be invisible, could disrupt an artfully arranged scene, not only by intentionally tramping into sight at an inopportune time but also by making noise. Seneca and Pliny the Elder make clear that sight was not the only sense in play when it came to slave disruptions: slaves disturbed their owners by making a racket at inconvenient or inappropriate times from the owner's perspective. They did so for their own reasons but also apparently to irritate their owners.⁷⁷ Seneca laments the "din of cooks about the dining hall, as they bring in their cooking apparatus along with the provisions. For luxury has devised this fashion of having the kitchen accompany the dinner, so that the food may not grow luke-warm or fail to be hot enough for a palate which has already become hardened" (*Moral Letters* 78.23). So, for example, a slave clanging pots in space 17 as final food preparations were underway, or dropping a dish, or sneezing or coughing loudly from just out of sight, say in space 16 or 19, or out of view in the garden or peristyle, in fact, had found a place for being heard but not seen.

The House of the Menander is in many ways an atypical Campanian house on account of its size and articulated slave service areas that put slaves out of sight, especially when compared to smaller, compact houses where slaves may have been more visible by physical necessity. Even so, this example permits us to think imaginatively about slaves' appropriation of time and space within other houses and its limitations. At the House of Sutoria Primigenia, it would appear at first that both the small scale of the house and its architectural choreography of movement might have restricted slave mobility and hence the space for slave tactics during a banquet (see Fig. 19). Depending on timing, however, we can discern other situations. A banquet taking place in the summer triclinium meant that slaves prepared the meal in the nearby kitchen (17). Whereas the servers' access to the

diners was direct and easy (compared to the more circuitous route at the House of the Menander), a slave's chance to sneak away and avoid work was limited to area 16 (and within 19 and 20, and upstairs, once the house annexed those spaces).⁷⁸ Any attempt to move into the atrium to linger required approaching 13 and thus coming into the view of the owner and his guests, and possibly the doorkeeper. Although service at the outdoor triclinium provided limited opportunities for slaves to disappear, the proximity of their workspace permitted unexpected aural interruptions of the banquet. A dinner in room 11 also afforded slaves an opportunity to leave to pursue their own purposes. A slave could skirt around the southeast extension wall of 13 and duck into 18, an ideal room for passing time since it was approached by low doorways and there was little chance of visual penetration by slaveholder or supervisor.

At the House of the Ceii, once the kitchen was moved to the front of the house, the service staff was largely invisible, as they worked behind the diners in room *d* or were out of direct sight of *e* (see Fig. 36). Nonetheless, the proximity of the kitchen to rooms *d* and *e* raises the strong possibility that the clatter of pots and pans and the chatter of slaves as they prepared the meal were every bit as present at the banquet as the slaves who served the diners. And, with the kitchen located at the front of the house, the opportunity for a slave to step outside, if only to stand on the sidewalk or take a seat on the bench at the east of the entrance, may have been irresistible. Indeed, at Herculaneum, many houses follow this pattern of a kitchen at the front of the house: the House of the Mosaic Atrium (IV.1-2), the House of the Alcove (IV.4), the House of the Beautiful Courtyard (V.8), and the House of the Corinthian Atrium (V.30) (Figs. 45-47, and see Fig. 40).⁷⁹ Reception rooms in the House of the Mosaic Atrium and the House of the Alcove are distant from and out of the direct sight of the kitchen area: slaves could walk out the front door unnoticed, except when repeatedly summoned by their owner. In fact, these houses provided benches near their main entrances for visiting clients, which also seem well placed for a slave's appropriation when the timing was right. Slipping out of the House of the Beautiful Courtyard and the House of the Corinthian Atrium must have been more challenging but not impossible. The entrance to each house was potentially, if only partially, within view of the host and guests during a banquet. Nonetheless, amid the visual and aural commotion of the dining festivities, a slave might have seized a moment to disrupt the owner's choreography and effect his own ends.

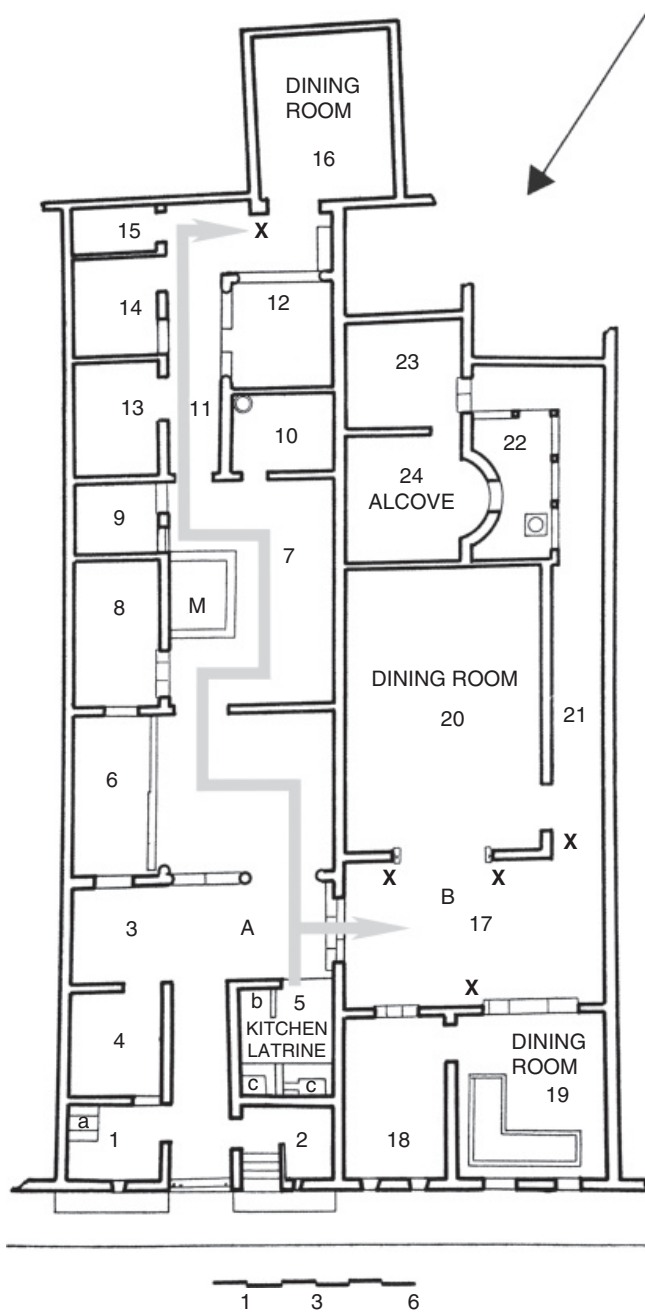
At the House of the Vettii (VI.15.1, 27) in Pompeii, the layout of the rooms enabled slave tactics in an unexpected place, the atrium (Figs. 48-49). Slaves labored in the storage and stable area (accessed through corridor γ) across the atrium from the secondary atrium (*v*, the slave quarters), which included a lararium and kitchen and was surrounded by smaller storage or workrooms.⁸⁰ A staircase led to a second story. Slaves, then, largely moved about and occupied the front of the house, traversing the atrium as they went about their work, whether going from one work area to the other, or walking from a work area through the atrium to the peristyle area to serve the owner(s) at a banquet (in room *q*). It also seems that slaves were generally out of both sight and earshot of the owner, providing more opportunity to linger and socialize in a space, the primary atrium, that was oftentimes occupied more by slaves than by the owner (the house's lack of a tablinum



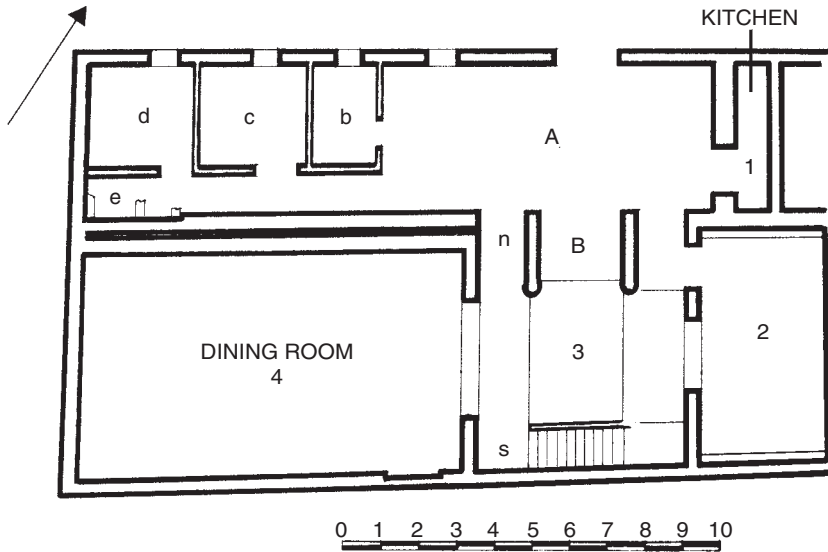
45. Plan of the House of the Mosaic Atrium (IV.1-2) marked with a path from the kitchen to a reception room and Xs for possible slave stations, Herculaneum. (Plan only after Deiss 1989, 43.)

between the atrium and the peristyle suggests that the owner also conducted his business in a room around the peristyle – in effect, where it was more difficult to patrol the slaves at the front of the house).

The House of the Muses at Ostia presents other possibilities because its owner had its rooms arranged around a single, central courtyard (see Fig. 27). This layout allowed for patrolling the activities of others; a slave serving the owner (in room 10 or 15) circulated around the very space to which host and guest were oriented. Nonetheless, this plan also permitted slaves to disappear from view or otherwise disrupt the choreography of a banquet. In place of the elegantly colonnaded peristyle prevalent in Campanian houses, this portico is a thickly articulated, concrete arcade arranged to structure the views of the owner and his guests in terms of both the “entrance experience” and the experience from within a room looking out (DeLaine 1999). If we invert this orientation, we can estimate the possibilities of slave tactics. Just as some views are structured, others are blocked, hindering clear visual access across the central courtyard (Fig. 50). Slaves serving the owner could as easily step behind a pillar to hide, make noise, or slip away, as slaves working in the



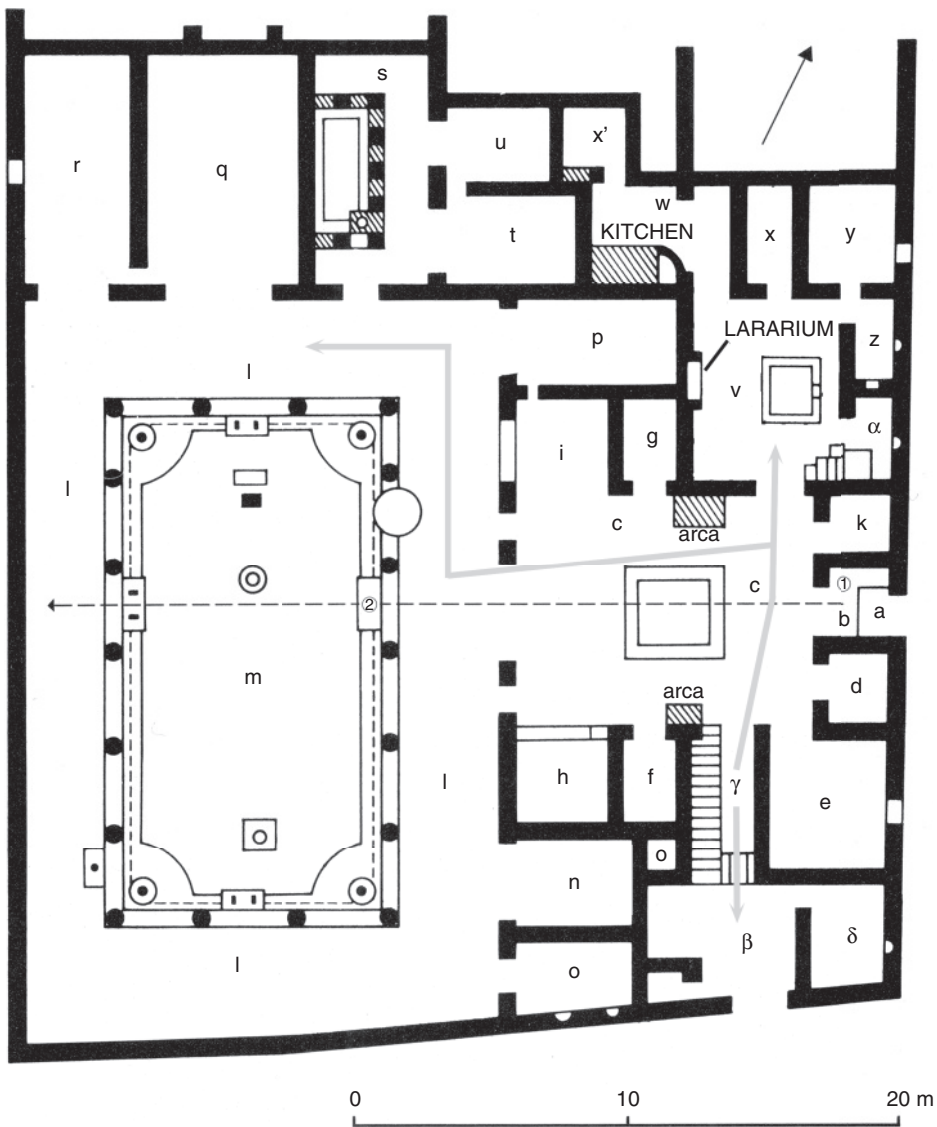
46. Plan of the House of the Alcove (IV.4) marked with possible service routes, Herculaneum. (Plan only after Maiuri 1958, fig. 322.)



47. Plan of the House of the Beautiful Courtyard (V.8), Herculaneum. (After Maiuri 1958, fig. 316.)

kitchen could find themselves near the entrance to the house, unobserved and unheard by their owner. In other words, the attempt to structure sight lines for owner and guests made hiding possible for slaves.

It was not just tarrying or making noise during the banquet that was the stuff of owners' complaints and slaves' tactics. Slaves could also interrupt the choreography of the banquet by doing their jobs poorly. In slaveholders' words we can see and hear how slaves might have used their bodies and the material world to disrupt expectations. Especially interesting are the fictional episodes of slave clumsiness. Though the stuff of satire, these incidents are echoed in other literary genres and the law. Petronius's Trimalchio, for example, witnesses a servant dropping a goblet and orders him to kill himself (Petronius 52.4–6). Later, a young slave boy performing a tumbling act falls on Trimalchio and injures his owner's arm; Trimalchio frees the boy so that no one could say "so important a man was wounded by a slave" (54.5).⁸¹ To these actions we might add the perceived poor and stingy service for the clients at a dinner of their rich patron (Juvenal 5). In Juvenal's view, the patron intends to demean his clients, and the servants are his tools (5.170). Yet this strategy perhaps also enabled slave tactics: that is, it gave the slaves opportunities to perform in food preparation and service according to their own judgment, whims, and pace. Slaves could, for the moment, upset the social hierarchy by asserting control and overturning the clients' expectations, knowing all the while what they could get away with when serving their owner's poorer clients. And finally, we find episodes like that of the dusty hangings that fall onto the fish platter in Horace's satire of the anxious host (2.8.54ff.). Ultimately, the



48. Plan of the House of the Vettii (VI.15.1, 27) marked with possible slave routes from service area and stable yard, Pompeii. (Plan only after Clarke 1991, fig. 120.)

host is blamed for this mishap, but in any real situation its cause would have been a lapse in slave work – repair and house cleaning.⁸² Because he targets the anxious host, however, Horace makes the slaves invisible: their neglect is only implied, whereas its effect on the host is made dramatically explicit, and perhaps therein lies the delicious space of tactics at the expense of the owner. The hidden transcript remains, for the most part, hidden.



49. Secondary atrium, House of the Vettii (VI.15.1, 27), Pompeii. *Photo: Wallace-Hadrill 1994, fig. 3.4 (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



50. View to dining room 10 from across the courtyard, House of the Muses (III.9.22), Ostia. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma).*

OPPORTUNITIES BEYOND THE BANQUET

Thus far we have considered slaves' actions and temporary possession of the material and sensorial world of the slaveholder within the close contours of the dinner party. Although the banquet was only one of many activities that regularly took place within a Roman house (or at least a fairly well-to-do house), it is this event and the morning *salutatio* that

garner the most attention when scholars discuss domestic life, as these activities were critical in shaping the slaveholder's self-image. The spaces for these activities – usually grandly decorated spaces – tend to receive the most thorough treatment in ancient and modern accounts of the Roman house. Yet these activities occurred only at certain times of the day. Specifically, the *paterfamilias* occupied his house during the early hours (from dawn to the second hour) and in the evening (ninth hour onward), with the political and business activities of male citizens largely taking place outside the house (Laurence 2007, 154–66). Indeed, Ray Laurence's assessment of a well-to-do citizen's daily routine indicates that the men would be away from the house for the better part of any given day, creating what he calls "a gender division in space and time . . . without the adult male presence of the *paterfamilias*" (2007, 166). While Laurence points out that the gender divisions in a house were "spatially indistinct" but "emphasized temporally," his narrative tends to ignore slaves, despite their presumed presence within the house throughout the day (2007, 166). As servile areas were also spatially indistinct in most houses (except in the case of kitchens),⁸³ Laurence's temporal distinctions with respect to gender in the Roman house also apply to the enslaved in domestic contexts. And here one has to think imaginatively about the possibilities of slave appropriation of space outside of the masterly emphasis on the *salutatio* and the banquet.

Wealthy houses had an active slave presence throughout the day, even while the free members of the household were away conducting business. Litter bearers, secretaries, foot servants, and business managers and agents (not all necessarily slaves) would accompany the slave owner on his daily activities or carry on his business without him, but the duties of cooks, gardeners, cleaners, doorkeepers, maids, and hairdressers required that they remain within the house. Juvenal's depictions of imperious slave owners provide some insight into the movements and locations of slaves as they went about a day's work. Juvenal's *dominus* (master) drives the slaves to run about the house as they undertake his orders.

When a guest is coming, none of your staff is allowed to relax. "Sweep the marble floor; make sure the columns are gleaming; get down that shriveled spider and every wisp of its web; you there, polish the ordinary silver, you the embossed!" the master bellows, urging them on with cane in hand. (14.59–63; trans. N. Rudd)

The satirist assumes the proximity of different kinds of slaves going about their day's work. Juvenal's cruel *domina* (mistress), who whips her hairdresser for not doing her curls to perfection, seeks advice on beautification from a wool worker, and oversees the punishment of another slave, reveals, as Laurence suggests, the female appropriation of space when the *paterfamilias* is away (6.486–510). For all its satiric exaggeration, the depiction assumes the activity of slaves beyond banquet preparations, the proximity of slaves to slaves and slaves to mistress, and the interactions among slaves. While scenes of female adornment, most typically found in funerary art, depict a domestic setting with multiple maid servants present, as would be fitting for displaying the owner's wealth,⁸⁴ we need to reach beyond the owner's perspective and self-definition and instead think expansively about the opportunities for slave interactions and the movements of slaves within households.

We repopulate larger houses with all kinds of slaves working in the house during the day in the absence of the *paterfamilias* (and often the *domina*). At the House of the Menander, the gardener in the peristyle tending to the plants; the cook going to and from the kitchen, the garden in the service area, and the stable area to pick up deliveries and various supplies; the furnace workers stoking the fires for the ovens and baths and retrieving wood from the stable area; the cleaning staff moving about to remove webs and to polish the columns; the staff responsible for shining the silver, possibly setting up in the peristyle on a nice day, or in the atrium; and the slave fetching water from the house's basins to "flush" the latrines, among others, all formed part of the visual landscape of the house on a daily basis.⁸⁵ To these activities, we could add slaves busy with weaving and cloth working, work that may have been overseen by the female head of the household.⁸⁶

When the slaveholder was away, he did not witness the daily rhythm of the domestic landscape. When he returned at the end of the day, what he tended to see instead were the effects of the day's activities: swept floors, polished silver, prepared meals, arranged dining rooms, warmed baths, and so on. The process of work, along with the visual and aural transformations of space – from its occupation by the owner, to that of the slaves, and then back to the owner – were unapparent, and unimportant, to the slaveholder, as long as the day's work was carried out as he had ordered (hence the relative invisibility of slaves' daily activities to modern scholars). We must therefore read through the slave owners' observations and complaints in an attempt to glimpse slaves in the material life of the Roman house.

Seneca provides us with a springboard for re-seeing domestic space and slave activities when he questions the utility of getting angry if the wine is lukewarm, the couch cushion disarranged, or the table carelessly set (*On Anger* 2.25.1). Why, he asks, should eyes be offended by a spot, by dirt, by tarnished silver, or by a pool that is not transparent to the bottom (*On Anger* 3.35.4).⁸⁷ These types of complaints must have been commonplace, hence Seneca's use of them in his depiction of a slaveholder. We might ask what slaves may have been doing, if not working according to their owner's demands. The temporal dimensions of a house suggest the answers. Spaces for the owner's enjoyment were by and large "available" for slave occupation when the owner was away conducting business. Opportunities existed for the appropriation of spaces by slaves when the timing was right – that is, when the owner was elsewhere – with the effect that the activities of slaves remained largely unknown and hidden. A "chance offering of the moment" allowed slaves at the House of Lucretius Fronto, for example, to take a respite from the cramped and dank servile work spaces (*p*, *q*, and *r*) and occupy temporarily a larger and airier dining room across the way (*s* or *t*; see Fig. 33). Admittedly, an appropriation of space in a small house would have been risky; there was the threat of being caught by a slave supervisor, if there was one, not to mention the potential danger in not completing the day's work to the owner's satisfaction. Larger houses simply had more spaces and presented more opportunities to "claim" a slaveholder's space whether to rest or delay work, or to enjoy the area after the completion of assigned tasks. In this vein, we might consider the possibility of some slaves using the bathing complex at the House of the Menander when the owner was away (rooms 46–49; see Fig. 11). These spaces, decorated and warm, might have been especially appealing to a slave in the cold winter months. Because, of necessity, the bathing

rooms of larger houses (and villas) were near kitchens, a slave did not have to take much of a detour to enjoy a “chance offering of the moment” that also provided some degree of privacy.⁸⁸ And, if caught in the baths, the slave could pretend to be working, or to be looking for something or someone before getting back to work.

Figuring the space for enacting tactics also means paying attention to other features of the house – to take one example, closets, cupboards, hidey-holes, and staircases that could be used for ducking out of view. In literature and law, slaves hide to escape a whipping, to avoid work, or even to take a first step toward flight.⁸⁹ Indeed, Horace imagines that a slave seller admits to an instance of a slave boy’s temporary absence: “Once he shirked work, and, you know how it is, he hid under the stairs, afraid of the whip hanging on the wall” (*Letters* 2.2.14–15). The commonsensical tone reveals that slaves likely had mental plans of the houses in which they lived, including the places that offered the potential for disappearing from view. Penelope Allison has studied spaces of Pompeian houses for evidence of wall shelves and objects to locate closets and storage areas.⁹⁰ Such rooms counted little for the owners’ display and enjoyment, hence the inattention in discussions of Roman houses. They are vital for this project; for the household’s slaves, these spaces constituted places not only for gathering objects in the course of a workday but also for removing themselves at opportune moments. In the large House of the Gilded Cupids (VI.16.7, 38) at Pompeii, for instance, a slave seeking a place to hide could leave the kitchen area (*V*) in the northwest corner of the house, where he might otherwise be expected to be found, walk along the north side of the peristyle unnoticed (given the orientation of many of the rooms around the peristyle), and disappear into the darkness of room *J*, otherwise used apparently for storage (Figs. 51–52).⁹¹ In smaller houses there was also opportunity for hiding in storage spaces, but getting to them unnoticed might have been more difficult. At the House of the Ceii, the storage room at *g* or what had formerly been the kitchen area and was then made into a storage area at the back of the house (*l* and *m*) could have served slaves well for disappearing temporarily (see Fig. 36).⁹²

Spaces under stairs were a common feature of Roman houses, large and small. In many cases, the space beneath the stairs was also a place for storage. In the House of the Vettii, the small area beneath the stairs in corridor *γ* was a place for objects, including harnesses, but it also provided refuge for a slave who needed or wanted a place of temporary escape (Fig. 53; see also Fig. 48). It should be noted, however, that hiding here was uncertain, given the space’s proximity to and visual accessibility from the atrium. Moreover, the person in charge of harnessing the horse or mule in the adjacent stable would have readily found the slave.⁹³ In contrast, the House of Julius Polybius possesses three staircases; the one at the front in the secondary atrium (*B*) would have been outside the slaveholder’s direct line of sight (see Fig. 16).⁹⁴ The western section of the house was likely occupied primarily by slaves (the kitchen is located to the northwest of these stairs), with the slave owner and his guests moving about the eastern section of the house (accessed through entrance 3, which leads directly to the principal atrium and reception areas). Hiding underneath the stairs at *B*, an ample space, might have brought a slave some time away from his duties (Fig. 54). At the House of Lucretius Fronto, the area beneath the stairs at the front of the house (*e*) offered a relatively secluded but confined spot. Access to this area that was presumably used for storage was indirect – that is, through room *c* and the doorway in



51. Plan of the House of the Gilded Cupids (VI.16.7, 38), Pompeii. (After Seiler 1992, fig. 88.)

the northern wall of that room (Fig. 55; see also Fig. 33).⁹⁵ Spending time in this storage space meant removing oneself from the traffic patterns of the household.

We also would like to know more about the underground rooms of Pompeian houses, although such a study is hampered by the fact that these spaces are largely inaccessible today. At the House of the Caecilii (V.1.26), for example, there is a large subterranean room at the back of the peristyle, but the area has not been entirely excavated (Fig. 56).⁹⁶ The House of the Labyrinth (VI.11.9–10) also has an underground chamber; this one is located at the front of the dwelling, to the east of the entrance belonging to the service area. The descent to the space below is steep and precarious.⁹⁷ These dark and damp cavernous rooms, often called cellars, receive little mention in scholarship.⁹⁸ These were not desirable spaces, and they were certainly out of public view. Rather than ignoring these unappealing and “invisible” spaces, we might think about them as places that slaves could occupy willingly or otherwise as sleeping quarters, as spaces for punishment, or as places for enacting “opportunities” that included gatherings with other slaves, rest, or hiding. Indeed, while scholars now point out how the household items found in closets and storage areas can reveal the state of a house and its activities in its final days, we should also think of such areas, along with underground utilitarian rooms, as spaces for slaves, which they frequented both to retrieve things for the slaveholder and to effect some purpose of their

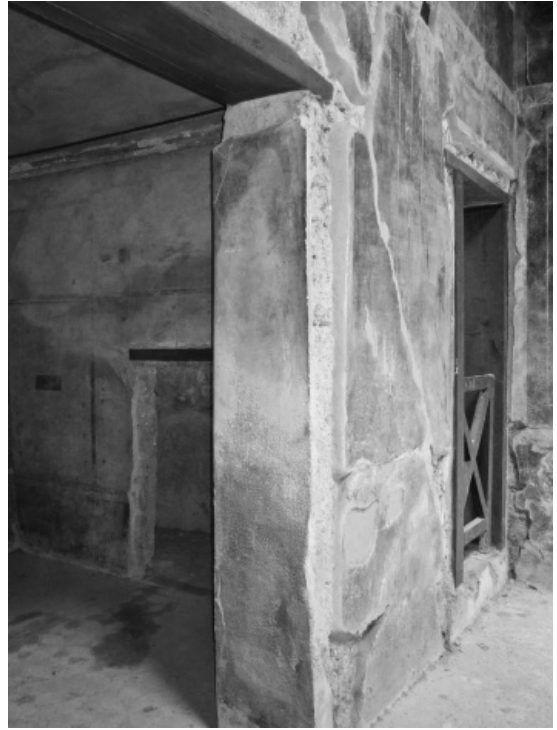


52. Storage room J, House of the Gilded Cupids (VI.16.7, 38), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

53. Staircase in corridor γ, House of the Vettii (VI.15.1, 27), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

own.⁹⁹ In other words, these types of spaces matter, not just for what they can tell us about an owner's possessions and how an owner used space, but also for what they indicate about the material environment of slaves as they went about their work and as they calculated the timing for claiming a space for their own uses.

In addition to our consideration of how slaves occupied various parts of the house, we might think about slaves' appropriation of objects and food. Owners' claims about slaves' petty thievery abound in the written testimony.¹⁰⁰ However, these sources record only what the slaveholder knew; there may have been plenty of other instances of appropriation or relocation that went unnoticed. Nonetheless, when something went missing, whether "pilfered" or "borrowed," the effect was the same: something was not where it was supposed to be. The richer the house, the more numerous the objects surrounding the slaves, and the more opportunities for such appropriation. So, perhaps slaves could "borrow" some silver from the House of the Menander's hoard, if temporarily, so that the items appeared to be "lost" but were instead destined for a slave's own use, only to be



54. Space beneath staircase at B, House of Julius Polybius (IX.13.1-3), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

55. View to the space beneath the stairs in the atrium (through the low doorway), House of Lucretius Fronto (V.4.a), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

returned and “found” at a later time (Fig. 57).¹⁰¹ This would be a challenging feat, as there would likely have been more supervision in larger houses and therefore more care exercised in keeping track of the owner’s possessions, especially precious objects such as silver. Even so, there is testimony that suggests that slaves did not just “borrow” but stole silver objects (*Digest* 47.2.57.5). Such items could be sold for more money than ordinary ones such as lamps, dishes, or tools, but they could also be quite identifiable; ordinary objects were less identifiable, hence a safer bet for resale (Horace, *Satires* 2.7.72-73, 109-10).

If slaves did “borrow” objects, they would have to find places to use them in the house out of sight of the owner. At the House of Lucretius Fronto, for example, a slave could perhaps retrieve a drinking cup from the cupboard in the kitchen area and take some wine, but head unnoticed upstairs, using the fairly direct access from the kitchen and cupboard area (see Fig. 33). The same could hold true for slaves at the House of the Ceii in Pompeii and the House of the Corinthian Atrium in Herculaneum, where stairs and kitchen are in close proximity (see Figs. 36 and 40). Or, as at the House of the Vettii, a slave could hide in a room in the secondary atrium that was relatively secluded from the owner’s view. In



56. Underground room at the back of the peristyle, House of the Caecili (V.i.26), Pompeii. *Photo: Stephen Petersen (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

these situations, the slave could, at the right moment, return borrowed items without the slaveholder or supervisor noticing. Smaller but no less meaningful acts might have claimed opportune moments and property: the cutting of a flower, a vegetable, or herbs from the garden for the slave's own use; the personal use of the owner's tweezers or mirror; or the lighting of a fancy lantern when the owner was away.¹⁰²

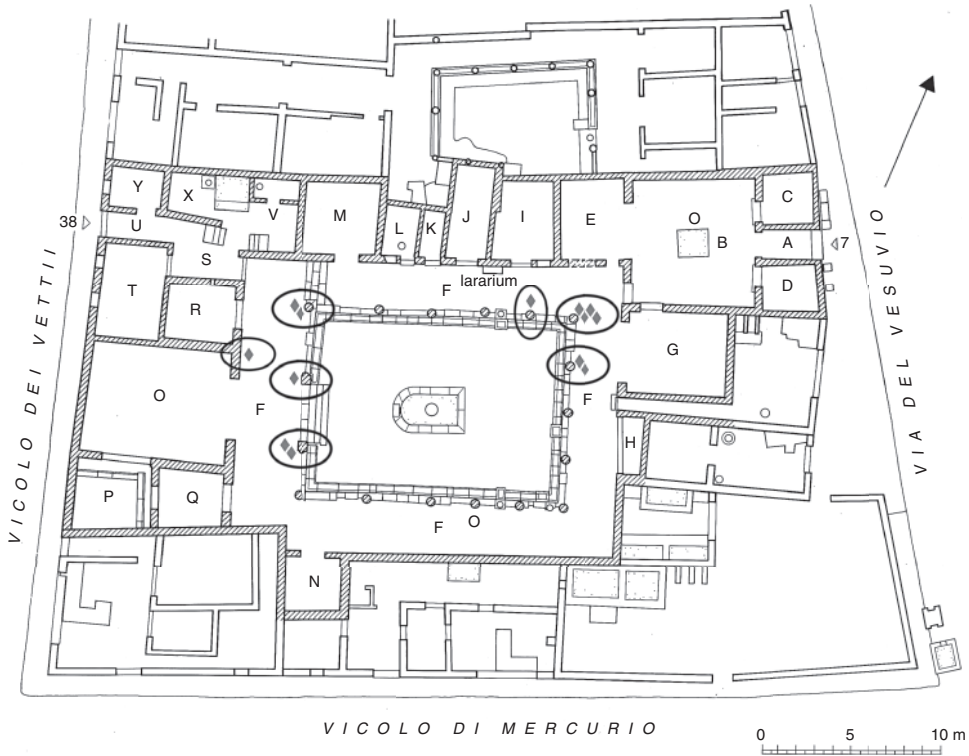
Domestic slaves encountered daily the material trappings of the slave owner, trappings that could fall temporarily, or otherwise, into their possession in both open and furtive ways. Such objects were part of slaves' world, and slaves not only held but also saw, smelled, and felt them as they carried out their work. Water pouring from garden fountains could cool a slave working in a house's garden or surrounding area. The paintings in a room or the statuary in a garden also formed part of the material world of slaves. Slaves close to their owner could overhear the host and guests discussing the themes of a house's pictorial program. Their reaction to such stories overheard is impossible to pin down, but that they had a reaction, even indifference, seems likely.¹⁰³ While slaves belonged to the material world of the slaveholder – they were his things, to be sure – we should also think about how slaves inhabited their owner's space in physical, sensorial, and temporal ways, that is, as humans who could think and act on their own needs and desires when circumstances allowed.



57. Silver vessels from the hoard at the House of the Menander (I.10.4, 14–16), Pompeii.
Photo: Alinari / Art Resource, NY, ART107994.

Slaves might have also had the opportunity to mark their place in the physical environment of the house.¹⁰⁴ Although we cannot offer a thorough account of slave graffiti in Roman houses, Rebecca Benefiel’s work on graffiti in one house at Pompeii permits us to think about slave lives in the Roman house in terms of writing. She offers a reassessment of wall writing beyond electoral programmata and erotica and envisions graffiti as part of larger conversations.¹⁰⁵ In her words, graffiti “reveal where people were spending time and where there would be an audience for their contributions” (2010, 89). If we take her conclusion as a premise for looking at an example or two, we catch another aspect of the material life of Roman slaves in a domestic context. Importantly, this all comes with the caveat that it is notoriously difficult to know the identity of the author of any one graffito.¹⁰⁶ Nonetheless, it is fruitful to think about the possibility that slaves marked or inscribed a domestic space that they did not ultimately control.

At the House of the Gilded Cupids, graffiti appear, not surprisingly, in the peristyle, a space that witnessed the comings and goings of many individuals (Fig. 58).¹⁰⁷ Names dominate: for example, CINNAMUS (*CIL* 4.6829 and 6834) and MARCUS, whose name is inscribed twice on a column at the corner of the peristyle (6832).¹⁰⁸ Among the names of individuals are those of supposed gladiators (6833 and 6837), each with a picture of a gladiator beneath.¹⁰⁹ There are eight other instances of graffiti in the peristyle, along its west, east, and north corridors, with a notable absence of graffiti in the southern section.¹¹⁰ It is important to bear in mind that the north and west (and to a lesser extent the east) corridors of the peristyle must have been heavily trafficked, especially by the staff. The household lararium (domestic shrine) is located along the north walkway on a direct path to and from the kitchen and service area (in the northwest corner of the house) and two storage spaces (*J* and *L*), which were used primarily by slaves as they went about their day’s work. In other words, this path along the north side of the peristyle was a significant one for slaves, and the lararium itself was a locus of daily rituals that seem to have been entrusted primarily to the domestic staff.¹¹¹ The west side of the peristyle would have been traversed



58. Plan of the House of the Gilded Cupids (VI.16.7, 38) with locations of graffiti in the peristyle marked by diamonds, Pompeii. (Plan only after Seiler 1992, fig. 88.)

by slaves serving in dining room *O*, as would the northern part of the east corridor, the location of reception room *G*. Although we cannot know the authors of these marks, they fit well with Benefiel’s criteria for activating graffiti: they are located where one would expect people, an audience. More specifically, it is tempting to read these graffiti as the writings of slaves, given the presumed heavy slave presence in these corridors, especially when they were waiting on the owner and his guests and moving about outside of *O* or *G*. The graffiti are concentrated outside these rooms, suggesting that perhaps they were written during slave attendance at the rituals of the slave owner.

Equally evocative are the graffiti that appear to be tabulations. In the fauces of the House of the Four Styles (I.8.17) at Pompeii, Benefiel observes sixty-six lines inscribed on the northern wall. She identifies them as the marks made by a doorkeeper to “keep a running track [of visitors or clients] near the entrance” (2011, 37–38). It is fascinating that this example (she also cites comparisons with two other residences) reveals both a slave’s location and type of work (counting). But such a reading is firmly rooted in the owner’s perspective – how he sees the world and how his slave should behave. We also might consider other meanings – tabulations made by a slave for his own purposes.

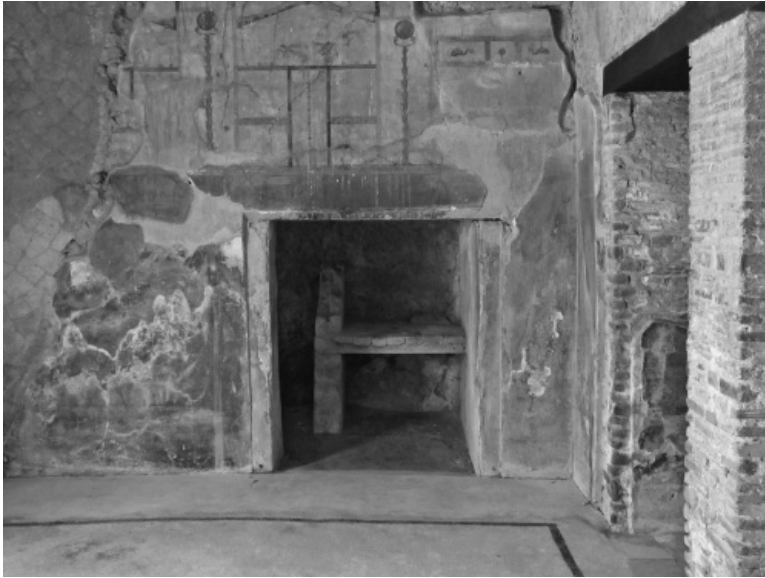
Not all acts of inscription within a house must be read as defiant acts, since tabulations may be just that and therefore completely relevant to the workings of a household. But

slaves could also make themselves present through other types of material presences in a Roman house. For example, at the House of Sutoria Primigenia, the garden area is graced with a niche shrine on its back wall. In the shrine stood a bronze statuette of Minerva, whose base was inscribed with the following dedication: THEODOR(US) / MAG(ISTER) / FAMIL(IAE) D(E) S(UO) D(EDIT) (Pompeii, inv. 10560; Giacobello 2008, 258–59) (see Fig. 22).¹¹² This inscription may indicate that Theodorus was a slave and the overseer of the household slaves (Giacobello 2008, 258) and that he had saved enough of his *peculium* (allowance) to purchase the bronze figurine.¹¹³ It is worth noting that his dedication is not hidden in the kitchen shrine; rather, it appears in a visible and frequented space, one occupied by the slaveholder and his guests in the context of the dinner party. Thus Theodorus was present, too, at the banquet, perhaps in person, but also by his dedication, one that overlooks the banqueters and faces those occupying the reception space (II) across the garden. This domestic inscription and others like it, including graffiti, compel us to see and hear slaves in the material objects that they could manipulate.

THE SPACES OF SLAVE LIFE

This chapter has only touched on kitchens and other identifiable, discrete work spaces – spaces where we know slaves were present. This is intentional, as most scholarship on domestic slaves focuses on service areas, although it does so in rather static terms. Our aim, however, has been to put slaves on the move. Nonetheless, this final section examines what we know of slave work spaces, acknowledging all the while that slaves were everywhere in Roman houses. The discussion will be relatively brief, as it covers ground amply addressed by scholars who have concentrated on the direct evidence for slave presences and activities.¹¹⁴ Not surprisingly, archaeologists tend to focus on kitchens.¹¹⁵ We begin with a quick assessment of kitchens and their conditions, before considering slaves' lives within and around them.

It is well known that kitchens could be fairly cramped spaces such as the tiny kitchen at the large House of Julius Polybius or the compact kitchen in the modest-sized House of Sutoria Primigenia. The House of the Beautiful Courtyard at Herculaneum, named for its spacious and grand interior courtyard, presents a rather grim picture of slaves' working conditions, conditions that corroborate ancient writers' assessments of the effects of kitchens on cooks. An unusual transverse hall (A) bridges the entrance of the house and the tablinum and courtyard beyond (see Fig. 47). To the left of the entrance is the extremely short doorway to the kitchen, with an equally minute workbench (Fig. 59). Although the room has a small window that opens to the street, the primary source of light for this space comes from the hallway; thus, any slave laboring over the bench would have cast a shadow over the work space making it darker still, even with the use of lamps. Likewise, the kitchen at the House of Lucretius Fronto at Pompeii was approached down a short passageway (see Fig. 33). There are no windows, with the exception of the ventilation window far above the cooktop (hardly a source of light).¹¹⁶ Perhaps one of the starkest testimonies of slave material conditions comes from the Caupona of Sotericus (I.12.3)



59. View to the kitchen, House of the Beautiful Courtyard (V.8), Herculaneum. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

on Via dell'Abbondanza at Pompeii (Fig. 60). In the back of the *caupona* is the kitchen, outfitted with a water basin and a fine *lararium* painting that is the focus of scholarly work on this space.¹¹⁷ Rarely discussed is the loft next to it, essentially dividing the space into two levels. The loft, useful for storing goods or equipment, could also be a storage place for slaves – that is, a rudimentary place for sleeping in the very space some slaves labored.¹¹⁸

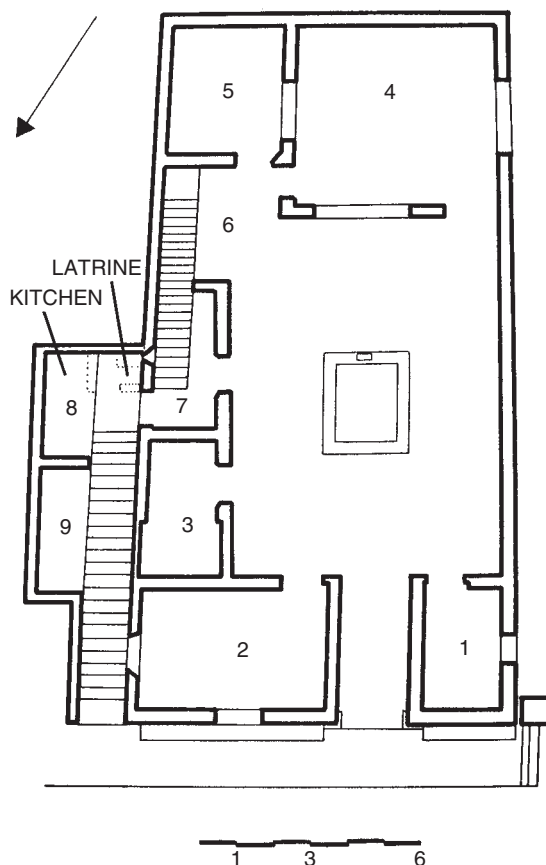
Kitchens, as has been noted, were also often located in close proximity to latrines as at the House of Lucretius Fronto and the House of the Ceii at Pompeii and the House of the Corinthian Atrium and the Samnite House at Herculaneum (they are also found near stairs; see Figs. 33, 36, 40, and 61). In all of these houses, the nearby latrines were used for the disposal of human and food waste.¹¹⁹ The relative lack of air circulation must have created a stale stench in these spaces.¹²⁰ It is not surprising, then, that kitchens stank and were associated with dirt. This is not just our modern view of them. Ancients found kitchens to be quite undesirable as well. Recall Martial's lament that his beautiful wine pourer-turned-cook will now have a face marred by black kitchen soot and hair polluted by grease from flames (10.66). Cooks were proverbially smelly (Petronius 2, 70.12). The conditions of working in a kitchen are presented in the sources as less than palatable; they marked the body of slaves, visibly and olfactorily. From the slaveholders' perspective, cooks' bodies, bearing as they did traces of the kitchen and perhaps a nearby latrine, were equally undesirable as extensions of these spaces. It would seem that the bodies of slaves who labored in the kitchen were tied inextricably to the biological functions of the body, consumption and elimination.



60. Kitchen and loft, Caupona of Sotericus (I.12.3), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

These kitchens tend to stand in ruins today, after decades of relative neglect, and modern focus is instead on the fancy parts of the house inhabited by the owner rather than on the utilitarian spaces used by slaves. This situation is particularly acute at Ostia; Susanna Riva has shown how kitchens there were largely overlooked by archaeologists, hence their disappearance from the site today and with it, we argue, the disappearance of slaves from the houses at Ostia (1999).¹²¹ To this extent, it would seem that modern historians have absorbed the attitudes of ancient writers that kitchens were staining and a locus of potential filth and therefore peripheral.

We propose that rather than think of kitchens as static spaces, that is, areas where slaves were fixed at work, we also see slaves active in their immediate surroundings. Within larger houses, where kitchens and stable yards were typically connected to a network of other work spaces, these places are marginalized and relatively isolated from the rest of the house (see Figs. 11 and 48). In contrast, work spaces in smaller houses tend to be more integrated and movement around them more fluid. It might be useful to estimate how

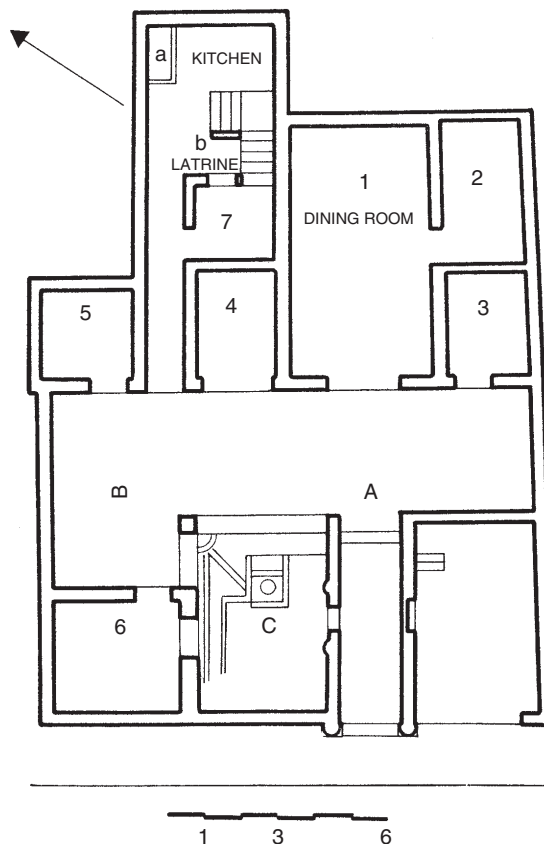


61. Plan of the Samnite House (V.1), Herculaneum. (After Maiuri 1958, fig. 152.)

slaves in both large and small houses could interact within these areas around kitchens (not in the kitchens per se but in the areas adjacent to them) by engaging with the work of Mark Grahame (1997) (cf. Introduction). For example, the long passageway (53) that provides access to the service area at the House of the Menander would have been a place for the briefest of encounters – a greeting to someone or a “friendly glance” as a slave went to and from the kitchen area (Grahame 1997, 155) (see Figs. 11 and 14). Meanwhile, the area beyond corridor 53 was relatively spacious, with a kitchen garden and cellars or furnace rooms to the south of the corridor and the rooms to the north of the passageway. These spaces could have invited more prolonged informal gatherings among slaves in relative seclusion from the slave owner (especially given the generally undesirable conditions of the space from the owner’s perspective).¹²² Such slaves were out of range of the owner’s beckoning, and they could participate in a world largely unknown to the slaveholder. Yet this entire area was also a place for the slaveholder’s strategies: its single point of access enabled surveillance of anyone moving in or out of the area. Moreover, a painted lararium once adorned the west wall of the kitchen (52).¹²³ Not only were slaves brought together in the kitchen to carry out the day’s work, but some (perhaps most) were also expected to

come together to partake in sacrifice at the shrine (whereas the large, built shrine in the atrium likely served the free members of the household).¹²⁴ In this respect, the slave owner was “present” even though his physical absence permitted slave activities unknown and unknowable to him.

Each house presents its own unique spaces for slave sociability and the limitations to it. What follows are examples of how we might figure the places for such sociability. At the House of Sutoria Primigenia, the kitchen is in the back and relatively open to the rest of the house. Despite its proximity to dining spaces, it also provides access to rooms 19 and 20 that are hidden from direct view (see Fig. 19). These contiguous spaces could be described as “closed”: that is, as a place for slave social life and activities out of the direct gaze of owners (though slave managers might have been present) and as a relatively private place, despite the possibility that a slaveholder could intervene at any time. At the House of the Grand Portal (V.35) at Herculaneum, access to the kitchen and latrine is through a narrow passageway, akin to the one at the House of the Menander (Figs. 62–63).¹²⁵ The area containing the kitchen and latrine combination is enclosed and



62. Plan of the House of the Grand Portal (V.35), Herculaneum. (After Maiuri 1958, fig. 308.)



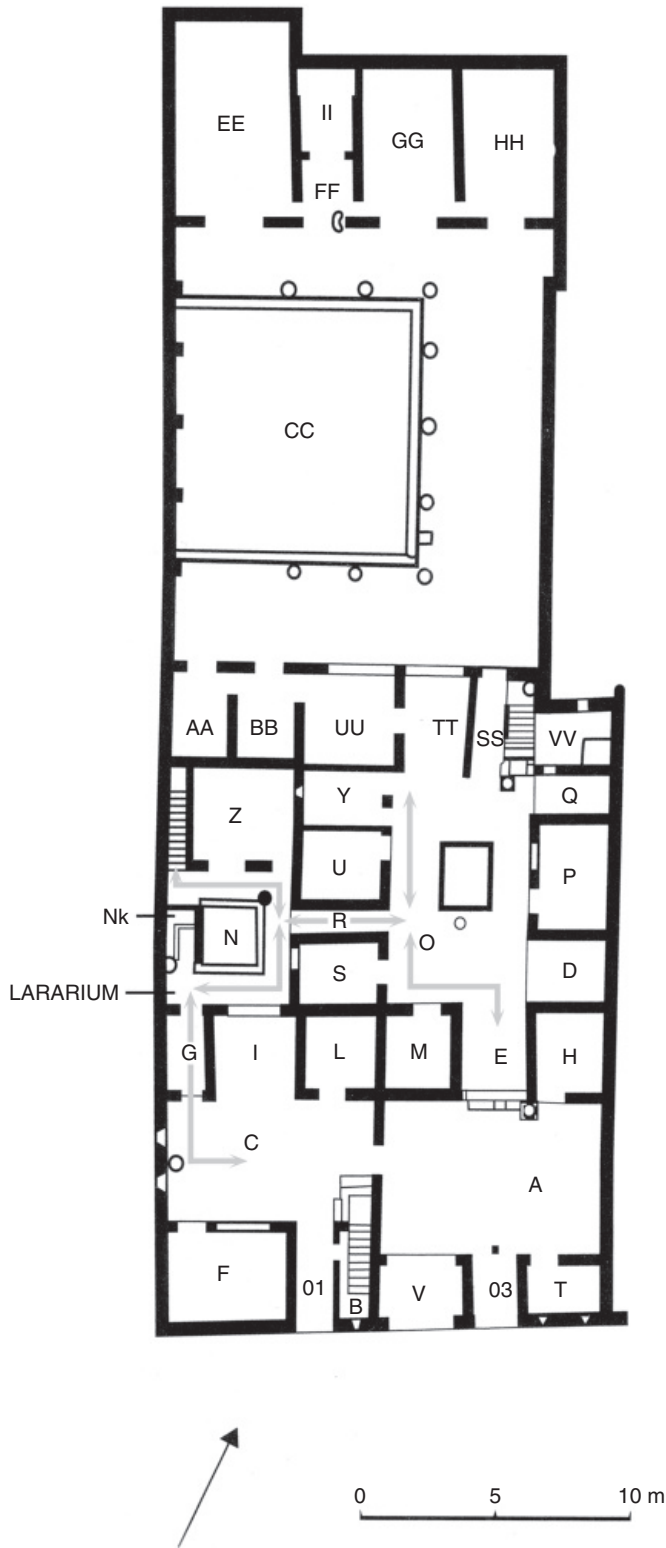
63. View down the corridor to the kitchen, latrine, and stairs at the back of the House of the Grand Portal (V.35), Herculaneum. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

dark (the area lacks windows). Here the latrine is located beneath the staircase, and next to it is a small room, perhaps for storage. It is tempting to read the area around the cooktop and the small room as a secluded place for slave social life, but we also have to take into account the stairs in this area as the point of access to the house's upper stories.¹²⁶ While this back area could have been a space for slaves to gather, it also provided the owner with access to the upper rooms. At certain times of the day, slave gatherings in this confined space could have come under the surveillance of the owner. Timing, therefore, was paramount.

A somewhat different situation exists at the House of the Vettii, where the primary service rooms (the kitchen and so-called cook's bedroom) are clustered around a secondary atrium located off the main fauces-peristyle axis; it has a staircase at the right of the entrance and a latrine beneath in α .¹²⁷ But access to this service area is immediate – through a simple threshold. The primary, in fact, the only, lararium for this house is located here,

along the west wall and likely served both the free and the enslaved members of the household (see Figs. 48–49).¹²⁸ Thus this service courtyard was a more open one. Prospects for slave sociability out of a masterly gaze were therefore more limited here, save for the so-called cook's bedroom (α), which, though small, offered a degree of privacy, as it was accessed through a doorway behind the kitchen cooktop. Across the atrium, however, through corridor γ and to the stable yard and latrine area (β), opportunities for slave sociability may have been greater, for the staircase here feeds directly into the atrium rather than into the stable yard that was beyond the direct gaze of the slave owner.

The slaves at the House of Julius Polybius may have had yet another experience, one that often put them under the direct gaze of others. Cooks working in the claustrophobic kitchen (Nk) would have been spared the heat of the flames by stepping into the peristyle area, part of the service courtyard (N), outfitted with light and a pool of water. But with so many points of access to this secondary peristyle area, physically and visually, slave encounters would have been brief at best, like those that took place in passageways (Fig. 64). Moreover, the large painted lararium at the entrance to the kitchen suggests that rituals were visibly enacted in this service area, somewhat akin to the situation at the House of the Vettii. Nonetheless, the stairs in the northwest section of N , led to a series of rooms that overlooked the service court, and possibly court O .¹²⁹ It is tempting to read these spaces as servile ones, given their direct access from the service court, and as such, as places for more private slave gatherings within the house. But it also appears that access to these same upper rooms could be made through the staircase at SS , which was readily available to the free members of the house. This made slave gatherings all the more challenging and dependent on the slaves' temporal calculations and opportune periods of the slaveholder's absence. The question of slave control, confinement, and surveillance comes into heightened play in this house. A threshold in the utilitarian area at the base of the stairs in C is telling (the stairs led to rooms above the main entrance to the house) (Fig. 65).¹³⁰ This threshold points to the ability to patrol who or what went in or out. If the threshold led to slave quarters, then slave movement was limited by an architecture of containment. While slaves at the House of Julius Polybius must have moved around the house, that mobility seems to have been carefully controlled, or at least the arrangement of space gives this appearance: the usual spaces for slave sociability seem to have been exposed, and slave tactics perhaps less likely to occur in ways enacted in other households.



64. Plan of the House of Julius Polybius (IX.13.1-3), showing access to and from the kitchen (*Nk*), Pompeii. (Plan only after Allison 2004, fig. A.1.)



65. Threshold at the base of the stairs in room C, House of Julius Polybius (IX.13.1-3), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



IF WE FOCUS ONLY on the archaeological remains, the direct material evidence of slaves' lives offers little. However, if the contexts of servitude are our concern, we can omit neither the archaeological record nor the textual one; both preserve evidence of the slaves' material lives. Slave owners' complaints were the effect of slave tactics. In other words, slaves' seizure of opportune moments and manipulation of time and timing had the desired effects; they resisted the slaveholder's total control, gained something for themselves, or simply annoyed their owners. Without the archaeological remains, these acts hang in empty air: they lack a place of occurrence. Moreover, once we consider the house kinetically and dynamically, and from other points of view, we can perhaps open up possibilities for playing with time in the arrangement of domestic space. This is not to suggest that we romanticize the conditions of Roman slavery or underestimate its hardships. Nonetheless, rather than thinking of domestic slaves exclusively from the owner's perspective, we offer ways of seeing the material world of slaves in Roman houses – a world in which they could exercise some control in temporarily recrafting master narratives.

Chapter 3

SLAVES IN THE CITY STREETS

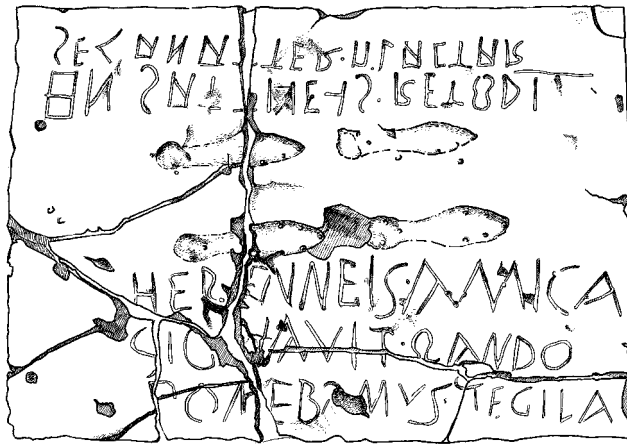
“Isn’t this everyone’s Point of View?” asked Tock, looking around curiously. “Of course not,” replied Alec. . . . “It’s only mine, and you certainly can’t always look at things from someone else’s Point of View.”

—JUSTER, *The Phantom Tollbooth* 1961, 107

The ordinary practitioners of the city live “down below,” below the thresholds at which visibility begins. . . . They are walkers, Wandersmänner, whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban “text” they write without being able to read it.

—DE CERTEAU 1988, 93

THIS CHAPTER BEGINS with a unique and remarkable artifact – a terracotta tile that bears the footprints of two slaves, along with a bilingual inscription in Oscan and Latin (Fig. 66). The Oscan inscription reads “Detfri slave of Herennius Sattius / signed with a footprint,” and the Latin one, “Amica slave of Herennius / signed when / we were placing the tile.” The footprints function as signatures of a sort, but they also show something that is otherwise unrecorded, and largely unrecordable, in the remains of Roman cities – the literal footprints of individual slaves. These imprints were captured while the clay was soft, before the firing of the tile, leaving the slaves’ indelible footpaths as they traversed the tile. The reasons that this object merits mention are twofold. On the one hand, virtually no footprints from ancient Roman cities survive, and to have those of slaves is both unexpected and arresting. On the other hand, the tile was placed on the roof of the temple at Pietrabbondante, where no one could really see it and where footprints did not belong in any case. It is as if the footprints tactically claim a trace of existing, or better yet walking, a trace otherwise largely unrecognized in ancient and modern accounts of life in the city and on its streets.



66. Terracotta roof tile with the footprints of slaves, Pietrabbondante. *Drawing by Glynnis Fawkes. (After Wallace-Hadrill 2008b, fig. 3.5.)*

While the previous chapter examines different aspects of the material life of slaves in the domestic realm as a response to new questions posed of both the textual and archaeological records, this chapter puts slaves on the move in the city. It considers the spaces and places that slaves could occupy beyond the walls of a house – from a street immediately adjacent to a dwelling to its neighborhood and networks of streets and their features; it suggests ways for modern eyes to see slaves in the material record where no direct traces of slaves, except for graffiti, survive. Such a task comes with its own set of challenges, not the least being that streets have been cleared away during excavations without systematic recording; one wonders what stories ancient detritus lying on sidewalks and in streets, and erased by time and excavation, could have told us about street and city life. What we have left is the architecture and, in some cases, the adornment of streets (i.e., fountains, shrines, benches, facade paintings, graffiti), along with some textual sources (primarily law and satire). In many ways, then, the study of the street as a space and a place is complicated by the relative neglect of streets by early archaeologists (especially when compared to their work on houses) and by the fact that streets were occupied by people, objects, and animals that came into contact with each other in both expected and unexpected ways.

This chapter focuses on slaves in Pompeian streets, where the material record has a fuller story to tell than in the nearby town of Herculaneum, which is only partially excavated, or Ostia, whose street life spanned centuries and whose modern restorations tell only one part of that city's rich history.² We begin by building on recent work on ancient streets and by thinking about streets and their spaces as sites for slave activities. Specifically, this chapter reconstructs urban neighborhoods, attending especially to the back doors of houses, bars and cook shops, fountains, and the streets themselves that constituted a local physical space for social relations, hanging or hiding out, entertainments, and diversions.

WAYS OF KNOWING ANCIENT CITIES AND STREETS

In the opening paragraphs of his chapter “Walking in the City” in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Michel de Certeau identifies two important ways cities can be known and comprehended: (1) by voyeurs (usually from above), who desire to see the city in its totality from a single viewpoint, and (2) by walkers (from “down below”), who negotiate the city but whose paths, actions, and spaces “elude legibility” (1988, 91–93). The voyeurs he describes are the cartographers and painters who “represented the city as seen in a perspective that no eye had yet enjoyed” (92). The walkers, who experienced the city intimately, “compose a manifold story that can claim neither author nor spectator” (93). This latter observation leads him to conclude that cities are known in everyday practice through fragments, and these narratives are thus “indefinitely other” compared to representations of cities in their totality.

While de Certeau posits a distinction between ways to “know” a city, much recent work on Roman cities and streets has begun to bridge the gap between the scholar who sees ancient cities from above (from plans) and the scholar who looks at streets and their activities using archaeological traces (down below) in combination with site plans and imagined lived experience (Plate V; see Fig. 4). This work reveals a great range in the types of questions and material brought to the study of Roman cities and streets, especially the streets in Pompeii, which have served as the primary data set. First and foremost are the more traditional, but still rewarding, investigations that remain firmly rooted in the archaeological data – from the analysis of ruts made by carts in roadbeds (the closest evidence we have to footprints), to the quantification of street activity and the collection and cataloguing of the images and writing on street facades.³ To these studies we should add those that focus on the social lives of streets: “firsthand” accounts of fictional characters walking through and experiencing Roman cities; attempts to activate streets by considering the ambulatory contexts of streetside words and images; analyses that try to capture the transitory effects of streets holistically – from street noise and physical nuisances, to animal and human traffic, and even filth.⁴

These recent studies endeavor to bring to life the city from both above and within, to use de Certeau’s framework, yet the tendency is still to view the city from above. Relying on plans, historians and archaeologists map movement onto streets and plot all kinds of shops, fountains, and work spaces. In effect, scholars perceive the city from the masterly point of view, as Roman cities, like domestic architecture, preserve the plans and intents of slaveholders. As with other parts of material culture, the city’s built environment was a means of expressing the authority and control of the propertied.⁵ City plans, then, are the beginning point for materializing in the physical world what we can observe in the discourse on streets. When it comes to focusing on slaves’ movement throughout the city, however, the ancient testimony is relatively quiet. Slaves have been and continue to be nearly invisible in assessments of Roman street life, as they, among other nonelites, have been collapsed into the anonymous crowd in the streets. A look at the indexes of two recent books is telling; there is no entry for slaves, as if their presence in the streets was insignificant or

largely unknowable.⁶ This situation is problematic because it means that slaves are written out of the streets and practically out of the daily life of cities despite their real, if past and ephemeral, presences in the streets, whether they accompanied their owners, went out on their owners' business, or traversed the city on their own.

This chapter explores the various possibilities for slave movement – directed circulation, loitering, and visiting – within the invisible net of containment outlined by fugitive slave law and the practices of slaveholders.⁷ We examine the words of slave owners, who, on the one hand, legislated street activity, and, on the other hand, most often complain about runaways, wanderers, and slaves idling in the streets and public places of the city. Pictures of street scenes along with the material remains of streets and neighborhoods help us to inject slaves into the scholarly discourse about streets. Finally, we consider how master narratives shaped certain daily regimes based on time, and how slaves could use those regimes as a way to claim the spaces and places for tactics outside the domestic realm.

Local magistrates of any given town were ultimately responsible for overseeing the infrastructure of the Roman city, which included the maintenance and control of streets and street life.⁸ In general, regulations attempted to make streets passable and inhabitable, and they tended to target property owners. A house owner had to keep the public street outside his house in good repair, clean the gutters of his building, and ensure that vehicles had access to the street (*Digest* 43.10.1.3). Likewise, nothing was to be left outside workshops, although fullers were permitted to leave clothes out to dry (presumably on drying racks) and carpenters were allowed to put out wheels, so long as these did not block vehicular traffic (*Digest* 43.10.1.4). No mention is made, however, of the potential impact of these clothing racks and wheels on foot traffic that included slaves, not to mention those who carried litters (*lecticarii*). Then there are the prohibitions against digging holes in streets, encumbering streets, or building anything on streets: a slave caught doing any of these things was beaten by the person who detected him, whereas a free man was fined and made to repair the damage (*Digest* 43.10.1.2). In addition to street maintenance and upkeep, regulations also aimed to limit such activities as fighting, flinging dung in the streets, and throwing dead animals or their skins into them (*Digest* 43.10.1.5).⁹ We do not know what the precise regulations were at Pompeii, but at least the jurists in the *Digest* have shed some light on the possibilities for maintaining and controlling its streets.

Pompeian images of street life provide snapshots of certain kinds of activities. Interestingly, most focus on events in the streets without depicting the space of the street itself. There are street-front paintings of religious processions like the fresco of the procession in honor of Cybele (Magna Mater) (Fig. 67).¹⁰ Located on the heavily trafficked Via dell'Abbondanza (IX.7.1), this fresco appears next to an entrance to a presumed shop (the area behind the threshold has yet to be excavated). In this picture, at far right, four men have placed a *ferculum* (litter) with a statue of Cybele on the ground; behind them stand the celebrants who have just paraded through the streets. Although the moment depicted here is static and calm, it is well known that the celebrations of Cybele were loud public spectacles. Indeed, on the left side of the composition, in addition to the *tibicen* (double oboe player), five others are shown with instruments: two with tympana, two with sets of cymbals, and one with a set of panpipes (Clarke 2003, 91–92). Cybele's processions, with



67. Fresco of the procession of Cybele along Via dell'Abbondanza (shop IX.7.1), Pompeii, first century. *Photo: AFS C502/80888 (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

their sheer number of participants and clamor, must have overtaken the streets on festival days in April.¹¹ Yet the fresco represents only the quiet pause in the procession right before the sacrifices took place, with no architectural surroundings, no bystanders or observers – just the celebrants occupying the street. In a more active street scene, carpenters process as part of their own religious rituals (Fig. 68). This fresco adorned the facade of a shop on a busy road that feeds into the Forum, Via di Mercurio (VI.7.8–II).¹² Although the fresco is not intact, we can still detect four individuals carrying the litter on which is displayed a statue of Minerva (partially preserved at the far left), three carpenters at work, and a tableau of Daedalus and Perdix (at the right). We witness a religious procession on the move, though the setting remains devoid of extraneous details, as if the parade could take place on any street, including the one on which it is depicted. In another type of street scene, which recurs in a variety of contexts, individuals set up temporary stalls in public spaces and thoroughfares – from the so-called bread-dole fresco in Pompeii (house VII.3.30) to the shop signs and tomb reliefs depicting vendors in their makeshift stalls from Ostia (Fig. 69).¹³ These scenes focus on the sales stall, its goods, the vendor, and sometimes the customers, rather than on the busyness of the street or the activities that enveloped the wooden stands.¹⁴

Not all images portray idealized – and somewhat generic – activities in the streets. The fresco showing a riot in the amphitheater (from house I.3.23) has been studied for its depiction of a specific, historical event in 59 CE when the Pompeians and Nucernians rioted during a gladiatorial contest at Pompeii (Fig. 70).¹⁵ Scholars note that the rioters spill out of the amphitheater but tend not to emphasize that here we see fighting in

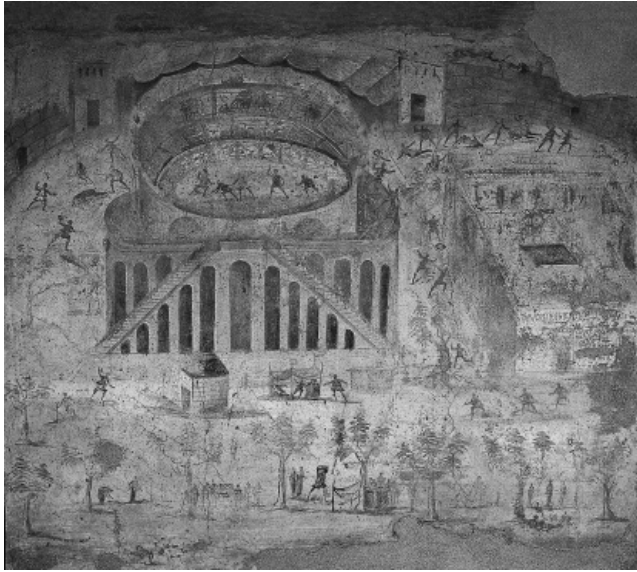


68. Fresco of the carpenters' procession (shop VI.7.8–II), Pompeii, first century (MANN inv. 8991). *Photo: Michael Larvey (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



69. Relief of a woman selling food at a temporary stall, Ostia, second century (Ostia Museum inv. 134). *Photo: Gianni Dagli Orti / The Archive at Art Resource, NY, AA385685.*

the streets of the very type prohibited by regulations. These streets are depicted as chaotic, loud, and violent, especially in comparison to the scenes discussed earlier. More peaceful images, but no less congested, show the busy Forum at Pompeii (these frescoes decorated the Praedia of Julia Felix, II.4). Individuals selling and buying goods fill the



70. Fresco of the riot in the amphitheater (house I.3.23), Pompeii, first century (MANN inv. 112222). *Photo: Michael Larvey (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



71. Fresco of sales taking place in the Forum (Praedia of Julia Felix, II.4), Pompeii, first century (MANN inv. 9069). *Photo: Michael Larvey (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

forum space, along with a clutter of other people, animals, and objects (Fig. 71).¹⁶ This precious example provides a vivid glimpse of the types of activities that could take place in a city's public spaces and corroborates what ancient authors say about a city's streets (e.g., Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 3.67.4; Livy 1.35.10; Martial 7.61, 12.57, 12.59).

Literary testimony, especially from satire, suggests that regardless of the regulations, the streets of Rome could be unpleasant and even dangerous. Although we lack direct reports from Pompeii, the Roman material is useful for thinking about the streets in any city of Pompeii's size. Martial complains about the noises of the bakers, coppersmiths, moneychangers, singing seamen, and brass pots and pans rattled together to drive away demons (12.57). To this we should add the stench of garbage, sewage, and animal feces that littered the streets.¹⁷ The crowd (*turba*), which appears frequently in Roman characterizations of urban streets, is captured by Juvenal; he makes a stark contrast between the wealthy man carried above the crowd and the mob that fills the streets below him:

When the rich man has a call of social duty, the mob makes way for him as he is borne swiftly over their heads in a huge Liburnian car. . . . Yet he will arrive before us; hurry as we may, we are blocked by a surging crowd in front, and by a dense mass of people pressing in on us from behind: one man digs an elbow into me, another a hard sedan pole; one bangs a beam, another a wine-cask, against my head. My legs are beplastered with mud; soon huge feet trample on me from every side, and a soldier plants his hobnails firmly on my toe. See now the smoke rising from that crowd which hurries as if to a dole: there are a hundred guests, each followed by a kitchener of his own. Corbulo himself could scarce bear the weight of all the big vessels and other gear which that poor little slave is carrying with head erect, fanning the flame as he runs along. Newly-patched tunics are torn into two; up comes a huge fir-log swaying on a wagon, and then a second dray carrying a whole pine tree; they tower aloft and threaten the people. (3.239–56; trans. G. G. Ramsay)

As part of the *turba*, slaves must have filled the streets, yet Juvenal mentions only the “poor little slave” (*servulus infelix*) carting cooking gear. Otherwise, slaves are relatively invisible within the congestion of the street; like most everyone except the elite, they are absorbed into the anonymity of Juvenal's crowd.

SLAVES ON THE MOVE: SLAVEHOLDERS' POINT OF VIEW

When slaves in the streets are more visible in literature and law, the picture drawn by slaveholders is a mixed one. Slaves work carrying rich men and women as litter bearers (Juvenal 1.64; Martial 6.77, 9.2; Petronius 28.4), accompanying their owners (Martial 2.57, 8.75.6–7; Petronius 28.4–5), or running errands for them (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 1.26, 3.12, 3.16; *Digest* 14.3.5.9; Ovid, *Amores* 1.11). Slaves also appear as both victims and perpetrators of the streets' mayhem, suggesting that they constituted a palpable presence among the streets' inhabitants, although the concern in law is not with the slave per se but with the damage done to the slave as property (or with the damage that the slave inflicts on someone else's property). Jurists cite instances in which slaves are run over by a cart

careening down a hill, pushed into the street and suffering a broken leg, and crushed by another man's load or carriage (*Digest* 9.2.52.2, 9.2.7.2 and 4, 19.2.13). As instigators of trouble in both law and satire, slaves attack other people, including other slaves, yell at others, and shout abuse (*Digest* 47.10.18.1, 47.10.34; Horace, *Satires* 1.5.11–13).¹⁸

Although slaves were an active presence in the streets, slaveholders claim that it could be difficult to distinguish from his appearance alone if a man in the streets was free or slave (*Digest* 18.1.5) – an assertion that accords well with Juvenal's characterization of the crowd in the city streets. Indeed, the senate rejected legislation that would have required slaves to wear distinctive dress because the senators feared that slaves would then recognize their numerical superiority (Seneca, *On Clemency* 1.24.1).¹⁹ On formal occasions, however, male citizens donned the toga, a garment forbidden to slaves. Still, the common, everyday garment of slaves as well as free men and citizens was the tunic. In effect, in everyday settings dress alone did not mark the sharpest distinction in Roman society, that between slave and free, and this in a culture heavily dependent on external appearances and visual cues. However, the comic stereotype of the running slave distinguishes slave and free by their gait: walking at a moderate pace is appropriate for the free citizen and rushing about is fit for the slave.²⁰ From the slave owner's point of view, this made sense: ideally, the slave should be scurrying about on his or her assigned tasks. Timothy O'Sullivan identifies this construct as a "utilitarian approach to slaves' bodies" (2011, 18). In this regard, slaves become part of the furnishings of street life, akin to carts, wagons, and litters, all of which moved people, objects, and information through the city for the ultimate benefit of slaveholders.

Yet slave movement in general disturbed and irritated slaveholders. They worried especially about the truant and the fugitive: like flight, truancy was included in the "defects" that slave sellers had to report to buyers. Jurists ended up defining the one in terms of the other. The *erro* (truant or wanderer) becomes a "petty fugitive" who "frequently indulges in aimless roaming and, after wasting time on trivialities, returns home at a late hour" (*Digest* 21.1.17.14). Truants wasted time the way other "bad" slaves, like gamblers and wine drinkers, wasted resources (*Digest* 21.1.25.6); in either case, they took what, in the view of slaveholders, belonged to the slave owner. Truancy could lead to flight or worse, as in allegations about slaves who remain away from an owner's house intending to flee or those who plan to flee but change their minds and commit suicide instead (*Digest* 21.1.17, 21.1.17.2, 21.1.17.6, 21.1.43.1–3). Above all, slaveholders' attention to fugitives and the prevention of slave flight "bordered on obsessive" (Fuhrmann 2012, 22).²¹ In the streets of the city, a slave, regardless of intention, could find himself or herself in especially precarious circumstances – away from the slaveholder's house or workshop, in public circulation, and under the constant threat of being mistaken for a fugitive, for which the punishments were severe.

It is well documented that slaveholders exercised control over the bodies of slaves not only to keep slaves in line but also to prevent flight.²² There is, however, a relative paucity of evidence on the prevention of flight from the Bay of Naples, perhaps testimony to the early archaeological work that ignored slaves, whether intentionally or otherwise, in its towns. Of the shackles, fetters, and stocks found in the area are those of the so-called Pompeii type preserved in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (Fig. 72). A circular design secured slaves by their ankles in a spokewise fashion and kept them in place and in



72. Pompeian-type stocks (MANN inv. 264942). *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

close proximity to the others, allowing them no chance of movement.²³ Equally haunting is the discovery of an underground slave prison at the Villa of the Mosaic Columns, just outside Porta Ercolano at Pompeii, where the remains of a slave with iron shackles around his legs were found, the shackles chained and fixed to the ground (*Notizie degli Scavi* 1910, 259ff.). This is an extraordinary discovery as it indicates the only *ergastulum* at Pompeii identified with a fair bit of certainty (Basso 2003, 457).²⁴ Yet, with only a few exceptions, this find is not picked up in more modern accounts of life in Pompeii, telling as it is.²⁵ These shackled bones and their location should make us wonder about the uses of the underground rooms, the so-called cellars, in Pompeian houses beyond storage: we cannot eliminate the possibility that they functioned as prisons, if only on a temporary basis.²⁶

Legal, literary, and archaeological testimony point to various other methods that formed an invisible net of slave containment (a net that may not always have been entirely invisible).²⁷ Roman law indicates that neighbors could be on the watch for runaways or for slaves who did not belong in a neighborhood: “When people know that runaway slaves are being hidden somewhere, they often point them out to their owners where they are hidden. . . . They often receive a fee for this act and point out [runaways] on that condition” (*Digest* 19.5.15).²⁸ In a somewhat similar vein, a public crier in the *Satyrica* reads a proclamation with the fugitive’s identifying characteristics: “Here ye! Recently lost in the public baths: A boy, approximately sixteen, curly-haired, attractive, effeminate. Answers to the name of Giton. A reward of one thousand pieces offered for information leading to his recovery” (97.2; trans. W. Arrowsmith). At Pompeii, two graffiti survive that announce a slave has gone missing, but they lack details about the slave’s appearance. One simply states: “Polucarpus fled” (*CIL* 4.2351; Wallace 2005, 89, no. 184). The other gives the date of flight: “Officiosus fled eight days before the ides of November in the consulship of Drusus Caesar and M. Junius Silanus” (*Officiosus fugit VIII idus Nov / Druso Caesare M Iunio Silano cos*)

(*CIL* 4.5214).²⁹ In the opinion of Christopher Fuhrmann, “No other information was probably needed if he was well known in the neighborhood” (2012, 32, n. 39). This may make sense in the case of graffiti that were displayed publicly (*in scriptis publice*) (*Digest* 11.4.1.8); however, these two notices come from the interior of houses. The former was inscribed in the atrium of workshop and house IX.2.4, located on Via Stabiana, and the latter in room 4 of the atrium at the House of the Centenary (IX.8.3–6).³⁰ The authors of these graffiti are unknown, and so, too, the audiences for them. Yet we might wonder about their effect on any slaves who read them (or to whom they were read): whatever the intent of their writers, did they have a deterrent effect on the houses’ slaves? Or from a different point of view, did they represent the happy news of a successful escape?

Slave flight had economic effects on slaveholders, but also, as Fuhrmann observes, it “violated deeply held social norms, which guarded the distinction between servile status and freedom” (2012, 42). Paradoxically, it was in the city streets where the free came into direct contact with the enslaved and where ambiguity prevailed. From the perspective of slave owners, streets were dangerous for a number of reasons, not the least because they were a space where their slaves could flee or wander under the guise of relative anonymity. While the act of stepping out of an owner’s house or workshop into a street could have been the first steps toward flight, slaves did not have to undertake such risks. For temporary relief, enslaved men and women could negotiate to their own advantage what was given to them – a city, its streets, and its regulations – without getting caught and being mistaken for fugitives.

SLAVES ON THE MOVE: THE SPACES AND PLACES FOR ACTIVITIES

Just as we explored the material life of domestic servants in terms of opportune moments within a Roman house, here we extend that discussion to the spaces and places of slave activity within the city. We begin with the areas immediately surrounding two houses and then broaden the scope to envisage the material life of domestic slaves in the city streets (although much of what is discussed could also apply to slaves in shops, a topic that will be covered in the next chapter). What follows is necessarily hypothetical, as direct, physical traces of slave movement do not survive. What we do inherit, however, is indirect evidence: the makings of strategies as far as streets are concerned, and thus the beginning points for thinking about slaves and chance offerings in more mobile contexts.

In a thought-provoking article on slave agency in Charleston, South Carolina, Bernard Herman discusses the case of a slave named Billy Robinson to argue that domestic servants in a city were able to achieve some measure of independence and sociability in the heart of the slave owner’s property (1999). Robinson’s legal defense against a charge of conspiracy turned to his own benefit his owner’s confidence in his surveillance and his self-proclaimed knowledge of the comings and goings of slaves. According to Robinson, he could not have conspired with other slaves without his owner’s knowledge. Yet, in fact, the layout of

the servants' quarters was rather porous and out of the patrolling gaze of others so they permitted such secret gatherings. In other words, the slave's defense took advantage of the slaveholder's arrogance in claiming his ability to surveil his slaves' activities. In effect, then, Robinson "recognized a cultural blindness in his masters and attempted to exploit it first to the ends of insurrection and then as a means for acquittal" (88).

Although specific to a particular set of historical and architectural contexts, Herman's findings are nonetheless fruitful for thinking more expansively about Roman slaves beyond the confines of the walls of a house and its front door, where slave owners claimed a similar type of masterly control and where a doorkeeper could patrol the comings and goings of residents and guests. Moreover, in any house with a *fauces* and atrium, the front door was a special area of concern for the owner, since it was important in the practices that established his status; scholarly attention has focused on the front door and its role in framing the presentation of the owner (see Figs. 11–12). In contrast, we highlight what may seem to be the rather mundane observation that many Roman dwellings had more than one door, and we shift our attention to features of domestic space that better served the needs of slave residents.³¹

Like the built environment in which Billy Robinson lived, many Roman houses were also somewhat porous, especially those with more than one point of entry. Some of the houses presented in the previous chapter are examples: the House of the Menander, the House of the Vettii, the House of the Gilded Cupids, the House of Lucretius Fronto (all in Pompeii), and the House of the Mosaic Atrium (Herculaneum), despite their different sizes, all have what we might call a back, or secondary, door. The House of the Menander seems to have had three back doors: a wide door to the stable yard at the back of the house (14); one farther to the north at 15, which was a later addition; and a door at 16 (see Fig. 11).³² In the other houses, there is only one secondary door, as at the House of the Vettii: the side door feeds into a stable area (β) (see Fig. 48). At the House of the Gilded Cupids, the rear entrance (38) leads into the service and kitchen area (see Fig. 51). The small House of the Lucretius Fronto has a back door between rooms *v* and *x*, far from the kitchen but next to a service area or possibly a stable (see Fig. 33).³³ Not a back door per se is the auxiliary door at 1 at the House of the Mosaic Atrium in Herculaneum (see Fig. 45). It is located on the eastern facade of the house along with the main entrance (2), nearly thirty meters south of it, but with a different orientation (the doorway is perpendicular to the wall, whereas the front door is flush with the wall, as to be expected).

At the back doors of these houses and others like them, we can see the space of everyday practice that took slaves out of the house and into the city. These secondary access points usually connect directly to a house's work or service areas and are removed from the primary circulation of slave owner and guests. Even the side entrance at the House of the Mosaic Atrium follows a similar pattern. This "back" door feeds into two narrow service corridors (rather than to the kitchen area, which is at the front of the house) that surround the reception rooms, whose orientation takes advantage of the house's vast view of the sea (see Fig. 45). It would seem that these corridors were staging areas for waiters and servants. In addition, the staircase just east of the auxiliary door adds to the utilitarian nature of the space, as do the remains of a latrine beneath the stairs.³⁴ A short doorway provides direct



73. Doorways at the base of the stairs (*left*) and to the latrine under the stairs (*right*) at the House of the Mosaic Atrium (IV.1-2), Herculaneum. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

access to this latrine (Fig. 73). All these features suggest that the back door next to the latrine witnessed much slave traffic.

Back doors are largely absent in slaveholders' accounts and modern discussions of Roman houses, yet they may have functioned as the primary door for domestic slaves. Certainly, back doors were important conduits for slave activities: the arrival of products for the household's consumption, the care of animals in stable areas, and the movements of staff going about their owners' business or their own. For the most part, the doors would have been out of the direct gaze of the slave owner, creating an opportunity for slave activities to take on a life of their own. A slave could slip unseen, and perhaps without the owner's knowledge, through these passageways to linger outside the confines of the house. Back doors also provided access to acquaintances from other households whose own back doors fed into the same street (as we shall see later with *Vicolo del Labirinto*). In this regard, the back doors of houses are the material spaces of slave life, spaces where they could disrupt the owner's choreography within, by avoiding the cleaning of a room or the moving of furniture while the owner was otherwise preoccupied. They were what we might call the spaces of a backdoor culture of Roman houses.

Two houses at Pompeii, the House of the Vettii and the House of the Menander, will provide springboards for discussing how patterns of domestic and street life gave shape to possibilities for slaves on the move within a city. We take as a point of departure Ray Laurence's concepts of neighborhood and neighbors in Pompeii.³⁵ Laurence views fountains and street shrines as features that brought *vicini* (neighbors) together and promoted a sense of local identity. Yet his identification of discrete neighborhoods presents them as static and impermeable (Laurence 2007, map 3.4). Rather, we suggest that from a slave's point of view these "neighborhoods" may have been more loosely defined than scholars

have allowed. Although we are using plans to describe potential slave movement, we do so with the intent of describing the streets as we studied them on site from down below, through the thicks and thins, “to compose a manifold story” that is not so easily contained and narrated (in de Certeau’s terms).

The fairly innocuous task of fetching water, for example, took slaves out of their houses as part of their daily household chores. Although as many as 124 houses in Pompeii may have been hooked up to the city’s aqueduct (and most had cisterns of their own), it is important to bear two facts in mind: water piped to houses was primarily a luxury used for display, that is, for pressurized water to feed fountains, and, owing to its relatively lesser quality, the water stored in cisterns may have been used for purposes other than drinking (e.g., for cleaning, flushing latrines, or watering the garden).³⁶ Therefore, even houses with their own water supplies likely needed to get good quality water for drinking from the public fountains (Laurence 2007, 49).

The House of the Vettii was connected to the city’s aqueduct, a situation that is not surprising given the twelve fountains on display in the peristyle garden (Jashemski 1993, 2.153–56). Moreover, this house was one of the few that had a large pipe conducting rainwater from the roof to a basin in the kitchen (Jansen 2001 38, n. 6; 40, n. 41). It is likely, then, that for the slaves of the Vettii household, the task of fetching water may not have occurred on a daily basis, but it probably did occur, maybe just as much as an excuse for a diversion as a duty to meet the actual needs of the household. And fetching water, for whatever purpose, could be a straightforward endeavor. The fountain closest to the back entrance of the Vettii was only a few steps to the west, at the intersection of Vicolo di Mercurio and Vicolo del Labirinto (Plate VI). Fetching water was also a fairly safe task, as far as competing with cart traffic went. The ruts in the roadbed at the south of insula 15 and insula 11 (to the west) are fairly shallow, suggesting that wheeled vehicles used this section of the road rather infrequently.³⁷ This finding is not surprising, given that two connecting streets, Vicolo del Labirinto (running north–south directly behind the House of the Vettii) and the southern stretch of Vicolo del Fauno to the west, were both without ruts, indicating light cart traffic or recent repaving (Laurence 2007, map 3.7).³⁸ One could in fact argue that these stretches of road functioned more as spaces for people on foot than for vehicular traffic. In this light, it is worth considering that slaves of the Vettii could have easily met at this fountain and socialized on a regular basis with slaves from other households.³⁹ According to Laurence, this fountain could have also served the large households at the House of the Gilded Cupids (VI.16.7, 38), the House of the Labyrinth (VI.11.9–10), and the House of the Faun (VI.12.5, 7), among others, whose back (or secondary doors) are located in proximity to it (Laurence 2007, map 3.4). More than that, however, this particular fountain is located in front of a *popina* or tavern (VI.13.17) (Fig. 74).⁴⁰ Such establishments tended to be open from as early as the fourth hour of the Roman day to well into the night (Laurence 2007, 93, 160). In other words, a place for work (the fountain) also had potential as an easy diversion, not only for lingering around it but also for passing time at a nearby bar.⁴¹

This fountain and its street (Vicolo del Labirinto) possessed ideal conditions for enabling slave tactics: large houses and presumably correspondingly large numbers of



74. Fountain at the intersection of Vicolo di Mercurio and Vicolo del Labirinto, with a bar (VI.13.17) behind the fountain. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

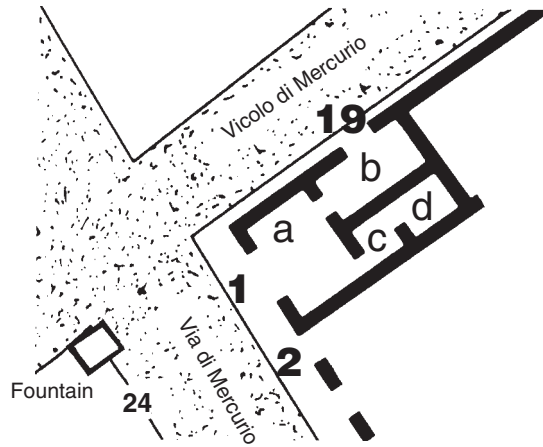
slaves occupied the adjacent area, and the street seems to have had little cart traffic and was therefore amenable to standing about for both slaves and free individuals. Equally important, only a handful of doorways fed into the eastern side of the street south of the fountain. Specifically, in addition to the *popina* (bar or tavern), the street led to the front door of only one house (VI.13.19) and to three back doors of two other dwellings (VI.13.13, 18; VI.13.20–22) (see Plate VI). No doorways graced the opposite side of the street (the eastern side of insula 12, which is the House of the Faun). Indeed, this stretch of road has been classified as one with fairly low social interaction based on the low occurrence of doorways and graffiti – an assessment that ultimately derives from an elite perspective (Laurence 2007, 107, maps 6.3 and 6.8). In other words, this street did not attract the kind of audience that a well-to-do citizen sought as he moved about town in an effort to be seen.⁴² As such, it was probably not a busy street, bustling with litters, processions, and so on, and it probably fell outside of the patrolling gaze of the slave owner. This does not mean that the street was an empty space. Defined primarily by back doors, a bar, and a fountain, it was potentially a hub for slave activities. Slave owners might have expected to find slaves moving about there, but slaves who were occupied with their work – making or unloading deliveries, fetching water, running errands. Slaves, however, may have found that this street served them well for encounters outside the confines of a house or for slipping away to the back door and service areas of a neighboring house to visit its slaves. We might therefore think about the southern stretch of Vicolo del Labirinto as a potentially rich space for facilitating social interactions among slaves, in fleeting gatherings and on informal occasions, precisely because it was a location that slave owners did not necessarily see or

frequent, and it was an open space where slaves could congregate spontaneously (Grahame 1997, 155ff.; cf. Introduction). In fact, slaves and these streets fell outside the master's sight, a situation not unlike the one of the Charleston property discussed by Herman. While the southern part of Vicolo del Labirinto may not have been an "active street" from the slaveholder's perspective, it could have been one from the point of view of those slaves who likely populated it.

Slaves walking west on Vicolo di Mercurio from the House of the Vettii to Via di Mercurio would have found themselves in several different situations, each with its own opportunities for enacting tactics. It should be noted that the walls along this section of the road had a high occurrence of graffiti, suggesting more street activity than the low occurrence of doorways might otherwise indicate (see Laurence 2007, maps 6.5 and 6.3, respectively). That is, while this road may have had moderate street activity, the graffiti along it point to quite a lot of foot traffic; perhaps it was heavily populated, with many people, including slaves, working or strolling through the streets. In this regard, this street perhaps was a place for looser and even more transitory encounters than those already described (Grahame 1997, 155ff.; cf. Introduction). Slaves could also attempt to disappear in the commotion of street activity. Alternatively, the southern section of Vicolo del Fauno (west of Vicolo del Labirinto) had relatively few doorways. As with Vicolo del Labirinto, this section of the road was inactive from a slaveholder's perspective; however, it was the kind of space where slaves could move about with relative ease, with few physical obstacles and quite literally out of view of the slaveholder. Slaves, in other words, could occupy, if temporarily, these two parallel streets because there was little elite activity. We can see these streets as slaves' material spaces for traversing the city for their own purposes and for connecting with slaves from nearby residences. In these so-called inactive streets, slave(s) of the Vettii could gather, linger, and socialize with slaves from other households. The very topography of these streets makes such tactics possible and invites us to question the modern assumptions that have obscured these streets in scholarly discourse.

Slaves may have moved beyond their neighborhood as defined by Laurence. A street further to the west, Via di Mercurio, also has a fountain at the intersection with Vicolo di Mercurio (Laurence 2007, map 3.4) (see Plate VI). Notably, two bars are located across the street from this fountain (the famous *Caupona* of the Street of Mercury, VI.10.1, 19, and the bar at VI.10.3).⁴³ This arrangement, not unlike that closer to the House of the Vettii, meant that slaves fetching water also had the opportunity, when the timing was right, not only to stand about at the fountain and socialize but also to walk across the street to a tavern. The food-and-drink bar at VI.10.3 seems to have been a single-room establishment connected to a house (DeFelice 2001, 248). In contrast, the *Caupona* of the Street of Mercury had three back rooms (DeFelice 2001, 247–48). We can assume that individuals who had the money could occupy the interior spaces of bars, away from the elements and the activity of the streets. Others, with relatively little money, most likely would have stood or sat outside on the spacious sidewalk in front of the counter, or at the fountain across the street (Figs. 75–76).

However, the arrangement of room *b* and the back door (19) of the *Caupona* of the Street of Mercury makes this assumption more complex. The small, northern-most room



75. Plan of the Caupona of the Street of Mercury (VI.10.1, 19), Pompeii. (After Clarke 1998, fig. 86.)



76. Fountain across the street from the Caupona of the Street of Mercury (VI.10.1, 19), Pompeii. Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).

(*b*), decorated with scenes of life in the tavern and theater, lies directly behind the counter and serving area (*a*) (Fig. 77). Rooms *c* and *d*, however, have direct access from *a* (*d* is decorated in a modest Fourth Style with mythological figures). Perhaps because of the placement of the counter, room *b* has a side or back door (19) that feeds directly onto Vicolo di Mercurio. Indeed, this side or back doorway allowed customers to enter the establishment without having to push their way past people at the counter and then around it; the doorway also invited customers to step into the bar directly from the street. Although Laurence defines the stretch of road before this auxiliary entrance as part of a neighborhood adjacent to the neighborhood of the House of the Vettii, the tavern was in all likelihood



77. Frescoes of life in the tavern, room *b*, Caupona of the Street of Mercury (VI.10.1, 19), Pompeii, first century. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

frequented not only by individuals from nearby residences but also by those living in relative proximity, like the slaves of the Vettii who had direct access to this tavern's back door from the back door of their own house. Moreover, the fact that this particular tavern was a bit farther from the House of the Vettii than other taverns also meant that it was potentially farther from the surveilling gaze of the slave owner (see Plate VI).

Taverns and the activities within them – drinking, gambling, fighting, and possibly sexual encounters – were the subject of elite scorn.⁴⁴ As John DeFelice posits, “The Roman elite marked off what was proper behavior and what was not in order to maintain social control. . . . Inns and taverns along with their female workers ended up caught in the circles the upper class drew around deviant locations and associations” (2001, 149). Nonetheless, for the vast majority of the population at Pompeii, patronizing such establishments was probably just a part of everyday life in a city. For slaves, taverns potentially provided relief from the strict orchestration of their lives within a house. Juvenal's satire of a nobleman, Lateranus, who visits such a place is revealing in this regard.

But look for him [Lateranus] first in a roomy bodega. You will find him lying cheek by jowl beside an assassin, enjoying the company of sailors, thieves, and runaway slaves, on his right a hangman, and a fellow who hammers coffins together, on his left the silent drums of a sprawling eunuch priest. Here is

Liberty Hall. The cups are shared and the couches are not reserved; everyone's equally close to the table. (*Satires* 8.172–78; trans. N. Rudd)

Juvenal identifies what the elite found so problematic about taverns: people from every walk of life could be found in such places, where all were treated with relative equality – a situation that would dilute the elite's power and authority over others.⁴⁵ Juvenal stacks the deck, however, by naming notoriously violent and marginal types as typical customers – sailors, thieves, fugitive slaves, murderers, makers of paupers' biers, and eunuch priests. Ordinary folks like bakers, shoemakers, vegetable sellers, and slaves and freedmen, who were regular patrons of bars and cookshops, are tainted by association. The same passage also suggests how slaves could have found some respite, beyond mere entertainment, in these places. Taverns and cookshops were potentially the spaces where the rules and regimes of the slave owner's house could be largely left behind.

Yet even the *Caupona* of the Street of Mercury retains fragments of the architectural hierarchy and choreography of the type we saw in the Roman house. The short doorway at the side or back door (19) stands in vivid contrast to the higher doorway that leads to the entrance of room *b* from the street (with the counter in front of it) and the high and wide doorway to adjacent rooms *c* and *d* (Fig. 78; see also Fig. 75). Moreover, room *b* offered customers an unmediated view of both the traffic along *Vicolo di Mercurio* and the back of the food counter along with the activities at it, whereas room *d* offered relative seclusion. Finally, the simple decoration of room *b* differs from the modest Fourth-Style ensemble of room *d*. It would seem that the shorter entrance at 19 signaled room *b*'s lower



78. External and internal doorways, *Caupona* of the Street of Mercury (VI.10.1, 19), Pompeii. Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).

place in the hierarchy of the tavern's spaces (with room *d* reserved for patrons who could pay more). The doorway at 19 led to a room sparsely decorated with scenes of tavern life, whose protagonists could be a diverse group of free individuals, freed slaves, or slaves; the scenes seem to corroborate Juvenal's satire about the mixed company one could find in taverns. It is tempting to read the doorway at 19 as providing a recognizable back or side entrance for customers with some (but not much) money, including slaves, who formed part of the anonymous crowd moving along *Vicolo di Mercurio*.

We might consider domestic slaves as mobile consumers of the city who negotiated the streets in ways that we have yet to imagine when we think of neighborhoods in static terms. In this regard, the following assessment focuses on the section of *Vicolo di Mercurio* east of the House of the Vettii (typically viewed as another neighborhood), which reveals some additional possibilities for enacting slave tactics. Along this path lie three taverns within easy reach, two bakeries, a fullery, a stable, and the fountain at the intersection of *Vicolo di Mercurio* and *Via del Vesuvio* (see Plate VI). With the exception of the taverns and stable, these are places where we might expect to find domestic slaves on errands: purchasing bread (bakeries at VI.14.30, 32 and VI.14.33–34); dropping off or picking up clothes in need of fulling (VI.16.3–4); fetching water. The taverns at VI.16.40, VI.16.2, and VI.14.35–36 (not to mention the one at the southeast corner of the intersection of *Via del Vesuvio* and *Vicolo di Mercurio*, V.1.13) provided diversions.⁴⁶ While slaves must have populated the street here to carry out their day's work, this same street also offered them opportunities for visiting or lingering around the bars.

Slaves of the Vettii who left through the side entrance heading east did so at their own peril. The ruts in the roadbed are rather deep here, which is not surprising because this stretch of road connects to *Via del Vesuvio*, with its heavy two-way traffic, and *Vicolo dei Vettii*, running north–south in front of the House of the Vettii, also witnessed heavy cart traffic (Poehler 2006). Moreover, travel eastward on foot along *Vicolo di Mercurio* was likely achieved on the street itself, rather than on sidewalks, which were extremely narrow especially when compared to those on main arteries nearby, such as *Via di Mercurio*, *Via del Vesuvio*, and *Via della Fortuna* (Fig. 79).⁴⁷ A slave thus had to contend with cart traffic when he or she walked east from the House of the Vettii. The alluring smells of the nearby bakeries might well have been diminished by the odors, noises, and traffic of the donkeys residing at the stable at the southwest corner of the intersection of *Via del Vesuvio* and *Vicolo di Mercurio* (VI.14.31) and moving to and from the mill rooms of the two bakeries on the north side of insula VI.14.⁴⁸ Add to this the stench and filth of the run-off into the street from the fullery at VI.16.3, not to mention the animal dung that littered the street, and we should probably conclude that slaves (among others) were faced with a rather unsavory stretch of road here.⁴⁹ Yet this area was not likely the subject of masterly gazes, as only one house (connected to a bakery) lies along this part of the road (VI.14.34) (cf. *Vicolo dei Vettii* with its more numerous house facades).⁵⁰ Rather, taverns, bakeries, and a fullery face the street, providing slaves of the House of the Vettii with various diversions. The slave bold enough to head south along the eastern side of insula VI.14 arrived at a widened section of the sidewalk (or platform) at the corner, outfitted with yet another fountain, a street shrine, and a more spacious place to linger – perhaps under the guise of fetching water, paying tribute to the gods (or observing rituals), or pausing on the way to a nearby shop



79. View of Vicolo di Mercurio, from east of the House of the Vettii (VI.15.1, 27) to Via del Vesuvio, Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

(Fig. 8o).⁵¹ This gathering place was a fair distance from the Vettii residence, and it was likely bustling as well – with people on foot or standing about, carts traversing the city, and customers frequenting the numerous shops in the surrounding area. Here a slave could become relatively anonymous within the more active streets of the city, appropriating time and space to frustrate an owner's expectations.

The opportunity for domestic slaves to make themselves invisible on highly frequented streets, namely, those streets where slaveholders likely sought visibility, was perhaps nowhere more available than along Via dell'Abbondanza, especially where it intersects with Via Stabiana (with the Forum being a possible exception; see Plate V and Fig. 4). Here slaves could form part of the *turba* (as depicted in the Juvenal passage cited earlier). In this heavily trafficked area, slaves from numerous small houses and workshops filled the streets, whether on errands, purchasing food or supplies, fetching water, or accompanying their owners. In addition, city slaves could use their knowledge of the streets to their advantage. Slaves from larger, more self-sufficient households, such as the domestic staff at the House of the Menander, as noted in the previous chapter, might



80. Widened sidewalk with a fountain, shrine, and water tower at the corner of Via del Vesuvio and Via della Fortuna, Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

have had more specialized tasks to undertake at certain times of the day, perhaps leaving open opportunities to range outside the house without the slaveholder's knowledge. What follows is an exploration of some of the ways that slaves from the House of the Menander could take advantage of what was given to them (i.e., the slaveholder's intentions and network of streets) to embark on self-willed expeditions, albeit always under the threat of punishment or being mistaken for a fugitive. Indeed, the networks of streets in the area surrounding the House of the Menander presented some enticing possibilities for the household staff.⁵²

Slave movement must have been rather heavy along the southern end of Vicolo di Paquius Proculus, onto which the three back doors of the House of the Menander feed (14–16, with the door at 15 being a later addition) (Plate VII). The house seems not to have been hooked up to the aqueduct, so we can assume that slaves were charged with the task of fetching fresh drinking water on a daily basis.⁵³ The fountain at the northeast corner of the insula was the most convenient source in terms of distance. The small tavern nearby (I.10.2), in addition to the fountain, likely provided opportunities for meeting with slaves from other households.⁵⁴ In fact, this area was especially promising for passing time. Vicolo del Menandro, which runs in front of the House of the Menander, terminates at insula 7 and the intersection of Vicolo di Paquius Proculus, creating a piazza of sorts, especially with the widening of the road at the easternmost section of Vicolo del Menandro. Moreover, the northern stretch of Vicolo di Paquius Proculus (i.e., north of Vicolo del Menandro), leading up to Via dell'Abbondanza, has several noteworthy features. First, Laurence's assessment of this unpaved road as having a relatively high density of doorways should be tempered a bit (Laurence 2007, map 6.2), as this northern part of the road possesses only two doorways: one was the entrance of a relatively modest-sized house (I.7.19, later connected to the House of the Ephebe, at which time the entrance became

a back door); the other, at I.7.20, leads to underground spaces of the House of Paquius Proculus (I.7.1, 20), including the kitchen and so-called cellars or slave quarters.⁵⁵ Moreover, the road is blocked from wheeled traffic at the intersection with Via dell'Abbondanza, and no sidewalks run along this stretch of the street, all of which suggests that this road was used primarily for passage by foot or by a litter carried by slaves on foot. There was also a high frequency of messages along the road: a situation that is not surprising given the paucity of doors and hence the availability of wall space for graffiti (Laurence 2007, map 6.5, taken from Mouritsen 1988, fig. 3). Because of these factors, Laurence argues that this section of the road was used primarily for movement rather than for social interaction, which may be partly true (2007, 110). As Jeremy Hartnett observes, a water pressure tower built into the eastern side of I.6 further inhibited the flow of foot traffic between Vicolo di Paquius Proculus and Via dell'Abbondanza (2011, 151).

Something else was going on with this stretch of road. It appears that it could be closed off to traffic not only at Via dell'Abbondanza but also with a gate near the entrance to I.7.20, a feature that is of particular interest (Beard 2008, 60, 322) (Fig. 81). If the area to the south, at the piazza with the fountain on the corner of Vicolo del Menandro and Vicolo di Paquius Proculus, facilitated loitering, then the owner of the House of Paquius Proculus (I.7.1, 20) may have closed off the street to separate his back door from the activities within the piazza area – in addition to restricting foot traffic between it and Via dell'Abbondanza.⁵⁶ Indeed, there are a number of large houses in the area, which meant large numbers of domestic slaves potentially moving about (e.g., the House of the Menander; the House of the Cryptoporticus [I.6.2, 16], with a back door feeding into this area; and the House of the Epebe [I.7.10–12, 19], also with a back door leading to the piazza, in addition to the



81. Gateway near the entrance to the subterranean rooms (at 20) at the House of Paquius Proculus (I.7.1, 20), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

House of Paquius Proculus itself). Furthermore, on days when games or theatrical events took place, this area must have witnessed heavy traffic because Via di Castricio, which begins just south of the piazza area, was likely a major path between the city's amphitheater and theaters (see Fig. 4). Travelers moving east and west in this part of town might have avoided parts of the congested Via dell'Abbondanza, and the gate near I.7.20, when closed, ensured that traffic stayed clear of the northern part of Vicolo di Paquius Proculus.

Depending on the time of day, when slave owners were attending to business at the Forum, frequenting the baths, or preoccupied with games or the theater, slaves in the neighboring area (if not accompanying their owner or going to the games or theater on their own) could have gathered along Vicolo di Paquius Proculus. In other words, there is really no reason to assume that the gate near the back of the House of Paquius Proculus or some foot traffic necessarily precluded opportunities for social interaction, especially along a stretch of road presumably closed to wheeled vehicles and with few doorways. With the gate open, slaves from several households would have been able to mingle and socialize, mostly out of sight of their owners. With the gate shut, the street would have become almost a closed space for extended, informal gatherings for those within, although it was not a private space in Grahame's terms, as the owner could presumably enter it at any time (Grahame 1997, 155ff.; cf. Introduction).

Two other fountains, not too far from the House of the Menander, could take slaves on jaunts beyond the confines of their neighborhood (as defined by Laurence 2007, map 3.4). Heading east on Via di Castricio, after three blocks, is another fountain (with a bar across the street [I.II.II], the Caupona of the Phoenix or of Euxinus and Iustus) (see Plate VII). This fountain may have been particularly appealing. Behind the fountain are two sidewalk benches belonging to houses I.16.4 and I.16.3 (Fig. 82). These benches, located on the south side of the street, provided not only a place to rest but also a place in the shade, away from the scorching summer sun.

While benches in front of large houses are assumed to be for clients waiting outside a patron's house during the morning *salutatio*, Hartnett, in his study of Pompeian street-side benches, admits that no written source actually depicts clients sitting on them.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, he notes that the mere presence of a bench gave the impression of accommodating guests (2008, 107, esp. n. 57). Thus, benches could establish the social standing of the owner vis-à-vis visitors. Furthermore, benches were a humbler form of seating than chairs – the lowest in the hierarchy of seating provisions. Street benches were made of masonry and lacked arms, and thus were rather uncomfortable; moreover, they accommodated many people at once (Hartnett 2008, 105–6). That said, benches were also perceived as acts of benefaction. As Hartnett argues, by accommodating sitting on a bench (rather than on a curb or having people standing about), property owners could curry favor with “street sitters” and thus reinforce social hierarchies (115). Benches on the south sides of streets in the shade were especially welcome, even if it meant an intrusion into the sidewalk (115–16). In these respects, benches were built, as Hartnett puts it, “with an eye to how an owner might gain” (116). However, intent does not always lead to actual practice. And here we must consider the possibility that slaves appropriated the benches to sit and do nothing or snack on food from the tavern across the street, especially at opportune moments. Jurists, in fact, worried about slave sluggishness, idleness, and tardiness,



82. View of the fountain and benches across the street from the Caupona of the Phoenix or of Euxinus and Iustus (I.II.II), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

among other perceived defects, which could affect the pace of work in the house as well as outside it (*Digest* 2I.I.18). Certainly, a slave resting on a bench delayed the execution of an errand and was thus cause for slaveholder concern. In this regard, we might rethink how sidewalk benches may have served slaves as an instrument of delaying tactics. Although sidewalk benches were not designed specifically for slave use, given the proximity of these two benches (at I.16.4 and I.16.3) to a fountain and food-and-drink establishment, we can entertain the possibility that they were appropriated by slaves.

Via di Castricio, as an alternative route to Via dell'Abbondanza, may also have been fairly bustling at certain times. According to Laurence, Via di Castricio has a high occurrence of doorways (but not as high as for streets such as Via dell'Abbondanza) (2007, map 6.2) and the greatest occurrence of messages along the walls (2007, map 6.5). In addition, the street contains at least five additional streetside benches (Hartnett 2008, fig. 1). That Via di Castricio was well traveled is also evinced by the monumental gateway that marks its junction with Via di Nocera further to the east (Fig. 83; see also Fig. 4). Although this portal is reconstructed, its features at the base suggest that it could be closed and locked to control crowds attending events at the amphitheater.⁵⁸ Slaves traversing the city using this path, whether on an errand or to avoid work, had to contend with a fair number of pedestrians, in addition to wheeled traffic (although data for this roadbed is not forthcoming);⁵⁹ social interactions among slaves were perhaps a bit more limited (except at bars or benches). Nonetheless, on this street slaves could become relatively invisible by disappearing into the visible fabric of the city.



83. Monumental gateway at the intersection of Via di Castricio and Via Nocera, near the amphitheater, Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

When a slave from the House of the Menander wanted to disappear into the crowd, he or she only needed to head north to Via dell'Abbondanza, dense with wheeled and foot traffic, shops and workshops, bars, house facades, and streetside messages, along with benches (especially notable at the eastern section of the road), fountains, and street shrines (Laurence 2007, maps 3.1–2, 5.4, 6.5; Hartnett 2008, fig. 1). The stretch of road running between Via Stabiana and Via di Nocera yields at least eight bars, seven shrines, and five fountains.⁶⁰ Thus the built environment was ideal for a slave wishing to stand at a tavern, watch a procession pass by, or linger at an altar or a fountain (at the latter, slaveholders would expect to find slaves at work). In other words, Via dell'Abbondanza was the perfect place for a slave to hide in plain sight.

Slaves from the House of the Menander could also have headed southwest to find diversions from their work at bars, which, as we saw, were deviant spaces from a slave owner's perspective.⁶¹ Right around the corner from the entrance to the stable yard was a food-and-drink establishment (I.10.13). A little further down the block was another tavern, although it is no longer preserved (I.19.2; see Plate VII).⁶² And, as Steven Ellis's research has demonstrated, the area near the theaters is home to numerous bars. Not surprisingly, many of these occupy prime real estate along the heavily trafficked Via Stabiana; Ellis identifies thirteen bars along the southern section of this road (2011, 163).⁶³ Especially relevant are the bars of insula I.2, namely those along the eastern and southern sides,

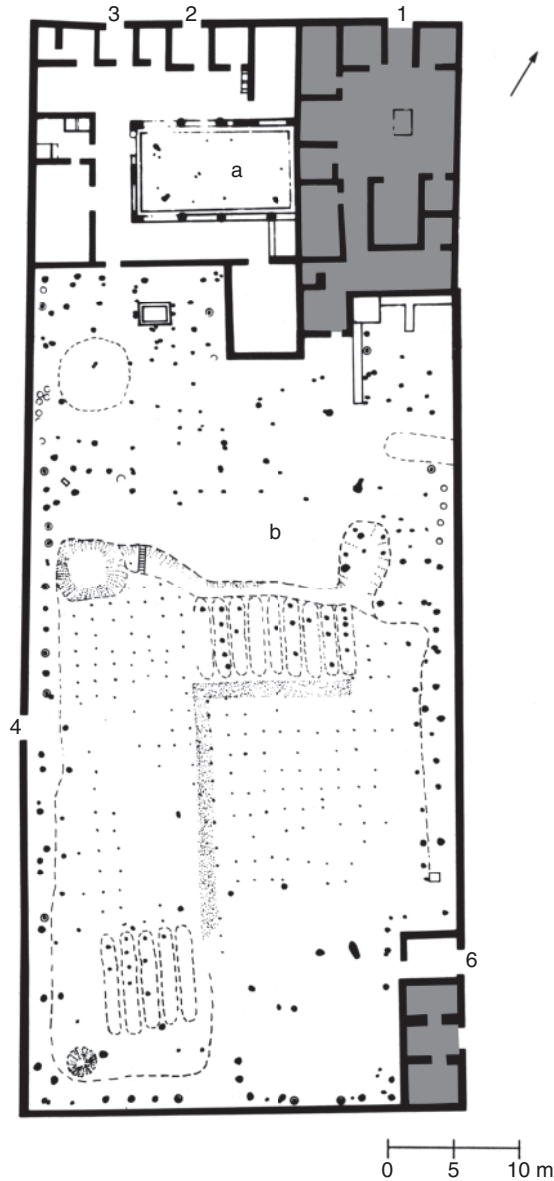
and the one to the north at 1.3.28, all within reach of the House of the Menander.⁶⁴ Coincidentally, a fountain at the northeast corner of I.5 is within easy proximity to the bars, so that under the pretense of work, a slave could find rest and relaxation or entertainment in this area. It would seem that the density of eating and drinking establishments likely intended for travelers coming into the city could have been just as important to slaves living nearby, as well as to those accompanying their owners as they visited the city.⁶⁵

In addition to frequenting bars, slaves also had ample opportunity elsewhere for hiding or temporary flight, despite its difficulties within a city. Indeed, jurists' discussions of slave flight and truancy imagine different circumstances for such actions but are rarely specific about their material enactment. In this regard, we might look anew at certain features of the city. For example, staircases that led directly from the street to second-story properties may have been used as hiding places. Along the north side of insula I.3 are three sets of stairs: at 17, 19, and 21 (the latter is next to a bar at 22) (Fig. 84; see also Plate VII).⁶⁶ These spaces, so often overlooked in scholarship because they do not conform to our notion of entrances to Roman dwellings, not to mention our inadequate knowledge of upper stories, would have been ideal spots for slaves seeking refuge from their owners or shelter from the life of the city (and they must also have been cool in the heat of the summer).⁶⁷ In addition, the large garden plots on the south side of the city, in the vicinity of the House of the Menander, could also have been poached temporarily for slaves' purposes, especially in light of the relative isolation of these areas from the key spaces of urban elite activities. For



84. Staircase at I.3.17 (*left*), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

example, attached to the House of the Ship Europa (I.15.3-4, 6) is a large, enclosed market-garden orchard (Jashemski 1993, 2.61-63). Entering the garden through the house itself seems unlikely for a truant or fugitive from outside the household. He or she could more easily slip into the walled orchard at the back entrance at 4 along the western side or at 6 on the eastern side, both of which avoided the views of the slave owners (although these entrances had to be unlocked or opened by someone inside) (Fig. 85; see also Plate VII).



85. Plan of the House of the Ship Europa (I.15.3-4, 6), Pompeii. (After Jashemski 1993, plan 18.)



IN CONCLUSION, WE SHIFT our attention from slaves walking through the city during the day to slaves on the move at night. Scholarly literature tends to concentrate on movement during the daylight hours, when wealthy slave owners and elites were most often out and about, and most visible (Laurence 2007, 154–66).⁶⁸ It could be argued that, aside from travel to and from dinner parties, streets were less frequented by wealthy individuals from the ninth hour onward, when they were at home or at dinner at the house of another. Instead, ordinary folks patronizing the city’s food-and-drink establishments occupied the streets at night. Yet in various ways, Roman literature and law depict urban streets at night as populated by those we might see as “other.” Most “other,” perhaps, were the corpses that were transported to the necropolises at night, traversing the city when the living (i.e., the wealthy and elite) were largely absent from its streets.⁶⁹ In the view of many authors, the dead kept company with drunkards, thugs, and thieves, the stereotypical denizens of the urban night.⁷⁰

Nighttime might also have been the time that some slaves took temporary ownership of the streets. We should proceed with caution: many houses had doors that were locked at night to keep slaves in as well as others out.⁷¹ Houses with more than one entry point were more porous, and slaves with knowledge of when a door was closed for the night could slip out and return before being locked out (or return in the early morning when the door was unlocked). In literature, slaves are associated with the “others” who populated the streets at night. In his depiction of an inn at night, Petronius throws nocturnal troublemakers into the same category as drunks and slaves – in particular, runaway slaves. The innkeeper, finding Eumolpus, Encolpius, and Giton in a struggle, asks: “Are you drunks, or runaway slaves, or both?” (95). A bit later, with another brawl underway, the manager of the *insula* arrives and rails against “drunkards and runaway slaves” (96). Gross misbehavior, indeed deviance, from an elite point of view is characterized as an association between drunks and fugitive slaves – you are one or the other, or both, and in any case, categorized as a nocturnal troublemaker. Indeed, the fact that the scene takes place at night is critical: night was *the* time when drunks and slaves, or drunken slaves, were out visiting taverns and inns.

Frescoes from taverns bring to life the complaints of drunkenness, gambling, and fighting; for example, the frescoes in the back room (*b*) at the *Caupona* of the Street of Mercury show scenes of customers drinking, eating around a table, and gambling (see Fig. 77). More confrontational are frescoes from the *Caupona* of Salvius (VI.14.35–36; Figs. 86–87).⁷² In the second frame, a barmaid serves two drunken customers, and in the final two frames two gamblers are in an argument that turns into a fight and name-calling. Words accompany the images so that we can “hear” the fight as well. One gambler asserts, “You no name. It was three for me. I was the winner.” The other responds, “Look here cocksucker. I was the winner.” The owner then tells them both, “Go outside and fight it out.”⁷³ The last frame illustrates the fistfight that ensues. Whether the figures in the frescoes were free or slave, their activities were often



86. Fresco cycle from the Caupona of Salvius (VI.14.35–36), Pompeii, first century (MANN inv. 11482). *Photo: Michael Larvey (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



87. Two men fighting, detail of the fresco cycle from the Caupona of Salvius (VI.14.35–36), Pompeii, first century (MANN inv. 11482). *Photo: Michael Larvey (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

connected to those of “bad” slaves. Specifically, the “others” of the Roman night share stereotypical qualities of the “bad” slaves who were, in the view of jurists, gamblers, drunkards, gluttons, quarrelsome troublemakers, and truants (*Digest* 21.1.4.2, 21.1.25.6). Those slaves who frequented the bars or engaged in other activities at night had to traverse streets that seemed alien to the wealthy but perhaps less so to these bondspeople, who found a sort of freedom in the dark streets, relieved of the gaze of owners and supervisors.

Streets at night held other dangers as well, as Juvenal imagines in his picture of an ordinary man moving about the city. Every window that the man passes beneath threatens him with dirt or death: he is lucky if the contents of a chamber pot are dumped on his head, and not the pot itself (3.268–77). Juvenal describes the things that literally happen below, in the streets, and in their thick and thin, as de Certeau puts it. The perpetrators in Juvenal's satire are those who can view the city from above, the individuals who occupy the place of voyeurs who have the temporary ability to harass pedestrians below by letting vessels or the contents of chamber pots fall on them (see Plate V). Roman law shows a similar concern about objects being poured or thrown from buildings and injuring passers-by: at least an entire section of the *Digest* is devoted to the topic (9.3). Included among those who might be responsible are slaves (9.3.1pr., 9.3.1.8) (however, it should be noted that they are not cited as the only possible agents).

The associations become provocative when we remember that some scholars have assumed that the upper stories of urban dwellings often housed slaves.⁷⁴ If slaves did in fact occupy the upper stories, and if they were the ones responsible for throwing things down and hassling men and women – free and slave, rich and poor alike – especially at night, then we may be seeing the spatial and temporal dimensions of tactics. Slaves, even temporarily on an upper floor, had the ability to observe the streets from above, a view we typically associate with the “all-seeing” slave owner. Perhaps, in a nighttime context, the slave took a momentary, and peculiar, possession of the street from above by making it dangerous and unpredictable for those walking below.

Despite the literal footprints of Detfri and Amica cited at the beginning of this chapter, the movements of slaves walking through the city and its streets have traditionally eluded legibility (de Certeau), not only because these movements left few traces but also because ancient testimony and modern scholarship tend to focus on the movements of the more privileged. A shift in perspective, however, enables us to consider what might have been possible for a slave in a city and its streets.⁷⁵ This shift demands that we think about how slaves might have known and negotiated the streets – from both below and above, and during the day and at night.

Chapter 4

SLAVES IN THE WORKSHOP

If the following clause is written in a will, “I give and legate those things which were made and acquired to equip and carry on the business of my shops, mill, and inn,” Servius replied that by these words both the horses which were in the mill and the millers, and in the inn the slave managers and the cook, and the merchandise in these establishments, were regarded as legated.

—*Digest* 33.7.15 (TRANS. A. WATSON)

WALKING NORTH ALONG Via Stabiana in Pompeii, visitors pass one rectangular space after another (Fig. 88). Identified as shops or workshops, these spaces appear as variations on a theme: the one or two rooms have rubble or gravel floors and unpainted walls; wide front doorways open directly on the sidewalk or street, their thresholds grooved for wooden shutters.¹ Most often, it should be said, we bypass these places – after all, they appear empty. The same experience could be repeated on other streets in both Pompeii and Ostia. Yet in many of these rooms slaves worked, ate, slept, and led their daily lives. Their workplaces remain, yet they seem invisible now that the tools, tables, and shop signs are long gone. In a few cases, however, distinctive features leave traces of workers’ activities in the archaeological landscape: mills and ovens clearly indicate ancient bakeries, and stalls and basins, fulleries. These features allow us to do what is impossible for the myriad empty shops and workshops – examine the material life of Roman workers in the ancient city.² Since our concern is with slave workers, we focus on one of the identifiable urban workshops, the bakery, where literature and law testify to the certain presence of slaves. At key points the chapter turns briefly to fulleries to explore the conditions of laboring for slaves in the city and to highlight aspects of reading the archaeological record.

As in any investigation of Roman workshops, we are confronted with different kinds of ancient sources that oftentimes do not fit together neatly. Roman authors represent the



88. Via Stabiana, looking north, Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

conditions of work in a variety of workshops and shops, markets and streets, yet we see them through the elite prejudices toward traders and artisans, which characterize Roman literature. Law tells us about the legal status of workers, the relationships between workers and owners, and the ownership of laborers, materials, and equipment. Inscriptions of various sorts name flesh-and-blood Romans in many trades and crafts; epitaphs in particular record the legal status of artisans and tradesmen. In addition, the circumstances of burial or information in an epitaph often indicate the social environment of work: for example, burial in a *columbarium* set aside for slaves and ex-slaves of a single elite family signals the deceased's membership in a large domestic household, just as an occupational title that includes the address of a shop points to social relations in the marketplace outside of a household.³ Shop signs and reliefs on tombs depict workers and craftsmen, though their legal condition is often not labeled.⁴ And as noted earlier, the archaeological remains of cities include workplaces (whether we can identify them or not) and tools, though the latter are now usually divorced from their original locations.

However plentiful they may be, these sources have gaps that inhibit our ability to tell a story about slaves in urban workshops. The largest, most substantive trove of epitaphs in which men and women indicate their occupations comes from the city of Rome, yet the remains of the city's shops and workshops are scanty. At Ostia and Pompeii, urban landscapes thick with shops and workshops, epitaphs with occupational titles are relatively few. For Pompeii, the richest source of urban archaeology, most of our knowledge of the city's occupations comes from graffiti and election notices (*programmata*) that cover the exterior walls of many buildings. Notices like "the wool dyers ask that you make Postumius Proculus aedile" (*Postumium Proculum aed(ilem) offectores rog(ant)*; *CIL* 4.864) give the name of the candidate for office but less often the names of the crafts- or tradespeople who

support him. When they do, the precise legal status of the individuals named is not always clear; moreover, it is often difficult to tie those individuals to specific workshops.⁵

Relying on these types of sources, scholars have acknowledged the presence of slaves among urban workers, yet understandably they have been reluctant to bridge the gaps in the ancient evidence. Thus, although slave workers appear in epitaphs and texts, scholars hesitate to locate them in specific archaeological urban landscapes, for the latter have no unique mark of slaves' presence. Moreover, focus on a particular topic tends to be tied to a particular source. Where workers are concerned, as opposed to work, attention often narrows to inscriptions and questions of identity – giving us workers without workplaces. Where work and workshop take center stage, and with them the archaeological record, we get collections of sites (bakeries, fulleries, bars, brothels, metal workshops), studies of their distribution across the urban landscape, and careful considerations of technology (physical plant, tools, processes): in other words, the workplace or the work, but not the workers.⁶

Quite recently, however, Miko Flohr's discussions of craftsmen and fulleries has put Roman workers on the move in specific workspaces and raised productive questions about the social relations of work as they appear to be mapped in the organization of space and apparatuses. Flohr proposes a new approach to reading the archaeological record, which focuses on the daily work of craftsmen and the social interactions among them in their workplaces (2009, 173). Most important for our project, he looks at how space shapes social relations. In particular, he examines what he calls the "communicative landscape" – the physical layout that positions workers in relation to each other, facilitating or inhibiting direct verbal exchanges and visual interaction.⁷

This chapter brings all of these considerations to bear on slave workers in specific environments in Pompeii and Ostia. We begin with a brief overview of owners' strategy and slaves' tactics in urban businesses and workshops as they appear in literature and especially law and examine the problem of locating the actions of owners and slaves in the built environment of the city. After a quick look at ancient and modern representations of the commercial production of bread, we focus on a single case study: the House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27) in Pompeii. Not only has this bakery received detailed consideration in modern scholarship, it has also been cited for many years as an exemplum of the Roman bakery, which makes it a good model for looking at how privileging slaves can shape the archaeology of work.⁸ For us, the workshop's layout and the organization of tasks in a particular space spell out the intentions of the owner and define the contexts of servitude. We examine the social life of work in this defined space and then move on to the possibility of tactics. The urban world outside the workshop's doors, in particular the immediate surroundings, too, affected the material life of the bakery's slaves, especially if those slaves could leave its confines. The neighborhood provided entertainments, extended social relations, and places of refuge or escape, and it opened the possibility of certain kinds of slave activities. By way of comparison we turn at the end to fulleries and bakeries in second-century Ostia, establishments that dwarf even the largest workshops in Pompeii. The challenge in the evidence from Ostia is the effect of size – large physical plants and workforces – on the narrative we can write for urban slaves.

STRATEGY AND TACTICS IN THE SHOPS AND WORKSHOPS OF POMPEII

The legal sources provide a clear picture of the use of slaves in businesses and workshops. As *instrumentum* (equipment, tools), slaves were the primary labor force in fulleries, bakeries, and all sorts of workshops in general.⁹ Some worked for their owners; others were rented, sometimes as a group, from other slaveholders.¹⁰ Some slave owners trained their slaves for particular crafts and trades (*Digest* 6.1.27.5, 6.1.28, 6.1.32). Other slaves were managers, agents, salesmen, and peddlers (*Digest* 5.1.19.3, 7.8.20, 12.1.29, 14.3, 14.5.passim, 32.1.65, 32.1.91.1). It should be clear that we hear of free workers and apprentices in some trades, although their employers lacked the sort of control over movement and bodies, which belonged to slave owners.¹¹

Jurists also register a host of slave behaviors that disrupted owners' strategies and dogged owners in their relations with customers – that is, tactics. Law applies the general charges of theft, damage, negligence, and laziness to slaves in urban occupations, and it records instances of such misbehavior in particular trades. Some slaves sold stolen property; other slaves, leased to shopkeepers, robbed those shopkeepers (*Digest* 9.4.38, 19.2.45). Jewelers and metal artisans damaged or stole raw materials (*Digest* 9.2.27.29, 13.6.20, 19.2.13.5). Agents sent to sell bread took the money in advance but ended up insolvent (*Digest* 14.3.5.9); some borrowed money but not for the business of their owners (*Digest* 14.3.13). Apparently, owners of dishonest or negligent tradesmen put up signs that warned customers not to deal with them: "I forbid my slave Ianuarius to carry on business" (*cum Ianuario servo mei geri negotium veto*) (*Digest* 15.1.47; cf. 15.4.1.1). The legal evidence for fullers suggests how the owners and managers of workshops might have been vulnerable through their workers.¹² Jurists mention myriad ways that clothes in the safekeeping of fullers were stolen, misplaced, or damaged (*Digest* 12.7.2, 19.2.13.6, 47.2.12). The charge that fullers used their customers' clothes for their own purposes was common (Cassius Dio 46.4–5; *Digest* 47.2.83). In effect, the liability of the fullery's owner was his workmen's opportunity, or rather, law points to the opportunities seized by the owner's workers, although it denotes the acts, not their causes or goals.

The places in which owners deployed slaves and in which tactics were enacted included the streets of the city, its marketplaces, and its shops and workshops. At Pompeii, the latter seem to take one of several forms. Small shops, *tabernae*, usually have one or two rooms. Some exist independent of any house, and often rows of them line busy streets. Others flank the front doors of atrium houses, even large ones. The shops lack any entry into the house itself, or they open into the house through the shop's back door (Fig. 89). Some *tabernae* were both homes and workspaces for their owners or workers or both. As Felix Pirson has argued, we may not know about the living arrangements of many shops, but others have identifiable features that suggest habitation: cooking facilities, latrines, bed niches, and back rooms or second floors (1997, 168) (Fig. 90). Larger productive establishments tend to be of two types: (1) workshops *in* atrium houses where the domestic and the productive intermix (Figs. 91–92), and (2) workshops *and* atrium houses, where the workshop connects to the house but is not fully incorporated into it (Figs. 93–94).¹³

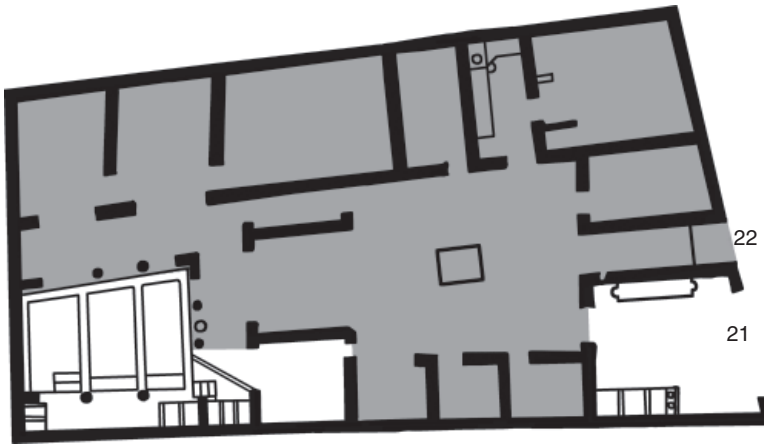


89. Shop VI.6.22 with an entry into an atrium house (*left*), and shop VI.6.23 without access to an atrium house (*right*), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



90. Dye shop (V.1.5) with a back room for living quarters, Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

Scholars have attempted to translate these varied spatial arrangements into social relations. In his study of the *Insula Arriana Polliana* (VI.6) at Pompeii and its rental notice (*CIL* 4.138), Pirson suggests that *tabernae* with access to a large atrium house may well have been staffed or managed by a slave belonging to the household, and *tabernae* without direct access to the house were probably rental units. In the former case, the elite



91. Plan of the Fullery of Vesovius Primus (VI.14.21-22) with fullery area in white, Pompeii. *Drawing by Glynnis Fawkes. (After Moeller 1976, fig. 5.)*



92. Basins and treading stalls in the Fullery of Vesovius Primus (VI.14.21-22), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

householder had some sort of investment in or direct involvement in the shop, and in the latter, the relation between the elite householder and the shop's owner or manager was that of landlord and tenant (1997, 169-70). The latter case seems to imply that the craftsman renting the shop had some independent control over his business and its workforce (see Fig. 89 at the right).¹⁴



93. Plan of the House and Bakery of Terentius Neo (VII.2.3, 6), with the bakery area in white, Pompeii. (After Clarke 2003, fig. 153.)



94. Mill yard of the Bakery of Terentius Neo (VII.2.3, 6), Pompeii. Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).

Configurations of space in larger workshops suggest several social scenarios. The arrangement of workshops *in* atrium houses where the domestic and the productive intermix may indicate an overlapping of domestic and productive staffs. In workshops connected to atrium houses where the house and workshop are clearly distinguished, spatial organization may point to a separation of domestic servants and the workshop's laborers. For either arrangement, we might imagine that the owners resembled the fuller and the baker whom the narrator of Apuleius's *Metamorphoses* encounters when, as a donkey, he works in the latter's bakery. These men own their workshops and their laborers; they have leisure time and can enjoy social niceties like baths and dinner parties. But they also spend time in their workshops, directing the labor of their slaves.¹⁵ In other authors, individuals like them, freeborn or ex-slave, become objects of ridicule when they exhibit pretensions above their station; in law they appear as men with property to bequeath, as slaveholders who use their slaves in business, and as men who could sue and be sued.¹⁶

The literary and legal evidence suggests that many, if not most, of the laborers in these workshops were slaves, especially in the case of bakeries. In Roman literature from Plautus in the second century BCE to Apuleius in the second century CE, slaves, not free men, work in bakeries.¹⁷ Jurists' calculations of what counts as *instrumentum* for bakeries include not only mills and animals but also the workers themselves – that is, they were things owned (*Digest* 33.7.15, 33.7.19.1). At the House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27) at Pompeii, among others, we can still see and walk through the contexts of servitude for such slave laborers.

THE LABOR OF BAKING

The visual *locus classicus* for studies of the Roman production of bread is the frieze with vignettes of baking that run around the top of the Tomb of Eurysaces in Rome (Fig. 95).¹⁸ Workers in tunics and officials (and possibly the owner) in togas go about the business of baking. The latter record and inspect, and the former work, and their activities are usually read as the stages of commercial baking.¹⁹ Beginning at the far right-hand side of the frieze on the south side of the tomb, a worker receives the grain; next comes a group of officials recording the amount of grain. In the following scene, two donkeys at two mills pull the *catillus* (hourglass-shaped top of the mill into which the grain was poured) so that it rotates over the *metus* (the conelike bottom of the mill).²⁰ At one mill a man guides or goads the donkey, whip in hand; at the other a man scoops up flour from the platform at the bottom of the mill. Then at two tables, workers sieve the grain to remove impurities and achieve a fine grade of flour (at the left, a togate figure checks the quality of the flour). Moving to the north side of the tomb, viewers encounter a depiction of kneading the dough formed by mixing the flour with water and leaven: a man and a horse or mule work together at a kneading machine. Next, workers at two tables form the kneaded dough into loaves. Omitting the process of leavening, the frieze skips to baking: a man uses a flat shovel-like tool to place the loaves in an oven.²¹ The frieze on the west side of the tomb moves from production to delivery, weighing, and inspection, and finally two workers carry off the bread in baskets.



South facade



North facade



West facade

95. Drawing of the frieze on the Tomb of Eurysaces, Rome. (After Lamer 1915, fig. 145.)

While the frieze may represent real moments in the production of bread, the composition creates a fiction constructed by Eurysaces, the owner of the bakery. First, an ancient viewer would have seen it from some distance, looking up from the ground, so the frieze relies on recognizable icons of baking to make legible that a bakery is being depicted (Petersen 2006, 106). The activities in the frieze tell part of the story of baking, but not the whole story. Second, of necessity, the frieze orders these select activities in a linear fashion. Influenced by Eurysaces' monument, studies of baking imagine a sort of line of production that focuses on milling, sieving, kneading, shaping loaves, leavening (though not shown in the frieze), and baking.

When slaves and their material lives take center stage, we must look beyond Eurysaces' vignettes to take into account the detailed range of tasks involved in the production of bread, tasks that might be considered secondary to the essential jobs. Both, however, took up the time and energies of slaves in the space of a bakery. If this list seems picky and even tiresome to run through, then perhaps we come closer to the daily lives of slaves in bakeries.

- Feeding and watering the donkeys
- Harnessing the donkeys to the mills
- Pouring the grain into the *catillus* as needed throughout the process of milling
- Guiding or goading the donkey around the mill
- Scooping up the flour from the bottom of the mill and carting it to a table for sieving
- Sieving the flour

- Carrying the sifted flour to the place where it was mixed with other ingredients and kneaded
- Shaping the dough into loaves and stacking them on shelves for leavening
- Building and tending the fire in the oven and removing the ashes before baking
- Putting the loaves in the oven and tending them during baking
- Removing the loaves and stacking them in the storeroom
- Unharnessing the donkeys and returning them to the stable to be fed and watered
- Cleaning up at the end of the day's work
- At some point, scooping up and removing the donkey excrement from the mill area

Not included here are bringing in and storing the grain and the wood for the oven; carting out the baked bread; moving around the water needed for kneading and baking; and keeping up the supply of leaven.

This expanded list not only gives us a fuller picture of the everyday activities of slaves in a bakery, it also indicates the potential moments for slaves' tactics.

In addition, we must move away from the linearity of descriptions drawn from Eurysaces' frieze to observe the different timing involved in different tasks.²² Any list of consecutive processes in the production of bread probably does not accurately reflect the actual daily activity in the bakery. At times, repeated grindings were necessary to crush all the grain (Curtis 2001, 361). Once sufficient flour had been milled, the sieving, mixing, kneading, leavening, and baking could have been undertaken as more grain was milled, and the oven would have been filled and emptied and filled again. It would have been possible for a single crew of workers to have undertaken each task consecutively, although literary sources depicting work in the bakery as constant and unremitting (see later discussion) make the serial scenario unlikely. Still, if we focus on both slaves and tasks, we might envision various scenarios in which different workers (or sets of workers) labored at different tasks simultaneously. Some tasks took more time and potentially introduced gaps or breaks in the operation of the bakery: remilling grain, the leavening period (which varied by season, humidity, and temperature), and baking time.

Lastly, we need to be careful how we adopt Eurysaces' ideal in our analyses of actual bakeries. Jared Benton, for example, uses the location of equipment in Pompeii's bakeries to plot the essential processes of production, and in this way he can examine the movement of workers and products in individual bakeries and observe similarities among bakeries (2011). From this analysis, he contends that Pompeii's bakers had common notions about what a bakery should look like and "how a bakery should operate." However, the bakers that Benton discusses were owners: they had the power to arrange the space of their bakeries and their equipment, and further, we assume, they had control of laborers to make the physical plant work the way Benton suggests. In other words, Benton's insightful

analyses pertain to strategy – the owner’s control of space and his attempt to master time and timing. Benton delineates how things “should” work, not necessarily how they did work. To examine the strategic concerns of owners in more depth, we begin with a detailed discussion of the layout of our case study, the House of the Baker at Pompeii.

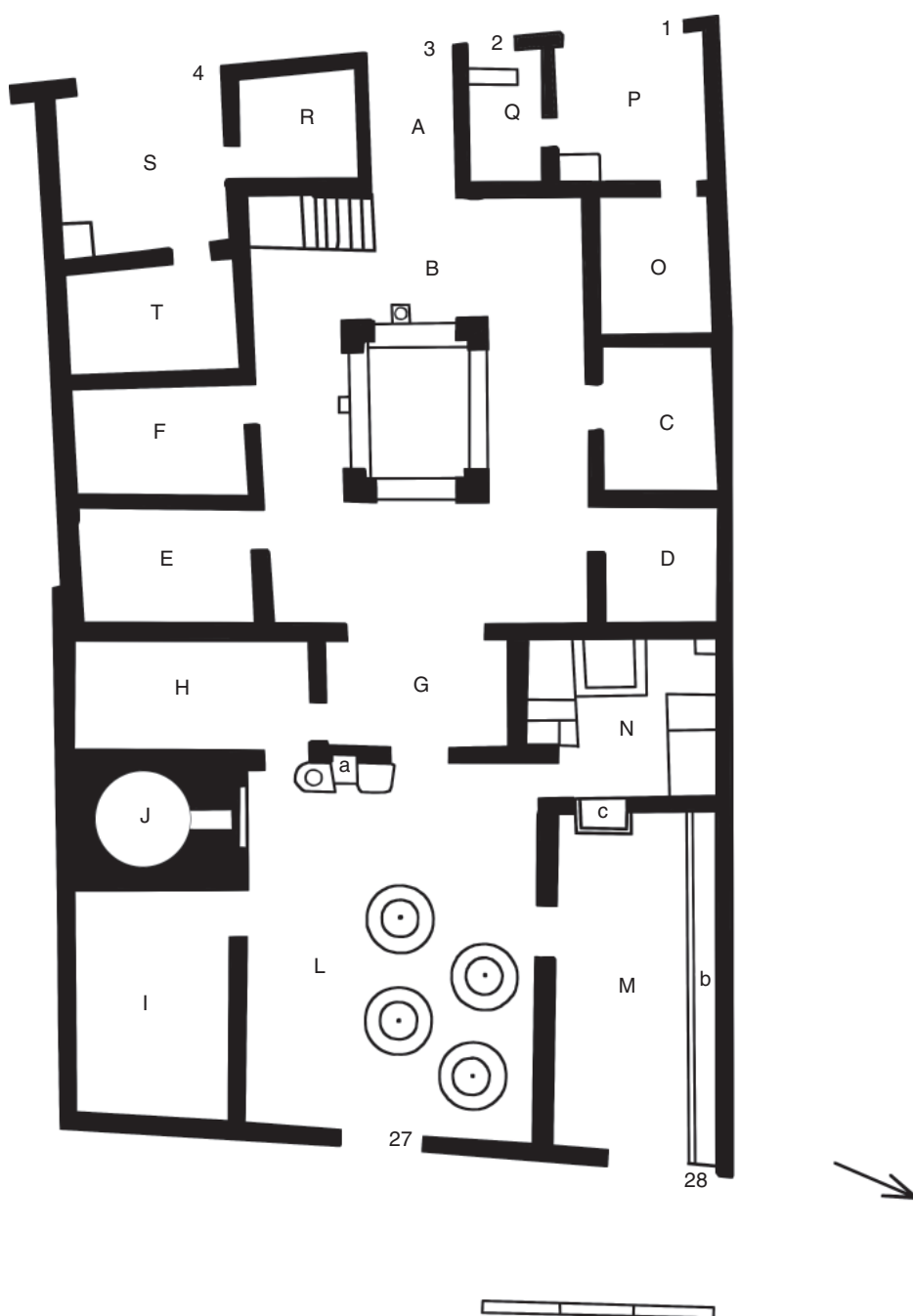
STRATEGY IN THE HOUSE OF THE BAKER (VI.3.3, 27)

The House of Baker (VI.3.3, 27) straddles the categories of workshops *in* atrium houses and that of workshops *and* atrium houses.²³ Originally, its front door on Via Consolare led into an atrium house with a peristyle. By the time of the eruption, the peristyle (on the eastern side) had been replaced with a bakery whose back door and stable entrance faced Vicolo di Modesto (Fig. 96). At the front of the house (on the western side), two shops, each with an upper floor, stood on either side of the fauces, and each included a back room (*T* and *O*) that at an earlier point had opened into the house (*Q* was a stairway). The large atrium (*B*) was flanked by two small rooms on the north and south (Fig. 97).²⁴ On the southwest side of the atrium stairs led to a balcony that surrounded the atrium and led to rooms above *C*, *D*, *E*, *F* and probably *G*.

The tablinum (*G*) opened to the bakery that occupied the back of the house (Fig. 98). In the former peristyle (*L*) stood four mills (Fig. 99). Near the mills was the door to a stable (*M*) that included a long manger and a watering trough (*b* and *c*) (Fig. 100). Also, by 79 CE the kitchen (*N*) opened into the mill area. It contained a cooktop, a small oven, a basin, and in the northwest corner a latrine; stairs led to rooms above *N* and probably *M* (Figs. 101–2). Near the south wall of the peristyle across from the mills, earlier investigators saw the remains of what appears to have been a low table.²⁵ The area over the mills and the low table probably would have been covered during the transformation of this space into a bakery in order to keep the grain and flour dry.²⁶

The main door of the oven (*J*) faced the peristyle; two secondary, pass-through openings led into the two rooms that flanked the oven (*H* and *I*) (Fig. 103). Nearby on the wall between the mill area and the tablinum was a cistern curb and arched recess for wood storage; on both sides of this arch were earthenware vessels to hold water – probably for moistening the loaves. Above was a lararium painting that is no longer visible: in the upper section were three figures – Vesta or Fornax flanked by two lares – and in the lower section two serpents moved toward a central altar loaded with offerings (Fig. 104).²⁷ The use of rooms *I* and *H* are not certain, but the location of *I* (adjacent to the mill room), the bypass opening, and the remains of stone supports for a table and holes in the walls for shelves suggest that the dough was mixed and kneaded in room *I*, and the loaves formed in this space then left to rise on the room’s shelves (Fig. 105).²⁸ The pass-through opening and location of *H* indicate its use as a storeroom for the baked loaves (Fig. 106).²⁹

In their study of insulae 3 and 4 in Pompeii’s regio VI, Francesco Carocci et al. assume that the front part of the house and its upper floors were reserved for the owners of the bakery. If this was the case, the architecture, decor, and finds in the area indicate a comfortable lifestyle but with few luxuries or social pretense. Plain white plaster covered



96. Plan of the House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27), Pompeii. *Drawing by Glynnis Fawkes. (After Carroci et al. 1990, fig. 3.)*



97. View of the atrium (B) from the tablinum (G), House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



98. View toward the tablinum (G) and mill yard (L) from the atrium (B), House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

most of the walls; there was only one painted room (F), and this in a simple style associated with work areas and low-class housing (Carocci et al. 1990, 32–33). The objects found in this part of the house point in the same direction as the wall decoration. Although the collection and records of the finds do not allow the sort of analyses undertaken by Penelope Allison, we can observe that the objects include personal and domestic items but nothing



99. Mills in the House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



100. Stable (*M*) with a long trough (*b*), House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

of the quality found in upper-class houses like the House of the Menander or the House of the Gilded Cupids.³⁰ In addition, throughout the entire property, there are signs of making do – the reuse of materials and thresholds that do not fit well (Carocci et al. 1990, 56 passim). Lastly, domestic spaces also seem to have been connected with the business of the bakery. The single painted room (*F*) contained amphorae that may have held grain, and according to François Mazois, room *E* included the remains of a



101. Kitchen (N) with cooktop and oven, House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27), Pompeii.
Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).



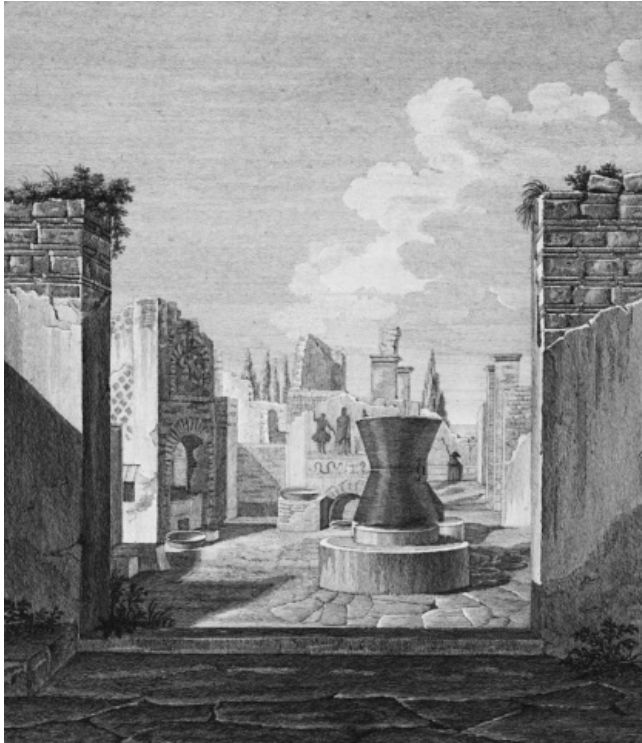
102. Kitchen (N) with stairs to an upper floor, House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27), Pompeii.
Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).

bench.³¹ It is then difficult to tell if the entire house had been turned over to business and productive purposes or whether the owners lived fairly simple lives, devoting part of their domestic space to commercial activity, as Flohr has suggested for the Fullery of Stephanus (I.6.7).³²



103. Oven (J), House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

Nonetheless, we can observe the possible circulation of the building's residents (see Fig. 96). There was undoubtedly movement in and out of the two shops that flanked the fauces (A) on Via Consolare (VI.3.1, 4), but there is no way to know whether the bread made in the bakery was sold here, and hence whether the owners or workers walked from the bakery through the atrium and the fauces to the shops that did not open into the house itself. Regardless, if, on the one hand, the owner and his family occupied the atrium area, the archaeological record indicates that their domestic activities shared space with business. Moreover, owners or domestic staff using the kitchen or latrine would have traversed the tablinum that separated the two parts of the House of the Baker. It should be noted, however, that the threshold and finds indicate a door in the tablinum (G) that could close off the mill yard from the front of the house; thus any owners occupying the area around the atrium could separate themselves from the milling, sieving, kneading, and baking on the eastern side of the house. If, on the other hand, there were no owners on site, or there was no division of domestic life for owners and bread production for workers, and in fact



104. Drawing of the lararium (at *a*) in the mill yard (*L*), House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27), Pompeii. (From Mazois 1824–38, vol. 2, pl. 19, fig. 1; with permission of Special Collections, University of Delaware Library, Newark, DE.)



105. Room *I*, where dough was mixed and kneaded, House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27), Pompeii. Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).



106. Room *H*, perhaps a storeroom for the baked bread, House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27), Pompeii. Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).

the entire house was devoted to production, workers or managers living on the second floor around the atrium would have constantly circulated between the atrium area and the bakery. On the east side of the building, people entered and exited the mill area (*L*) through the wide door at 27 carrying the supplies of grain and wood or burning material for the oven and the baked bread if it was not sold in the shops at the front of the house (VI.3.1, 4). If the bakery workers lived above *N* and *M*, they had to move through the kitchen to get to the mill yard, oven, and rooms *H* and *I*.

For the circulation of workers in the bakery *per se*, we need to map the work that took place in and around the mill area (Plate VIII). The exact number of workers must remain speculative, but the dots on the plan represent the possible positions of workers. A spatial plotting moves the processes of baking from the stable to the storeroom, from north to southwest in a semicircular motion. Workers led the donkeys from the stable into the north side of the old peristyle, harnessed them to the mills, and filled the *catilli* with grain, as others (scoopers for lack of a better term) moved the milled grain to the south side of the peristyle to the sifters.³³ Then, they or the kneaders themselves carried the flour to *I* where it was kneaded and shaped into loaves. (There are no remains of kneading machines or basins, so this use of room *I* is a guess.) If the lack of machines is not simply an absence in the excavation of the bakery or the records, the labor required for kneading by hand would have been considerable, and this meant more kneaders. Bakers straddled the space between the kneading room (*I*) and the storeroom (*H*). Standing in front of the oven and using the long-handled shovel-like tool, they could have transferred loaves from the opening on the side of the kneading room, placed them in the oven, and then removed the baked bread to the opening on the storeroom side. Although one worker could have moved the loaves, having workers on each side would have sped up the tasks. Our plan includes a baker in charge of the oven and others who moved the loaves to the

oven and then removed and stacked them. The latter would not be needed while loaves were baking, so we should imagine that they had other assignments. In fact, given the time differentials of milling, leavening, and baking, this may have been the case with the millers, scoopers, and sievers as well.

This shaping of space also shaped the possible social relations of work and what Flohr calls the communicative landscape. Millers, scoopers, and sifters all worked in the same area, and depending on the number of workers at each task, they may well have worked in very close proximity. The arrangement allowed direct interaction between them, tempered by the oversight of the owner or manager if he occupied a place in the tablinum (*G*).³⁴ The kneaders and loaf shapers were in a room to themselves (*I*) and out of the gaze of the owner or manager in the tablinum. Their location enabled relations with each other and with the worker loading the oven; workers stacking loaves in the storeroom (*H*) were separated from and out of sight of their fellows (but potentially were in the direct sight of the owner or manager in the tablinum). Although the baker stationed in front of the oven worked in the same general area as the millers, scoopers, and sievers, his task would have kept his back and gaze turned away from them, as he focused his attention on the oven and communicated with those in the adjacent rooms.

The nature of the work and interconnection of activities, too, suggest a context for social relations at least in a well-run bakery. The proximity of the mills to each other and a steady flow of grain through the mills required coordination and careful pacing (between human workers and between donkeys and human workers). Whatever their number, the sievers did not necessarily have to coordinate with each other, but they did have to keep pace with the raw flour coming off the mills and meet the needs of the workers who mixed and kneaded the dough and then formed it into loaves, and presumably the kneaders had to keep up with the sievers. The baker or bakers had to be in sync with those who did the kneading, keeping in mind the time required for the loaves to leaven; more than one baker would necessitate coordination among themselves. When timing produced gaps for individual workers, someone needed to reassign workers as needed.

In his studies of Roman craftsmen and fulleries, Flohr contends that there was a “hierarchy of tasks that is intrinsic to the production process.” In his view, the social profile of a task and its place in the hierarchy were determined by the skills, physical exertion, and responsibility involved in the task (2009, 176). Skilled workers with more responsibility and less physical exertion supervised others. A brief look at fulling gives us a more concrete understanding of the stakes in Flohr’s analysis (Plates IX–X). Fulling involved exchanges with customers and the actual treatment of clothing. Before and after the processes of cleaning and treatment, customers brought their dirty clothes to a shop and picked up cleaned ones. Someone – manager, agent, owner, or worker – took in the clothes and returned them to the customer. At the beginning of the actual process of cleaning, the clothes were put into a tub with water and a detergent. Holding on to the sides of a stall that surrounded a tub, a worker trod on the clothes with his or her feet. Next, workers standing in large basins rinsed the clothes, beating them against a bench in the basins or on the sides of the basins themselves.³⁵ Last came the various processes of finishing – brushing and trimming the nap, treatment with various concoctions, and pressing.

In Flohr's analysis, the hierarchy intrinsic to the process puts treaders on the bottom, rinsers in the middle, and finishers on the top.³⁶ For Flohr, the physical location of different types of workers also counts: for example, the rinsers in the basins "have a central place in the communicative network and were thus much more prominent in the social landscape than the stall workers around them," and their position in the middle enables them to "easily control" the treaders in the stalls (2011b, 95–96). The functions of supervision and surveillance, then, belong to those he assumes had more responsibility. In his view, the rinsers patrolled the treaders, and the finishers the rinsers; those who worked in the shop and dealt with customers had the authority to command the others (Flohr 2009, 176–78).

There are some problems with this assessment. First, we must interrogate the relative valuation of the factors that determined the hierarchy: what is "intrinsic" about the hierarchy and the supposed differences that made certain tasks "desirable or attractive to certain workers" (Flohr 2009, 176). From a modern point of view or even from that of the owner of a Roman fullery, skill, physicality, and responsibility may seem essential or natural to a ranked order of tasks, and this hierarchy then would define desirability. However, perhaps there were other desiderata for workers than skill or responsibility – the conditions of sociability, the possibility of tactics, or simply strength in numbers, for example. Second, as Flohr recognizes, the hierarchy depended on workers performing the same task day after day. If all or some of the workers performed several different tasks at different times, the order of command would have changed with the change in assignment. In addition, if there was a trading around of various jobs, the shared skills and knowledge may have been cause for solidarity or perhaps a sense of equality among workers. Perhaps most importantly, we must be careful not to conflate the strategy of the fullery's owners with reality. However accurate, Flohr's analysis of fulling, like modern representations of baking based on Eurysaces' frieze, delineates owners' strategic arrangements, not how "things" really worked. For that, again, we must look into tactics.

Yet Flohr brings to the fore significant questions about the organization of work, the material life of slave workers in workshops of different types, and, even more, the difficulty of reading the organization of slave work in the archaeological record. Applying his model to baking, and to the House of the Baker in particular, we can ask whether the spatial plotting of the baking process that moves production north to southwest also plots out a hierarchy of tasks and with it a system of supervision. Did the millers at the beginning of the process control the other workers, or were the bakers at the end of the process in control? As in the fullery, location alone will not give us the organization of control and supervision in the bakery, for which reason Flohr asks about the relative valuation of different tasks. Obviously, milling, sieving, kneading, and baking required different skills and movements, but they all seem equally physical. Moreover, each task involved its own knowledge and calculations: the millers had to understand the donkeys and condition of the grain; the sievers, the quality of the flour and need for repeated sieving; the bakers, fuel, timing, and temperature. Ultimately, the necessity to keep up some sort of pace and to coordinate, as well as the assumption that someone had to check on what was going on, poses the problem of supervision and surveillance.

The agricultural manuals that circulated among the upper classes reveal a pointed concern for how to manage slaves. Columella, like Cato, Varro, and other agronomists, had a keen sense about coordination of task and timing, the necessity of surveillance, and the techniques for manipulating relations among slave laborers.³⁷ Neither literature nor law directly addresses the topic of the management of labor in urban workshops in any detail.³⁸ Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*, however, gives us a small glimpse in his portrayal of the bakery in which his narrator, Lucius, transformed into an ass, works. In Apuleius's story, the owner of this bakery is in the milling area with his slave workers, when an old woman enters the bakery and draws him into a private conversation behind the bolted door of "his room" (*suum . . . cubiculum*). He is absent for some time, and when the workers have ground all the grain within their reach, work stops. To continue their work they need the owner, and they stand outside the door, calling to him to provide more grain (9.30). Apuleius assumes what is apparently an unremarkable aspect of bakeries, the owner's management of production and his slaves: he controls the supply of grain and keeps the workers at their pace.

Spatially, the House of the Baker is suggestive about surveillance. Changes to the tablinum (*G*) effected at the time of the installation of the bakery in the peristyle gave an owner or supervisor in the tablinum direct sight into the atrium area at the front and the mill area at the back (see Figs. 96–98).³⁹ He could observe movement in and out of the back door (27), the kitchen (*N*), room *I*, and the stable (*M*) (though interestingly not out of the stable's door to the street). He had direct access to room *H* and its stores (Figs. 106–7). The



107. View from west of the tablinum (*G*) into the mill yard (*L*) and room *H* (right), House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27), Pompeii. Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).

significance of this spatial arrangement, also, may lie in its shaping of an aura of masterly control – the possibility that the owner or supervisor kept close visual track. Writing of his life as a slave in Maryland in 1834, Frederick Douglass comments on the practices of the slave breaker Edward Covey: “He had the faculty of making us feel that he was always present.”⁴⁰ In the House of the Baker, alterations to the tablinum created the spatial feeling that the owner or manager was watching, whether he was or not.

Where slaves and physical plant are at the center of a consideration of owners’ strategy, we must take up the more general question of the practices of mastery in the bakery, especially since the literary sources paint a grim picture of work in bakeries and the treatment of slave workers in particular. Throughout Plautus’s plays, masters threaten, and slaves fear, work in the mill: it means chains, whips, and grueling labor.⁴¹ Over two hundred years later, Apuleius describes a similar scenario. The eyes of the ass (Lucius) are covered, and he is beaten to move around the mill. The necks of those whom he calls his fellow animals and slaves (*iumentario contuberino, familiae*) sag from rotting sores; their nostrils are distended from constant coughing and their chests ulcerated from the rubbing of the rope harnesses. Frequent whippings have left their flanks bare, and the constant circling has disfigured their hooves (*Metamorphoses* 9.11, 13). The routine of the bakery – what Lucius calls its *disciplina* – makes its human workers *homunculi* (little men): livid welts mark their skin; their scanty clothing barely covers them. Their foreheads are branded, their heads shaved, and their feet shackled. The smoky darkness of the workshop impairs their vision, and they are covered in flour dust – like boxers covered in sand when they fight in the arena (9.12).

Yet Lucius calls the baker a “good man” and attributes his (the ass’s) persecution to the baker’s adulterous and cruel wife (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 9.14–15). Moreover, the slaves can move around enough to break down the locked door of their owner’s room when he does not respond to their calls. And when they find him dead, they grieve with great wailing and breast-beating and prepare his body for the funeral (9.30). The slaves’ behavior seemingly contradicts the earlier description of them as chained, whipped *homunculi*. Consistency is not required of novelists, but we may have two conflicting pictures of the bakery. Without claiming that the work was easy, we might try to sort through the conditions of work in bakeries like the Pompeian House of the Baker.

The degree to which the milling and sieving areas were covered created the closed in, dark, and dusty atmosphere that Apuleius depicts – and with the oven in operation an overheated one.⁴² Work began before dawn (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 9.15; Martial 12.57.3–6, 14.223). Lucius the ass says that he and the other animals were released for *prandium*, a light meal normally taken at midday (although he seems to refer to the end of the day [Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 9.12]). Presumably, the human workers took a break at noon. Even *mercennarii* (hired day laborers), who worked from dawn to dusk, stopped for a meal at the sixth hour (around noon) (Horace, *Letters* 1.1.20; Matthew 20.1–16). Although at one point Lucius says that the animals worked day and night (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 9.11), at another he explains that he was freed from his harness as the day ended, and we assume that the human workers, too, were let off (9.12, 27). It is difficult to imagine milling, sieving, and kneading undertaken in the dark.⁴³

How to evaluate the evidence for the chaining of bakery workers that we find in the literary sources is difficult. Plautus and Apuleius are emphatic that the slaves in bakeries were fettered, but they are more than one hundred years before or after the date of Pompeii's bakeries. Moreover, no slave on the Eurysaces frieze or in any other representation of the work of baking is shackled. The absence of shackles found in Pompeian bakeries is not decisive. Although the remains of fetters are widespread in the western provinces, there is little archaeological evidence of shackles in Italy as a whole beyond the stocks found in several villas near Pompeii (see Fig. 72).⁴⁴ These stocks held slaves in place, prohibiting movement altogether, a form of constriction useless for the operation of a bakery.⁴⁵ Other types of shackles permitted restricted movement. The hands and arms of the slave were free for work, and although he or she could move short distances, running away was impossible without breaking the fetter.⁴⁶ In estimating the possibilities of shackling in bakeries, we should ask about the type of movement required by specific tasks. Sifters and kneaders did not have to move around, as did those working at the mills and ovens. Still, the distances that the latter had to cover were relatively small in Pompeian bakeries, so fetters that allowed restricted movement would not have prohibited work. There is, of course, no way to know about the shackling of slaves in this or any other bakery in Pompeii. However, it will be useful to consider the question by considering this bakery in terms of its neighborhood and the possibilities of flight or truancy.

The question of chaining belongs to a broader consideration of the restriction of slave movement. The archaeological remains of the House of the Baker indicate that slaves could be locked in at night. If the rooms above *N* and *M* were assigned to the slave workers, a locked door between *N* and *L* prohibited their movement from the upper story through the kitchen to the rest of the building (see Fig. 102). The evidence of thresholds indicating lockable doors between *H* and *G*, *G* and *L*, *L* and *M*, and the back door at 27 also suggests that movement out of the entire area of the bakery could have been constrained. During the long daylight hours that the bakery was in operation, locking these doors seemingly would have inhibited the operation of the bakery. Perhaps the doors were opened and closed as needed. More likely, they were left open when bread production took place, and this situation again raises questions about surveillance and control.

TACTICS IN THE HOUSE OF THE BAKER (VI.3.3, 27)

The conditions of work in bakeries, including shackling and surveillance, affected the possibility of tactics. The beaten and chained slaves described by Apuleius hardly seem capable of action. Indeed, as Douglass observed, "bodily torture and unceasing labor" tied the slave to "the chain of his master like a dog"; they made "temporal well-being . . . the grand desideratum" (1962 [1892], 150). Yet even in the most oppressed conditions of his life as a slave, Douglass found the energy to combat his servitude. For Roman slaves, the case of Apuleius's Lucius is suggestive. As Keith Bradley points out, Lucius the ass identifies himself as a slave, especially when he is working in the bakery (2000, 117). And although subject to continual labor, the whip, and general abuse, the ass finds ways to resist his

owners. Clearly, shackling workers would have limited their scope of action but not the action itself. Chained slaves, like harnessed donkeys, could slow down the pace of work, do a poor job of their assigned tasks, or act insolently. The major difference would have come in the possibility of flight, hiding out, and truancy.

Translating the stereotypical charges that slaves were negligent, troublesome, thieving, lazy, slow, sluggish, and idle into tactics, we might ask how the bakery's slaves played with the timing of different tasks and how their behavior affected the coordination crucial to the owner's strategy.⁴⁷ Complaints that slaves were irascible, obstinate, and quick to pick fights suggest how the slave workers may have disrupted the coordination nurtured by the owner (*Digest* 21.1.1.11, 21.1.4.2). So-called laziness and sluggishness could have elongated scheduled breaks, created breaks where none were scheduled, and slowed down or stopped the flow of activities. Certain moments in the process of production provided the opportunities that could be seized for such purposes, or slaves could turn events in the workday toward their own ends. The time needed for remilling, leavening, and baking could stagger the pace of production; the misdirection of the owner's gaze created an opportunity to "relocate" a loaf or two; cleaning up at the end of the day presumably meant less surveillance and more openings for slave actions.

Such tactics did not have their *own* place, but they did happen in the space of the bakery, and we can ask how slaves used space that they did not ultimately control. Today, the mill area seems capacious, but in antiquity during work hours it would have been the site of humans and animals all in motion: donkeys turning the mills and slaves guiding them, pouring grain into the *catilli* of the mills, scooping up the flour, and sieving, not to mention workers hauling in grain, wood, and other supplies through the back door and carrying loaves of bread out (see Figs. 96 and 99 and Plate VIII). Did this busy scenario make it easy to linger, chat, hide, or steal because there was cover and opportunity, or did the numbers of workers and animals make it more difficult because they limited space? As discussed earlier, the question is complicated by surveillance. However, no one place gave the owner or manager mastery over time – he could not patrol everything within his gaze at once. The different stages of bread making that drew his attention to different places in the bakery left open the possibility of slave tactics in other spots. For slaves seeking temporary shelter inside the bakery, their choice of spots was limited, as the bakery was short on closets and hidey-holes. Yet the slave who wanted to duck out of sight might have found a place in the kneading room, kitchen, or stable. While the owner standing in the *tablinum* (*G*) could observe workers moving in and out of these spaces, he could not see what was going on inside them, which would have left these rooms, especially certain sides and corners of them, to slaves' purposes.⁴⁸

Tactics of all types often would have depended on the relations among slave workers, regardless or in spite of those shaped by the owner's spatial organization. Gumming up the owner's required coordination, for example, did not mean slaves did not coordinate: they simply did so on their schedule and for their own reasons. Douglass, who echoes observations made in other American slave narratives, at least suggests another side to, and even another kind of, coordination. After his time with Covey, Douglass moved in 1835 to the farm of William Freeland. There, he found himself among "a band of brothers" – "every one

of them manly, generous, and brave.” By his own account, Douglass “never loved, esteemed, or confided in men more than I did these” (1962 [1892], 153). The “genial temper and ardent friendship of [his] brother slaves” translated into behavior in the workplace.

There was much rivalry among slaves at times as to which could do the most work, and masters generally sought to promote such rivalry. But some of us were too wise to race with each other very long. Such racing we had the sagacity to see, was not likely to pay. We had our times for measuring each other’s strength, but we knew too much to keep up the competition so long as to produce an extraordinary day’s work. (149)

Douglass and his fellow slaves found pleasure in their strength and ability to work hard, and they competed to see who could do the most work. However, rather than responding to their owners’ desire to shape competitive relations among slaves, the fellow slaves carried on a contest for their own reasons and limited it to meet their own needs because “an extraordinary day’s work” produced by competition only meant that the owner would raise the bar of his expectations of daily work. “This thought,” says Douglass, “was enough to bring us to a dead halt when ever so much excited for the race” (149). Obviously, no Roman slave, much less a slave working in a bakery, explains his or her actions so directly and articulately. We can only see traces of similar behavior in slaveholders’ frustrations with their slaves’ performance at work. Charges that a slave was always picking fights or quarreling with others might have to do with the kind of rivalry that Douglass describes, one that had a larger context of slave comradery.⁴⁹

OF SLAVES AND DONKEYS

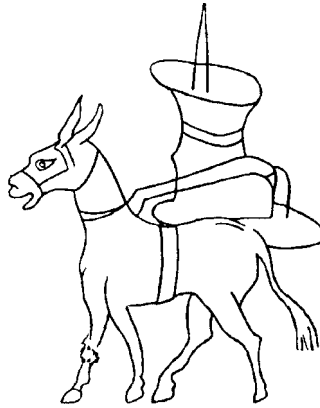
Questions about the relations among slave workers can be raised for other groups of slaves in other shops and workshops in Roman cities, but the contexts of servitude for bakery workers is special. Perhaps no other laborers outside of slaves in the countryside worked in such close quarters with animals, the donkeys that turned the mills (and at times the kneading machines). If the Romans and Greeks often animalized the slave – associated slaves and animals – the Roman bakery put slaves and donkeys in potentially parallel situations, especially since donkeys were often housed under the same roof as slaves and were harnessed to the mill just as its human workers may have been chained (Bradley 2000, 110–11).⁵⁰ The connections between donkeys and slaves do not fit neatly under the rubric of tactics, but the topic enables us to juxtapose slaveholders’ associations of slave and animal and those used by an anonymous imperial slave and the freedman and fabulist Phaedrus in the early Empire. Together, the words of slaveholders and of a slave and ex-slave take us to the thought world, the cultural pool, from which both strategy and tactics emerge. The “texts” of this slave and ex-slave, in particular, may hint at a slave culture that would have been relevant or poignant to slaves in the bakery and suggest a reservoir of knowledge that contributed to slave tactics in general.

Bradley's analysis of the animalization of the slave in Roman culture outlines the view of slaveholders, which is illustrated vividly in the Roman law on damage and the regulations governing slave sales, both of which treat slaves and four-footed domestic animals kept in herds (sheep, cattle, goats, horses, mules, and asses) as "comparable commodities" (2000, 111; *Digest* 9.2.2.2). Of all the associations of slave and animal in Roman literature, Apuleius's novel in which magic turns the narrator Lucius into an ass best illustrates "the animalization of the slave in real life," showing how animalization functioned as "a mechanism of control and domination" for slaveholders (Bradley 2000, 113).⁵¹ Bradley highlights three repeated scenarios that link slave and donkey: continual work, physical punishment, and frequent sale. Interestingly, we might add that, as in other sources, the accusations leveled at the ass are the same as the stereotypical charges that slaves are lazy, slow, sluggish, idle, thieving, stupid, stubborn, and negligent.⁵² While Apuleius's donkey sees himself as a slave, the human slaves in the novel do not identify with the donkey. In fact, they distinguish themselves from the beast of burden by abusing him: that is, the novel's slaves act like slaveholders by treating the donkey as a property object without physical integrity (*Metamorphoses* 3.27, 7.17, 9.11).

Other bits of evidence suggest alternative points of view to those imagined in Roman law and literature. An anonymous graffito from the Paedagogium, a part of the imperial establishment on the Palatine in Rome, includes a sketch of a donkey harnessed to a mill and the caption: "Work, little ass, as I have worked, and it will advance you" (*labora aselle quo modo lavoravi et proderit tibi*) (Fig. 108). Its location and other graffiti surrounding it suggest that its author was a slave (though a member of the emperor's staff, not a bakery worker).⁵³ How to read the slave's meaning is perhaps not as easy as it seems, especially if we see the graffiti as part of what James C. Scott calls a "realm of subordinate discourse" between the hidden and the public transcripts, which involves a "politics of disguise and anonymity that takes place in public view but is designed to have a double meaning or to shield the identity of the actors" (1990, 18–19).

The words of the slave scribbler seem to identify him (the slave) with the donkey; however, along with the author's anonymity, we might expect some doubled meaning in his words and picture. The injunction addressed to the donkey plays with the equation of the donkey's labor and the author's labor.⁵⁴ His words, at least on the surface, have them treading a similar path. Yet owners held out the hope that the slave's effort (unlike the animal's) could result in some sort of change in his job, advancement in the imperial bureaucracy, or even manumission, whereas the donkey's work of turning the mill only leads to further, seemingly endless, circling. We might ask if there is a disguised joke here – some irony – about the expectation that hard work will lead to a better life, when in fact it only means going round and round.⁵⁵

At first glance, the sketch, too, seems to address the dominant culture's identification of slave and donkey as property objects and tools like mills (*Digest* 33.7.15). Depictions of donkeys harnessed to mills are found on many shops' signs for bakeries and on the tomb reliefs of bakery owners. In all cases, a large mill visually dominates the animal, standing before it and covering most of its body (Fig. 109). In contrast, the donkey in the graffito is larger than the mill and positioned in front of it.⁵⁶ To an owner, mill and donkey were both



108. Graffito of a donkey harnessed to a mill from the Paedagogium, Rome. (From Blümner 1912, fig. 22.)



109. Relief of a donkey harnessed to a mill (*left*) on the funerary monument of P. Nonius Zethus, Ostia, first century (Museo Chiaramonti, Vatican Museums). Photo: Scala / Art Resource, NY, ART449440.

instrumentum; however, in this sketch the donkey trumps the mill, obscuring its full shape, just as the mill obscures the shape of the donkey on bakery shop signs and bakers' tombs. There is a curious reversal here: the mill standing before the donkey in bakers' representations foregrounds the iconic object that is so clearly associated with baking, whereas foregrounding the donkey would seem to emphasize the animal that is so closely linked with slavery. By distinguishing the donkey from the tool or object (mill), the slave scribbler opens up the possibility of playing with the legal equation of animal and slave.

The Roman fabulist Phaedrus, too, uses donkeys in what may well have been slave humor.⁵⁷ More articulate and complex than graffiti, the fables of Phaedrus, ex-slave of the

emperor Augustus, did not hide behind the anonymity of the author. Still, as Phaedrus himself tells his readers, fables as a genre involve disguise. He claims that compulsion silenced the public assertions of slaves, who redirected their sentiments into fables: “Now, I will briefly show why this genre of stories was invented. Since the slave, vulnerable to punishment, did not dare to say what he wanted to, he transferred his own feelings/attitudes into fables, and through made-up jokes/funny stories eluded verbal abuse” (3.Prologue.33–37).⁵⁸ Fables replace real feelings or attitudes with funny stories, human actors with animals, and domination in the social world with physical force in the natural world. Since the animals and their relations rely on seemingly harmless stereotypes – stupid donkeys, brave lions, ferocious boars – they function as a kind of euphemism, disguising slaves’ assertions about the slaveholder’s social order with a picture of the natural order, or as Scott puts it, “masking nasty facts of domination and giving them a harmless or sanitized aspect” (1990, 53).⁵⁹

Phaedrus’s fables are neither simple translations of folk tales nor retellings of Aesop’s fables, as the writer insists repeatedly. The Roman fabulist continually emphasizes his own telling, whether that consists of polishing, elaborating, or creating.⁶⁰ In effect, by drawing attention to his writerly work, he invites the reader to go beyond the bare bones of the story and its stated moral to see something more than the obvious surface.⁶¹ Instead of dismissing stylistic flourishes as simple decoration, readers might observe how the narrative details shift the meaning of the fable from its universalized, articulated lesson to more particular understandings of slavery and the slave’s situation.

Of the seven fables in which donkeys appear as major characters, the fable of the priests of Cybele and their donkey makes the closest association of slave and ass.⁶² The priests use a donkey to carry their baggage. When he dies from overwork and beatings, they skin the animal and turn his hide into drums, commenting that “he thought that after death he would be safe; behold, other blows are heaped on him though he is dead” (4.1.10–11). The poet devotes narrative space to a striking portrayal of the fungibility of a commodity like the donkey – the ability to turn him or it to any use (4.1). In Roman law and literature, this condition morselizes the donkey, chopping up the animal into distinct parts: asses’ milk was a beauty treatment for women’s skin, their dung a fine fertilizer on the farm, their dead bodies food for the poor, and their skins the material for making other objects.⁶³ In stark terms, the language also makes vivid and cruel what ownership means for the laboring, physically vulnerable donkey. Phaedrus connects this cruelty with the slave’s condition by labeling the donkey the priests’ *delicium* (a term for a favored young slave). The stated lesson of the fable focuses on bad luck, but the narrative detail specifies conditions that apply especially to the slave. In this fable recounted by an ex-slave, fungibility extends beyond the donkey’s dead body, in effect, making slavery an endless condition.

Most of Phaedrus’s donkeys are disparaged or treated as lowly beings – foolish, dishonorable, and cowardly – as in the tale of a feeble old lion that is attacked by a boar, a bull, and finally an ass (1.21).⁶⁴ With his dying breath the lion tells the ass that while he bore the insults of the brave and strong (*fortis*), he regards the attack of the ass, a disgrace to Nature (*naturae dedecus*), as a second death (1.21.11). Yet the three attackers act in exactly the same way, assaulting the lion only when he is down: at least in terms of behavior, then, the boar and bull are as cowardly as the donkey. The fable’s stated moral focuses on how lost

social standing invites derision even from cowards. The narrative detail devoted to the loss of the lion's power and the ferocity of the boar and bull draws attention to the relative strengths of the animals, a yardstick that makes the difference between boar and bull on the one hand and donkey on the other only a matter of bodily power and not of moral character. For some readers or listeners, then, the fable's narrative elaborations undermine the lion's moralistic judgment of the donkey. By highlighting the material question of power, Phaedrus's telling of the tale exposes the speciousness of masterly claims about slaves, which rely on the slaveholder's moral categories.

Interestingly, the disdained donkey appears as both wise and foolish. In some fables, the animal knows the power of the master and how to cope with his own condition as a beast of burden, and in others, like the tale of the dying lion, the donkey's actions or words are made to look ridiculous by other, more lordly, animals. Yet the dichotomy between foolishness and knowledge in these fables may be more apparent than real.⁶⁵ In 1.11 a donkey goes hunting with a lion: he brays to scare up the prey, and the lion captures it. When the donkey, characterized as uppity (*insolens*), asks what the lion thought of the quality of his vocal efforts, the lion disparages the donkey's mind/spirit (*animus*) and his species (*genus*).⁶⁶ That is, both individually and as a type, the donkey is lowly and without courage; his claim to any accomplishment is mere foolishness. Yet the details of the story give the donkey a real role in their joint hunting venture. His voice, not the lion's ferocity, terrifies the prey, so we might ask if the ass is so stupid in his claim to importance. The lion's judgment denigrates the donkey; however, in fact a stronger being has made use of a weaker one and refuses to value the latter's contribution.⁶⁷

If in these tales donkeys are not exactly slaves, the narratives bespeak the condition of the slave and illustrate what the slave could not say to the slave owner. They convey knowledge about the world from the point of view of the denigrated and powerless. So, for example, any slave called a *delicium* should be wary, and not lulled into compliance by an owner's affection, for a favorite is still a slave whose body belongs to his owner. Slaveholders may see themselves as superior, but like the lion, they are not really better but more powerful. Slaves should not be fooled by the slaveholders' words that deny their contribution to production; like the braying donkey, they are essential no matter what their owners claim. Sometimes the knowledge offered in fables models behavior useful for tactics. Like the ass that kicks only when the lion is weak, the slave must pick his moment. When the opportunity presents itself, he can seize it and insinuate himself into a scenario in which he does not belong – in effect, he can take the chance offered and poach on the slaveholder's territory.

Graffiti and fables point to other understandings of the association of donkeys and slaves than that offered in Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*. Slaves and donkeys worked together in the bakery, and the slave needed the donkey's labor or his own labor became more burdensome. All of this makes them fellow workers, as the graffito from the Paedagogium implies. In fables, donkeys express knowledge of the slave's situation: some know what the slave knows and the master does not; others evade their owners' definitions and discipline. We might flip the situation on its head and observe that in the daily labor of the bakery the slave knew well the conditions of the animal or at least could imagine them. We do not

claim that the slave workers in the Pompeian House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27) read Phaedrus or saw graffiti like that in the imperial Paedagogium, but rather graffiti and fables juxtaposed with the masterly association of slave and animal take us into the thought world surrounding a material world of slaves and donkeys.⁶⁸ And in the case of the House of the Baker, this was a neighborhood in which donkeys and slaves mixed both inside the bakery and in the city streets.

TACTICS AND THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The avenues for tactics for the bakery's slaves will have had much to do with the immediate world around the bakery, especially for unchained slaves and those able to leave the shop (Plate XI). The front of the House of the Baker faced the busy Via Consolare, full of traffic moving both north and south, in and out of the city through Porta Ercolano (the deep ruts in this major thoroughfare point to heavy cart traffic).⁶⁹ In addition, many shops lined Via Consolare, and three inns in the area added more people and animals (Fig. 110).⁷⁰ To the north of the bakery, the intersection of Via Consolare and Vicolo di Narciso formed a small piazza of sorts with a fountain, cistern, shrine, and large



110. Via Consolare, looking north, Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



III. Piazza at the corner of Via Consolare and Vicolo di Narciso, Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

multiroomed tavern (VI.1.18–20) (Fig. III). To the south, the intersection of Via Consolare and Vico del Farmacista shaped another open streetscape with an altar and bar at the intersection (VI.4.1); and still further south, at the intersection of Via Consolare, Vicolo di Modesto, and Via delle Terme, was another open area with a fountain and again a large tavern (VI.3.20) (see Plate XI).

Vicolo di Modesto along the back side of the bakery and Vicolo di Mercurio on the north side would have seen limited traffic. Carts traveled on Vicolo di Mercurio, but only in a westward direction. Similarly, traffic on Vicolo di Modesto moved only northward, and the shallow ruts suggest that it was lighter than on either Via Consolare or Vicolo di Mercurio. Moreover, since Vicolo di Modesto was blocked to cart traffic north of the bakery, all of the carts on Modesto turned left into Vicolo di Mercurio.⁷¹ If we measure by the number and kind of doors that opened onto these streets, the foot traffic must have been fairly light. Except for the bar at the corner of Via Consolare and Vicolo di Mercurio (VI.2.1, 32) and the bar at the corner of Vicolo di Modesto and Vicolo di Mercurio (VI.5.12), there were no openings to the street on the bakery's north side (on Vicolo di Mercurio).⁷² Between the back doors of the House of the Baker (VI.3.27 and 28) and the door of the bakery at VI.6.17, only ten doors opened along both sides of the Vicolo di Modesto (between insulae VI.3 and VI.6) – not one of them a front door (Fig. 112–13). To the north of the bakery on Vicolo di Modesto (between insulae VI.2 and VI.5) up to the inn at VI.2.28 there were only five doors, three of them back doors (VI.2.30, VI.2.31, VI.5.10).⁷³ Moreover, immediately behind the bakery, on Vicolo di Modesto, was the wall of the very large horticultural plot behind the House of Pansa and its single entrance (VI.6.12) (Fig. 113).

We might look at these features of the neighborhood for their potential for those unpatrolled movements of slaves that so annoyed their owners: flight, truancy, hiding out, and hanging out in bars and piazzas. The proximity of Porta Ercolano was



112. Vicolo di Modesto, looking south (with the House of the Baker [VI.3.3, 27] at right), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



113. Entrance to the garden plot behind the House of Pansa (VI.6.12), near the back door of the House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27), Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

perhaps convenient for those slaves who wanted to flee the bakery and the city, who wanted to spend a day in the country, or who needed to visit a friend or relative outside Pompeii; the heavy traffic moving along Via Consolare gave them some cover.⁷⁴ The shops along Via Consolare provided entertainment for those who liked to stroll along the streets, and the nearby bars, with their mixed clientele, offered drink, snacks, and gambling. The numbers

of people on the move along *Via Consolare* from the early morning into the night while the shops were open enabled the slave on the street to lose himself or herself in a crowd.⁷⁵

The back streets along the bakery's north and east sides had a different potential for enacting the tactics that bought slaves time and space. The movement of carts and animals on *Vicolo di Mercurio* and *Vicolo di Modesto* provided cover to slip away out the back door or stable door of the bakery, and reduced foot traffic meant fewer people to observe. At certain times of the day, the less-trafficked stretches of *Vicolo di Modesto* offered a quiet refuge to escape the heat and dust of the bakery – and especially an owner's gaze. The horticultural plot immediately across the street from the bakery's back door (VI.6.12), depending on the time of year, potentially served as a temporary place for hiding or connecting with slaves from other households.⁷⁶ Doorways that opened to staircases to upper stories or basements on these less-traveled streets (VI.3.23, VI.3.26, VI.5.11) enabled the slave to duck out of sight when necessary.⁷⁷

The backdoor culture discussed in the previous chapter may have taken a particular form around the House of the Baker. In the area bordered by *Via delle Terme* and the intersection of *Via Consolare* and *Vicolo di Narciso* were five bakeries including the House of the Baker (VI.2.6, VI.3.3, 27, VI.5.15, VI.6.4, VI.6.17–21). There were also two other stables close by (VI.6.11 and VI.6.13) and two further north (VI.1.22 and VI.2.18).⁷⁸ The presence of bakeries and stables meant that many bakery workers and donkeys were in the neighborhood. The donkeys certainly moved about the streets, carting raw materials and baked bread; whether the bakery workers did depended on the extent of the use of fetters and the owners' control of those who were unchained.

If shackling bakery workers was the common practice in Pompeii, then this was a neighborhood with a high concentration of chained slaves and not much movement of bakery slaves. If, on the other hand, these workers had some freedom of movement, then we might entertain the notion of a neighborhood culture in an area in which many slaves shared an occupation. Nearly equidistant for the workers in bakeries VI.3.3, 27 and VI.5.15 was the bar at VI.5.12, and it is difficult not to wonder if this small tavern between two nearby bakeries ended up as a common destination for their workers in off-hours (Fig. 114). In addition, given the locations of the stables at the House of the Baker, VI.6.11, and VI.6.13, these workers would have been surrounded by their fellow four-footed laborers. Thus, at work inside the bakery and outside in the streets of the neighborhood, bakery workers and donkeys lived and worked in each other's company.⁷⁹

OSTIA: THE QUESTION OF THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF LABOR

Ostia in the second century CE presents a striking contrast to first-century Pompeii (see Fig. 6). What Janet DeLaine calls the “intensive commercial landscape at Ostia” (2005, 30) catered to a larger and more varied population that consisted of both permanent residents and temporary visitors – businesspeople engaged in long-distance or large-scale trade,



114. Bar at VI.5.12 near the House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27) and the bakery at VI.5.15, Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

workers and administrators connected with the port and the *Annona* (grain supply), members of *vigiles* (fire brigades), and sailors, officers, and staff associated with the fleet.⁸⁰ The shops and workshops that met the needs of this population included the sort of small one- or two-room businesses that we find at Pompeii and Herculaneum but also large bakeries and fulleries compared to those in the first-century Campanian cities. At Ostia bakeries had more than twice the number of mills, and fulleries had at least three times the number of stalls of the largest Pompeian fullery with its ten stalls. The greatly enlarged physical plants and equipment visible in the archaeological record suggest a substantial increase in the number of workers.

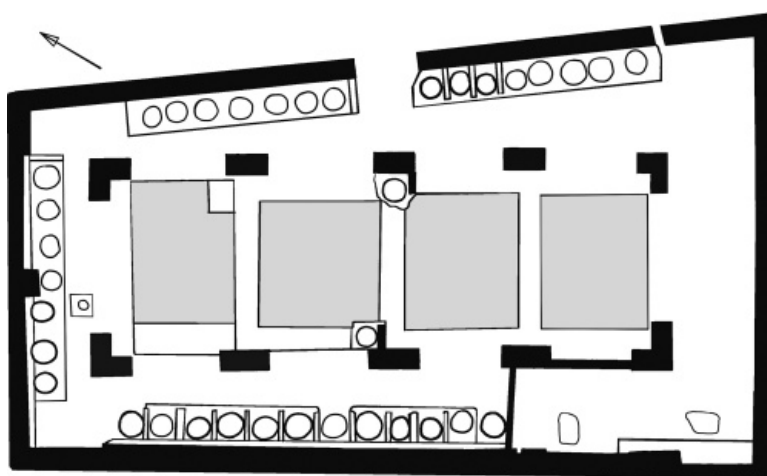
The question is whether owners' strategies created productive units different not only in size but also in kind from Pompeii's bakeries and fulleries. Some scholars have seen Ostia's large bakeries and fulleries as "factories" and called their operations "industrial."⁸¹ We prefer the term "production hall" and avoid terms like "industrial" because they drag in their wake assumptions that derive from the changes associated with the Industrial Revolution beginning in eighteenth-century Britain: increased technological change, use of power-driven machinery, mechanization of work, division of labor, separation of work and home, and above all, in E. P. Thompson's words, a "severe restructuring of work

habits” (1967, 57).⁸² In second-century Ostia, key elements of industrial production are missing. There appears to be no change in the technology of baking and fulling: the archaeological record at least indicates the use of animal and human power (not wind or water), the same equipment, and the same division of tasks.⁸³ Looking briefly at two large fulleries and a bakery at Ostia, we hope to open up the discussion by shifting attention away from the dichotomy between workshop and factory toward considerations of masterly strategy and slave tactics in the context of large physical plants with more equipment and more workers (and in the case of bakeries, more animals).⁸⁴

The large fullery on Via degli Augustali (V.7.3) was a purpose-built production hall (Fig. 115). It had no prehistory as a house, and at the time of its operation, it lacked living quarters for its workers and stairs to an upper floor. There was a single entrance and no commercial shop area for leaving and picking up clothes.⁸⁵ Four large basins occupy the center of the main area; thirty-four stalls line the north, east, and west sides (Fig. 116). The single entrance made controlling movement in and out of the fullery easy. The owner, too, may have limited the interactions of workers in the fullery. As Flohr argues, the layout of the workshop’s communicative landscape made it difficult for a treader to interact with anyone else but a neighboring worker; unlike in Pompeii’s fulleries the long lines of stalls along the north, east, and west walls stretched out the “communication lines” of the treaders, and the distance across the four large basins and the large pillars between them separated the rinsers from each other and the treaders (2009, 182).

If the size and layout of the fullery on Via degli Augustali (V.7.3) prompt scholars to see it as a factory and as an example of rationalized production, such descriptions are difficult to apply to the fullery on Via della Fullonica, at II.11.1 (Fig. 117).⁸⁶ If anything, this fullery seems like an overstuffed workshop. Like the fullery on Via degli Augustali (V.7.3), there are no indications of living space, no stairs to an upper floor, and no areas dedicated to domestic activities in the fullery at II.11.1, so this, too, was a production hall. However, its total area (429 m²) approximates the area of the largest fullery at Pompeii, the household Fullery of Vesonius Primus (415 m²) (VI.14.21–22) (see Fig. 91). Yet, at the same time, the fullery at II.11.1 packed more equipment and workers into its space than either the Fullery of Vesonius Primus (ten stalls and three basins) or the huge fullery on Via degli Augustali did into theirs: while the latter fullery had thirty-four stalls, the fullery at II.11.1 squeezed forty-two stalls into a considerably smaller space (although II.11.1 had three basins, not four as in V.7.3).

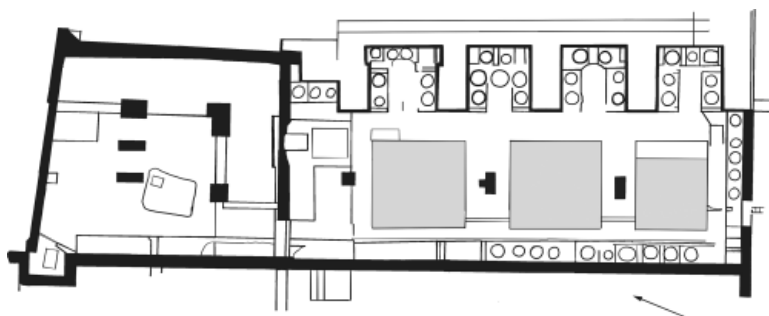
Like the fullery on Via degli Augustali, the fullery at II.11.1 had a single door, making the control of entrance and exit uncomplicated, yet the organization of its space produced a more varied and in certain areas a more intimate communicative landscape than in the fullery at V.7.3 (Fig. 118). On the south and west walls of the fullery at II.11.1 fifteen trading stalls were arranged in single lines comparable to those in the fullery at V.7.3, but the walkway in front of them was quite narrow; apparently, treaders handed clothes directly to those working in the rinsing basins. On the east side, four closetlike rooms opened to the central area: each contained six or seven stalls (Fig. 119). The walkway between these rooms and the basins was wider than on the



115. Plan of the fullery on Via degli Augustali (V.7.3) with basins in gray, Ostia. Drawing by Glynnis Fawkes. (After Pietrogrande 1976, fig. 15.)



116. Fullery on Via degli Augustali (V.7.3), Ostia. Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma).



117. Plan of the fullery on Via della Fullonica (II.II.I) with basins in gray, Ostia. Drawing by Glynnis Fawkes. (After Pietrogrande 1976, fig. 4.)



118. Fullery on Via della Fullonica (II.II.I), Ostia. Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma).

west side, allowing free passage but putting the treaders in these rooms at a physical, though not visual, distance from rinsers in the basins and their fellow treaders across the workspace.

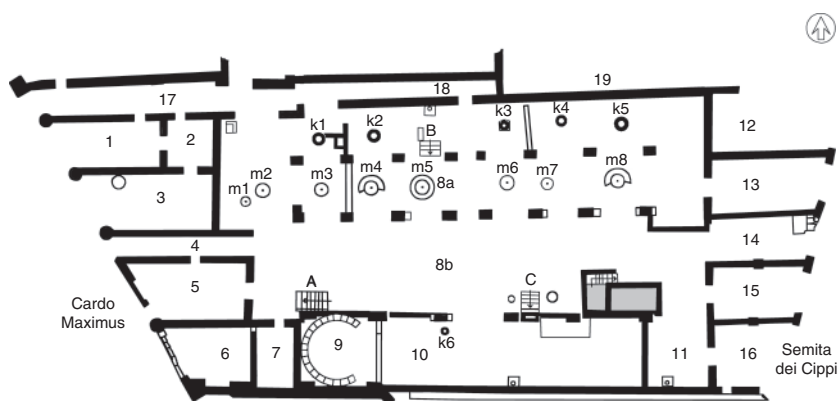
Treaders working along the west wall could engage directly with their fellows in neighboring stalls and with those in the nearby basins. Workers in the small rooms opposite were rather segregated into four close groups. They could see and interact directly with the other treaders in the same room, but they were cut off from the treaders



119. Closetlike room with treading stalls in the fullery on Via della Fullonica (II.11.1), Ostia. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma).*

in the other rooms and had a view only to the workers on the west side immediately across from them. The segregation of the treaders in the four rooms would have been lessened if treaders changed stalls with some frequency. Regardless, the strategic arrangements in this fullery meant that many workers would have labored nearly on top of each other.

The Trajanic-Hadrianic purpose-built bakery at I.13.4 and its “industrial appearance” gives us another angle on owners’ strategy in Ostia’s large production halls (Bakker 1999, 110) (Fig. 120). This bakery (1,525 m²) was nearly three times as large as the Pompeian House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27) (529 m²), although some of the area was taken up by four shops on the west and four shops on the east (1–3, 5–6, 12–13, and 15–16).⁸⁷ There are no quarters for workers on the ground floor, but three stairways in the workshop and another in the corridor connecting to *Semita dei Cippi* lead to an upper floor some of whose space could have been set aside for workers’ accommodations.⁸⁸ This bakery had nearly twice as many mills as the typical Campanian bakery, each larger and more widely spaced than those were (seven Pompeian-type mills and a small hand mill) (Fig. 121). According to Jan Theo Bakker, they were more productive: he estimates that an “Ostian millstone produced two to three times more flour than a Pompeian one” (1999, 111). Along with these mills, six kneading machines and an oven with an inside diameter of about 4.5 meters that dwarfs every oven in Pompeii point to the large-scale production of bread necessary for Ostia’s numerous residents and visitors (Figs. 122–23).⁸⁹ If donkeys turned the kneading



120. Plan of the bakery at I.13.4 (water basin and cistern in gray), Ostia. *Drawing by Glynnis Fawkes. (After Bakker 1999, fig. 19.)*

machines, along with the mills, then there were at least twelve animals working in this bakery. Despite the difficulty of specifying the exact number of workers, estimates are useful as an index of the size of the workforce. The size of the oven and number of mills and kneading machines suggest the number of animal and mill tenders, scoopers, sievers, workers who shaped the loaves and set them to leaven, and bakers at the ovens: 30–35 workers (compared to 8–12 in the House of the Baker) seems like a modest estimate, and certainly the number increases if we include those carting in supplies, gofers, and men and women selling bread in the shops.⁹⁰

The strategic control of movement in this bakery is not entirely clear. Beside the main entrances on the *Cardo Maximus* and *Semita dei Cippi*, there were multiple doorways through the shops that fronted the bakery on both streets: in effect, it was more permeable than either of the two fulleries discussed earlier. In addition, the location and movement of workers other than those at the kneading machines and mills is difficult to plot (Plate XII). Yet, whichever way we map the movement of workers and product, the organization from our point of view hardly seems “rational” or efficient, all of which stretches the comparison to modern notions of the proper organization of a factory. As Bernard Meijlink suggests in his study of this bakery, workers probably carted grain and firewood into the bakery through corridor 14 and perhaps 17; they stored them in the attic over rooms 9, 10, and perhaps 11; grain seems to have been poured into the mills from the attic above 8a, and workers needed to regulate the flow. The location of the stables and hence movement of those caring for the donkeys is not certain; Meijlink sees 8b as a possibility or the building to the north at I.13.3.⁹¹ Where the sifters worked is also unclear, since space for the necessary tables and laborers was limited near the mills and kneading machines in hall 8a. Meijlink considers room 10 as “a better candidate,” as it was “separated from the dusty open space 8b, where wagons and carriers left their cargo” (1999, 79) (Fig. 124). However, this means that the flour taken off the mills would have been hauled from 8a to 10 and back again to the kneading machines in 8a. Even if the sieving tables were located in 8a, workers



121. Mills in the bakery at I.13.4, Ostia. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma).*

would have had to move the dough from the kneading machines in 8a to room 10 across the “dusty open space 8b” to let it leaven in room 10 from whence it went to the oven in 9. In Meijlink’s estimation the location of the “kneading machines north of the mills seems awkward.”⁹²

Most important for our purposes are questions about how this spatial strategy of the bakery’s owners affected the material conditions of slave workers. Whatever the exact location of sieving and shaping, there would have been considerable movement of workers around the bakery, especially across 8b. We might ask if the necessity of all this movement militated against the chaining of the bakery’s workers, since shackles would have inhibited walking from place to place. However, the permeability of the bakery introduced a problem for an owner who did not use chains: the openness of the bakery, its many entrances, and its numerous crannies and corners presented good opportunities for unchained workers to leave the premises or simply their posts. If chains were not the solution, then strict supervision would be necessary. Patrolling



122. Kneading machines in the bakery at I.13.4, Ostia. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma).*

both the large space of the bakery and its many workers would seem to have required more supervisors and a stricter regime of management than in Pompeii's smaller workshops.

Large physical plants, more equipment, and, above all, more workers probably led to greater complexity in management and choreography. The question for the material life of slaves is whether these quantitative differences meant a qualitative difference in the conditions of laboring. First, in the three production halls described here, there would appear to have been no overlap between the domestic and productive spheres. The absence of living space in both fulleries meant a division of workplace from living space; the fulleries' workers left home to go to work. In the case of the bakery, an upper floor might well have provided housing for the bakery's workers, and thus home and work were under the same roof, as in the bakeries located in former atrium houses in Pompeii. Yet, unlike the House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27), there were no articulated domestic spaces



123. Oven in the bakery at I.13.4, Ostia. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma).*



124. View to area 8b from the mill yard of the bakery at I.13.4, Ostia. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma).*

for owners (i.e., dining room, salons, or bedrooms), so there would have been no intermixing of domestic staff and workshop laborers.

Although we cannot be certain, it would seem that the social relations among workers in both the fulleries and the bakery differed from those of the workshops in Pompeii. At

least the substantial increase in the number of workers and the size of the workshop probably introduced divisions in the workforce, especially when these production halls are compared to the Pompeian fulleries and bakeries *in atrium* houses where, it seems, workers belonged to the same *familia* and lived where they worked. Among the fifty or more workers in the Ostian fulleries and the thirty or more workers in the bakery, varied factors probably created multiple relations. Jurists speak frequently of groups of slaves owned by the same person (*familiae*) acting as a concerted group or hired out as a unit. If workers in these Ostian production halls were hired as *familiae*, then discrete owners may have produced discrete groups of *conservi* (fellow slaves) among the fulleries' and bakery's laborers.⁹³ Among the fullery workers who lived elsewhere, whether *conservi* or not, some may have been neighbors.⁹⁴ Some simply worked side by side, and spatial divisions in the workshop created groups of fellow workers located in specific places. If, as Flohr assumes, workers did not change jobs (treading one day and rinsing the next, for example), then a large number of workers doing the same job could have formed the bonds or relations that were the basis for tactics (2011b, 96; cf. 99–100).

THE POSSIBILITIES OF TACTICS IN OSTIA'S PRODUCTION HALLS

In general, the *longue durée* of the present ruins at Ostia, the uncertainty about the use of certain buildings, and the methods of excavation and reporting in some parts of the city make it difficult to do the same sort of analyses that are possible at Pompeii.⁹⁵ Yet where the arrangements of space enable us to talk about the strategy of owners, translating the general complaints of slaveholders into the tactics of slaves working in Ostia's large fulleries and bakeries is especially difficult. Most obviously, we cannot survey the neighborhood of a fullery or bakery at any single historical point in much detail. Nonetheless, aspects of these production halls are at least suggestive. For the two fulleries that lack indications of housing, we must imagine that workers walked to work. From where and how far is uncertain; however, this walk opened an opportunity for the wandering and loitering about which slaveholders complain. For slaves in the large bakery at I.13.4 who may have lived on the upper floors, we can at least ask what the absence of the owner's living space and the presence of many fellow workers meant.

As with the fulleries and bakeries at Pompeii, we can also estimate how slaves could have disrupted their owners' strategic deployment of space and the intended communicative landscape. If, as Flohr argues, the layout of the fullery on Via degli Augustali (V.7.3) limited the ability of a treader to interact with anyone but the treaders in the stalls at his sides and if extended "communicative lines" inhibited rinsers' relations with other rinsers and treaders, how did workers overcome or manipulate conditions that would have tended to atomize them at work? First, there was the real possibility of shared time within the workday: the noon break for lunch is an example. Legally, at least, the owner of any workshop had to give workers whose *operae* (workdays) he had contracted their meals or time to get them.⁹⁶ Second, where sight was limited, a chant or a song or just noise taken

up by workers created at least aural connections. At the fullery at II.II.I the four closetlike rooms on the east side segregated treaders into four groups, but at the same time, this arrangement threw them together, forging perhaps a cooperation that was necessitated by the crowding of stalls. The “awkward” arrangement of space and equipment in the bakery at I.I3.4, which made workers crisscross the open space of the central hall (8b), evokes questions about supervision, but we might also see in this layout the worker's chances for avoiding work and hiding in plain sight. Moreover, the permeable character of the bakery, with its many openings to streets, corridors, and shops, may have given its unchained workers access to the shops, baths, and storehouses in the immediate vicinity.



IRONICALLY, IN SUMMER 2012 the House of the Baker in Pompeii was full of tourists, whereas the Ostian bakery, much busier in antiquity than its Pompeian counterpart, stood virtually empty. The former evidently had become a stop on some touring companies' list of must-see sights at Pompeii; summer vegetation had so overtaken the latter that it was difficult to walk through its central hall. As archaeological sites, these long-ago workshops had swapped places as areas of activity. In each, however, the owners' equipment – mills and oven – were still visible, the bakeries' slave workers still invisible. We can see that the size of the operation in the Ostian bakery meant more individuals on the move than in the Pompeian House of the Baker and more ground to cover for the supervisor(s). Although we can acknowledge greater complexity in the Ostian owner's strategic arrangements, it is difficult to estimate how size and complexity resulted in greater (and perhaps different) opportunities for tactics. Nonetheless, if we do not attempt to insert workers – millers, sievers, kneaders, and bakers – their absence in our narratives makes both bakeries seem as empty as those shops on Via Stabiana.

Chapter 5

SLAVES IN THE VILLA

For a Roman city dweller, coastal Campania was a major attraction in the spring and summer. A visit to one's villa overlooking the Bay of Naples provided the ideal setting for well-connected Romans to indulge in otium, or absolute leisure. . . . They could enjoy the views of the sea and the lush landscape, admire each other's personal art collections, read and write, exercise in a private gymnasium, stroll in their gardens, and entertain friends.

—MATTUSCH 2008, 1

In certain regions, there are added to instrumentum (tools), if the villa is of the better equipped sort, such items as majordomos and sweepers, and if there are also gardens, gardeners

—*Digest* 33.7.8.1 (TRANS. A. WATSON)

IN 2008, THE National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art organized an exhibition entitled *Pompeii and the Roman Villa: Art and Culture around the Bay of Naples*. The paintings, mosaics, statuary, tableware, jewelry, and decorative objects in the show well fulfilled the goal of its guest curator, Carol C. Mattusch, to give its viewers “a glimpse of the good life as it played out for Romans and their guests within the Campanian seaside villa and its surroundings” (2008, 1). As impressive as the exhibition was, at the same time, it nearly eliminated the bondsmen and bondswomen who made possible the “good life” in the villas around the Bay of Naples. The essays that front the catalog, for example, do not mention a single slave, although many of the activities mentioned required slave labor. This absence is frequent in much of the rich scholarship on the Roman villa except in the search for slave quarters, service areas, and

agricultural apparatus. In this chapter, we look at the ways this silence reproduces the particular silences in ancient texts, and we try to meld literature, law, and archaeological evidence to relocate Roman slaves in the material realities of the Roman villa.

VILLA AND SLAVERY

Ancient writers as well as modern scholars use the term “villa” to refer to residences and productive units located outside the city in the country, suburbs, and seashore. These include elite mansions and modest country homes, and large estates and small farms engaged in agriculture, viticulture, and raising luxury foodstuffs (*pastio villatica*). However, it is the large estate owned by members of the elite that dominates ancient and modern discussions.¹ An extensive body of scholarship examines the elite villa as a site of leisure and cultural activities, and a place of business and politics.² The villa also became a place of display, where architecture and decoration represented owners’ power and prestige; in John Bodel’s words, outside the city the elite were released from the “social constraints that inhibited self-expression” (1997, 7). This was especially the case in the Principate when the emperor’s monopoly on public building in Rome squeezed the senatorial class out of the contest in architectural display, leaving them instead a small audience in Italian towns and the provinces. Hence, Bodel argues, “The attractiveness of focusing one’s resources on private building and thus of targeting a narrower group of socially estimable peers was magnified” (1997, 30).³ This display of luxurious residences should not be separated from a display of production that included laborers and storehouses (Purcell 1995, 169–70).

While the origins, proliferation, and character of these villas are the subjects of scholarly debates, no one doubts the use of slave labor on many (though not all) estates and small farms, leased and owned, or the presence of large numbers of servants.⁴ Indeed, the owner’s leisure, business, and self-representation all depended on the slave’s labor. A permanent staff usually maintained and guarded the villa when its owners were not in residence.⁵ Travel to the villa from the city meant litter bearers and runners or mule drivers and grooms;⁶ accompanying their owners were all sorts of personal servants – maids, bedchamber servants, foot servants, secretaries, readers, and administrators.⁷ At the villa itself, whether as permanent or temporary staff, were cooks, bakers, waiters, doorkeepers, and hall porters.⁸ Beyond these were cleaners, craftsmen, smiths, and gardeners.⁹ The *familia rustica* (country slaves) per se included the men and women who worked in the fields, vegetable gardens, vineyards, olive yards, orchards, and fishponds.¹⁰ In addition, guests of the owner brought their own servants and travel personnel.

Slaves were not only critical to the material operation of the villa; they also played a role in the Roman discourses of power, luxury, and taste.¹¹ As in the Roman house, slaves figure importantly as animate possessions that signal wealth and power, as symbols of excessive spending, as evidence of good or finicky taste, or as the means to best one’s social peers and inferiors.¹² More specifically, Roman writers contrast the simple dress and grooming of the slaves of the modest man on his farm with the elaborately costumed, cultivated servants of

the wealthy show-off to distinguish the virtuous life from the fancy, decadent life in the city or at a rich man's villa.¹³ The three extant agricultural manuals, however, deploy slaves in ways particular to the rural setting. In Cato, Varro, and Columella, notes Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "The sweat and industry of slave-worked agricultural production stands by transference for the sweat, industry, moral probity and ancestral Romanness of the owner" (1998, 45). Further, the manuals' instructions on managing slaves stand in for the owner's power over his property and his station as *paterfamilias* who commands others.

Presented from the slaveholders' point of view, the villa's slaves appear in legal and literary texts almost exclusively as the performers of some sort of labor. To the extent that they occupy space, they do so in service to the author's "narrative" – legal, moral, or rhetorical. One might say that they are in the slaveholder's narrative but not of it. Thus, for example, in law, slaves appear in the villa residence, barns, fields, vineyards, or fishponds as tools, equipment, or furnishings that enable productive activities or owners' material lives. In Seneca, the baker and cook at his Alban villa, who are unprepared for his visit, and the masseur (*unctor*) on whom he does not call exist not only to perform tasks but also to serve as a rhetorical device Seneca can use to comment on his control over his temper and his independence from the drive of physical needs (*Moral Letters* 123.1–4). Messengers, runners, and "boys" enter his considerations about travel when he needs to instance men whose practices are unnecessary or wasteful or who unthinkingly copy fads (*Moral Letters* 123.7). In agricultural manuals, the *vilicus* (slave manager) displays the landowner's control of his property, and the overseers' "wives" belong to discussions of keeping these men in their place (Columella 1.8.5; Varro, *On Agriculture* 2.10.6–7).

More often, slaves disappear into their labor when authors omit or elide their agency and even their presence. Pliny, for example, has quite a lot to say about slaves, especially his own. But when he is not staging his own paternalism, he often depicts villas without a single slave, although the pleasant activities he recounts would have routinely required slave servants (*Letters* 1.3, 2.17, 5.6); he talks as if he were alone on his property even though servants would have been present (1.6 and 9). In Pliny and other authors, the use of the passive voice erases the agency of domestic servants in the performance of their work (*Letters* 3.1.4 and 9, 3.5.14, 9.36.4): a book is read; notes are recorded; a man is oiled; a bath is taken. In some cases, food and wine simply appear or tasks are completed without reference to the efforts of the bondspeople who performed them (9.36.4). Frequently, the slaveholder demands his shoes, a lamp, or a meal, and they appear without a cause or agent (2.17.25, 3.5.10–11, 6.20.8).¹⁴

Further, the agronomists silence slaves in their accounts of what the landowner does or should do. In his analysis of Cato's *On Agriculture*, Brendon Reay shows how Cato's use of the passive voice and the second person singular, and his seeming shifts of address, occlude slave labor or absorb it into the agency of the estate owner – a process that Reay calls "symptomatic of a 'masterly extensibility,' a conception of slaves not as independent agents, but as prosthetic tools with which the master assiduously and individually 'cultivated' his fields" (2005, 335). The process continues in the manuals of Varro and Columella, albeit with rhetorical variations. After his instructions on the work of the *vilicus* (slave manager) and his recommendations on the organization of labor, Columella

obfuscates the agency of slave workers in several ways. He scripts the work of a particular laborer, referring to the laborer in the third person in a series of statements of how he or she should or should not perform a particular task. On occasion, like Cato, he uses the second person singular to elide owner and slave, or he refers to “we” when an “I” directs and another works. Frequently, Columella recounts a task either in the passive voice (“x is done” or “x should be done”) or in a series of actions that simply unfold.¹⁵ In effect, the slave’s presence is removed and replaced by an object and an action without an actor (so, for example, a field and hoeing, without the hoer); agency itself belongs to the master who orders, rather than to the slave who executes those orders. As Reay has observed for Cato, this disappearance of the slave serves the portrayal of the master. The slave disappears, so the master can appear in a certain light (2005).

Modern work on the villa, both scholarly and popular, often repeats or rather reinscribes these silences. In historical and art historical studies, slaves are often made absent, or when their presence is noted, they are occluded by their subordination to the narrative of their owners or the slaveholding elite.¹⁶ As in the catalogue for *Pompeii and the Roman Villa*, the omission, at least in part, results from a focus on “the elaborate life of luxury” and a tendency (at least up until the last few years) either to ignore the productive parts of the villa where slaves worked or to study them in isolation, as Purcell has observed (1995, 164). Moreover, the attention to luxury in villas is abetted by the considerably better preservation of elite residences in contrast to the condition of the slave or work areas of villas, though this is also a matter of modern maintenance.¹⁷ Even when the service and production areas are excavated, and the tools of production like wine and oil presses are reconstructed, these places tend to become work sites without workers or, as in the case of presses, discussion is taken up with how the mechanism functioned without the bondpeople who operated them.¹⁸

The focus on elite luxury, however, will not explain the absence of servants and workers attached to the *villa urbana* (elite residence). As already noted, slaves belonged to the villa’s life of luxury and leisure; they contributed to its making and maintenance. Yet too often the rooms of Campanian villas are filled with the activities and gazes of those who did not work. Even where slaves are acknowledged, their placement in space tends to become only a feature of the owner’s strategy.¹⁹ Disciplinary boundaries certainly play their role, with slaves relegated to social and economic history and the archaeological remains to art history or archaeology. Although these boundaries have been breached in the last ten years, slaves are still made invisible in the material remains of the villa; or rather they make only a limited entrance.

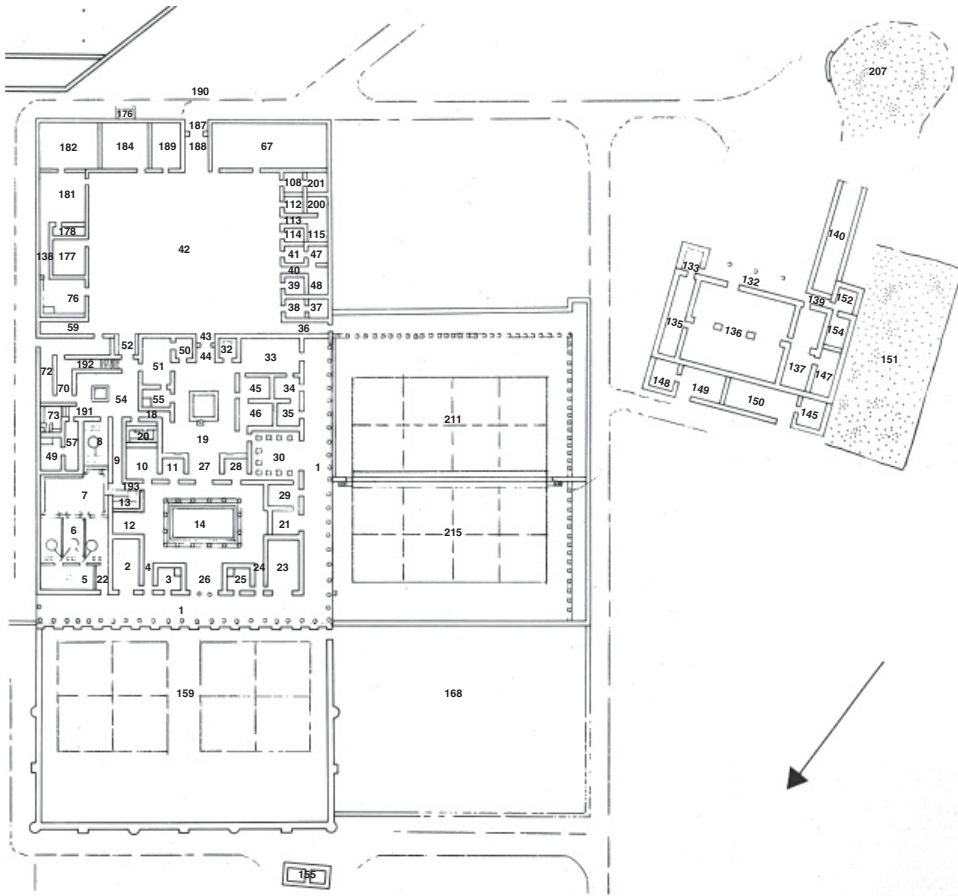
THE SEARCH FOR SLAVE QUARTERS

Ironically, the tendency to erase slaves in the archaeology of the villa recurs in recent discussions of slave quarters, the one place, beyond service areas, that scholars acknowledge slaves’ presence. Part of the problem is how we interpret the physical evidence. Whereas work areas are clearly indicated by the presence of cooktops, ovens, millstones, basins, and

presses, the identification of slave housing per se has proved elusive.²⁰ In general, the reburial of many excavated villas limits the interpretation of space in farm buildings because it is now impossible to walk through the sites and to pursue questions unanswered in the archaeological reports. Where farm buildings have been excavated and reported in a detailed and precise manner, the translation of physical remains into lived practices is difficult, especially where slave rooms are concerned.²¹

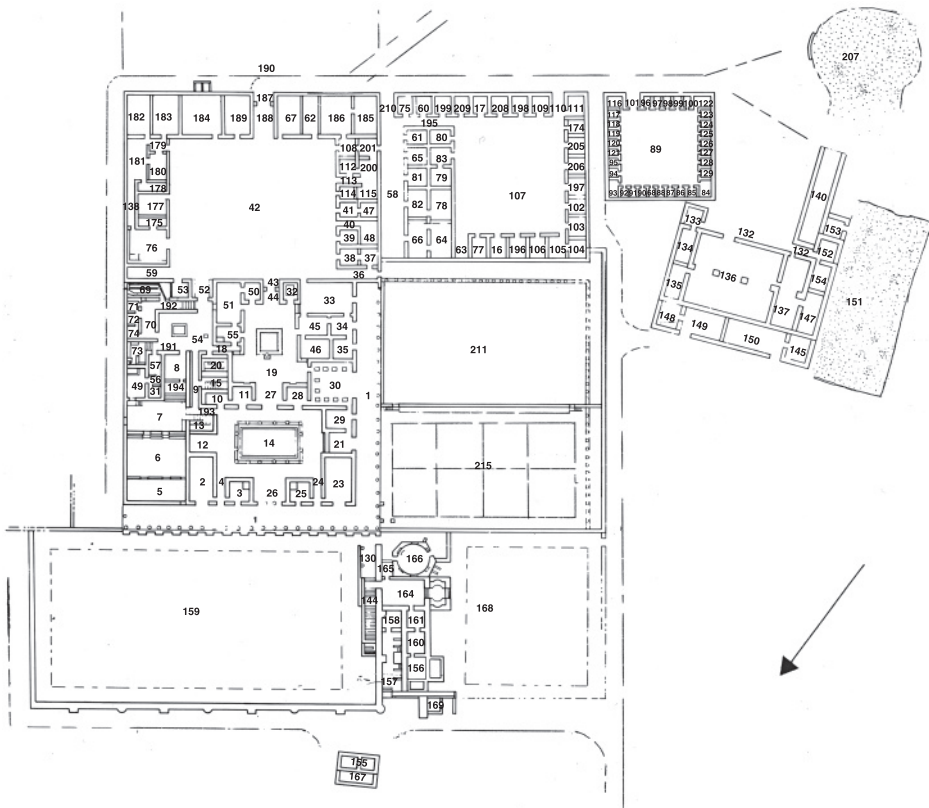
The textual evidence compounds the problem. Roman writers identify slave rooms as *cellae*, small, often cramped, spaces assigned to slaves or associated with them. The agricultural manuals assume that slaves lived in the *pars rustica* (agricultural or productive part of the villa), but they do not detail sleeping arrangements except for the *vilicus*, and then primarily in terms of the necessities of surveillance.²² Earlier archaeological reports and studies of farm buildings, especially in Campania, brought this textual evidence to bear on the archaeological record. F. H. Thompson observes that archaeologists often suppose that a “row of identical rooms in the plan of a farm” signals slave quarters, particularly if their floors are unpaved and their walls undecorated or plastered without further decoration. The presence of chains, fetters, or manacles confirms the presence of slaves.²³ Even without the evidence of chaining, the larger contexts of *cellae* suggest a working environment that included slaves. A survey of building plans of Campanian villas excavated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century indicates certain patterns in the spatial layout of many *villae rusticae*: a courtyard surrounded by small *cellae* on one or more sides, limited entrances, and proximity to work areas (e.g., press rooms, storage, stables and animal stalls, threshing floors, and bakeries). In effect, architectural typology and context, decor, and object remains have been used to define the rooms as slave quarters.²⁴

The excavation of the large villa at Settefinestre in southern Etruria, directed by Andrea Carandini, and the publication of the findings inspired many questions about slave quarters, especially as this villa became emblematic of the villa system: that is, a villa with both a residence for the owner and a productive part that used slave labor in the cultivation of cash crops.²⁵ Moreover, Settefinestre seemingly offered archaeological evidence that confirmed the picture in Varro and Columella, thus shaping the interpretations of other villa sites. Rows of small rooms on two courtyards near work areas were identified as slave quarters. In the first period of construction, in the late first century BCE and early first century CE, an entry courtyard (42) seems to have been a service area (Fig. 125). A double row of small rooms on the west side had unplastered walls and earth (or perhaps wood-planked) floors, ten of 3 x 3 meters and two of 3 x 4 meters.²⁶ Later, in the Trajanic and Antonine periods, the owners built a new courtyard (107) to the southwest adjoining the old one, which Carandini labeled the “new slave quarters” (Fig. 126). Instead of the arrangement of double rooms that lined the west side of 42, single rooms (3 x 3.5 m) surrounded the south, west, and north sides of the new courtyard. The number of rooms signaled an increase in the number of slaves housed in these quarters, and the altered spatial configurations led Carandini to suggest that there was a change in the social composition of the rooms’ occupants, from men only (except for the foremen) in the first arrangement to slave families, each occupying one of the *cellae*, in the second.²⁷



125. Plan of Settefinestre, first period. (After Carandini 1985, vol. 2, 258.)

Scholars have raised questions about the identification of the rooms as slave quarters, most recently and carefully by Annalisa Marzano (2007, 129–38). She interrogates the general suppositions on which the identification depends: the character of the agricultural system in various parts of Italy, the status and organization of agricultural labor, and the influence of literature, especially Cato, Varro, and Columella, on the interpretation of archaeological material. In addition, she questions the assumptions about the physical details that led to the conclusion that these spaces were used for human habitation rather than stalls or store rooms – details including everything from the door widths of stalls to the appropriate floors and walls for store rooms. In Marzano’s view, Carandini and his colleagues tended to find what they went looking for, a large slaveholding estate.²⁸ Without denying that slaves were present at Settefinestre, she argues that the rooms called *cellae familiae* probably had a variety of purposes, such as storage, stalls, and housing; she also urges us to “remember the possibility that various structures on rural estates, including slave dwellings, may have been built using perishable materials . . . [that] leave no trace in the archaeological record.”²⁹



126. Plan of Settefinestre, second period. (After Carandini 1985, vol. 2, 259.)

However, as Marzano herself points out, the use of small rooms for storage, animals, and slaves, known from other villa sites, does not mean these rooms at Settefinestre are not slave quarters; rather, in fact, such “manifold” use seems appropriate for all those “things” that figure as *instrumentum*.³⁰ Yet critical analyses must be careful not to make slaves disappear from the material record, especially as the Romans who wrote about farming for those who owned farms are so clear about the housing of slaves in the *villa rustica*.³¹ For Elizabeth Fentress, “Slaves remain the most likely hypothesis [regarding the *cellae*] and nothing in her [Marzano’s] argument changes that.” Moreover, Fentress raises doubts about Marzano’s suggestion that slaves lived in now untraceable cheaper wooden buildings located in some other place on the estate: it seems unlikely in “a landscape in which *pisé de terre* [rammed earth] on a masonry foundation is the universal (and cheap) building technique.”³² While the exact function of *cellae* eludes us, these sorts of spaces, in combination with other work areas, offer the best chance of understanding the kinds of places in which rural slaves would have lived and worked.

As we did in Chapter 2, here we expand the discussion of slaves in the villa beyond the identification of their quarters and work areas to avoid the trap of asking no more

questions once certain areas are acknowledged as service areas and associated with slaves. We consider the villa's spatial arrangements and decor as part of the slaveholder's strategy to contain and choreograph servants and agricultural workers. Thinking about tactics in the villa allows us to understand how slaves lived their assigned places. The chapter uses four villas to explore these issues, beginning with the *villa urbana* (the owners' residence) of a maritime villa, Villa A at Oplontis, and of a suburban villa, the Villa of the Mysteries, outside Pompeii. Although the productive side of these villas receives some attention, a full consideration of the agricultural unit (*villa rustica*) is taken up at the end of the chapter with Settefinestre and the small Villa Regina at Boscoreale.

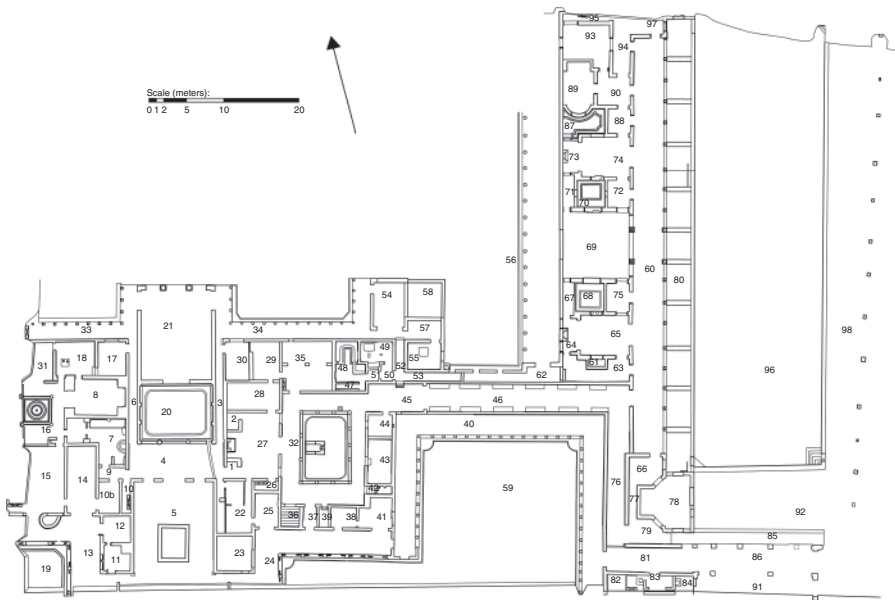
STRATEGY IN VILLA A AT OPLONTIS

Located about five kilometers west of Pompeii at Oplontis (modern Torre Annunziata) are the remains of Villa A, a lavish maritime villa that originally overlooked the Bay of Naples to the south (Fig. 127).³³ Built around 50 BCE, the villa was remodeled in about 1 CE and then again extensively two or three times after 45 CE. By the time of the eruption of Vesuvius in 79, there was no running water in the villa, and the evidence suggests that it was largely uninhabited, left to rustic uses, and something of a construction site.³⁴ The uncovered ruins probably comprise about sixty percent of the villa, including some 101 individual spaces (Fig. 128). The residence had a central core with atrium, triclinia, reception rooms, bath, kitchen, latrine, and service courtyard. A later eastern wing consisted of elaborate suites and a large swimming pool; it is likely that there was a symmetrical western wing (as yet unexcavated).³⁵ We know little about the productive areas except for indications that some sort of agricultural activities were associated with the residence part of the villa. Pollen and root analyses point to the cultivation of olives, vines, and fruit trees. Tools were found in and around the service courtyard (32).³⁶ At some point, rooms 83–84 were used as a press room.³⁷

The villa, like many of its neighbors on the Bay of Naples, provided its owners with the pleasures of sun, sea, and lush gardens. In Bettina Bergmann's view, the architecture, painting, mosaics, gardens, and site itself all worked together to create "an absorbing experience for inhabitants and visitors." She traces that experience by examining "the key strategies to arrange space, orchestrate movement, and stimulate the eye . . . by the correlation of different media, the framed visual axis, and the repetition, or echoing of motifs . . . in different locations" (2002, 90, 96). While Bergmann is aware of the slave staff, her incisive discussion of the villa's aesthetics almost effectively eliminates them from view in her text and illustrations.³⁸ The color plates for models of the villa's core and east wing certainly enable the reader to see how views, season, and time of day affected "the ambience and experience desired by the patrons" (95). Yet, whereas salon 15, the caldarium and later triclinium (8), the atrium (5), triclinium 14, cubiculum 11, and areas 4 and 20 all are shown with painted walls, the kitchen's walls (7) are left blank, and the service courtyard (32), which in fact was painted, is characterized only by the large tree that stood at its center.³⁹



127. Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata). *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



128. Plan of Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata). *(Courtesy of the Oplontis Project.)*

In effect, when Bergmann claims that assumptions about vision can be deduced from the material remains, the vision that concerns her is that of owner and guest (2002, 110). We turn her claim about deducing vision inside out to draw assumptions from the material remains about the vision of slaves. We argue that the control of slave movement contributed significantly to the villa's aesthetics described by Bergmann. To place slave servants, cleaners, and gardeners into Villa A's meticulous orchestration of the visual environment, we begin with the two areas where we would expect to find slaves, consider

the contexts of servitude, trace the necessary movements of slaves in the performance of their assigned labor, and explore how the villa's paintings reflect the owners' choreography of their servants and laborers.

The villa has designated service areas: a kitchen and a service courtyard. The kitchen (7) included the usual cooktop and a basin; on the south side, was a loft (Figs. 129–30). The western door opened to an anteroom and thence to a small courtyard with potted plants (16). The southern door of the kitchen gave easy access to a stairway in 10 that led to rooms above 10bis, 12, and 11.⁴⁰ A covered portico surrounded the large service courtyard 32, whose eastern wall at 44 and 43 was originally the boundary of the villa residence (Fig. 131). An entrance at the southwest (1) led to the atrium area and beyond, and another at the south (37) to the portico facing the bay (24). With the addition of the eastern wing sometime after 45 CE, a large doorway on the northeast opened into 45 and 46 (Fig. 132). One stairway (36) led to a long underground corridor that ran toward the sea, and two stairways (39 and 42) gave access to rooms on a second floor on the south and east sides of the courtyard. Nearby was a large latrine (48), perhaps the original kitchen of the villa, with the earlier latrine in 47, and a small caldarium (49) without painted decoration.⁴¹

In the earliest stage of the villa, when the wall of 44–43 formed the eastern edge of the residence, the service courtyard (32) and kitchen (7), like the service areas in many Pompeian houses, were at the periphery of space dedicated to the owner and his guests.⁴² Yet, after the remodeling in the mid-first century CE, the placement of the service courtyard seems like a central point for the core and both wings of the villa, and thus a practical, if not necessarily intended, location for effective service. However, we need to see that this physically central location made the service courtyard as conceptually marginal as the kitchen or the stable at



129. Cooktop in the kitchen (7), Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata). *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



130. Loft in the kitchen (7), Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata). *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



131. Service or slave courtyard 32, Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata). *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



132. Corridor 45–46, Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata). *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

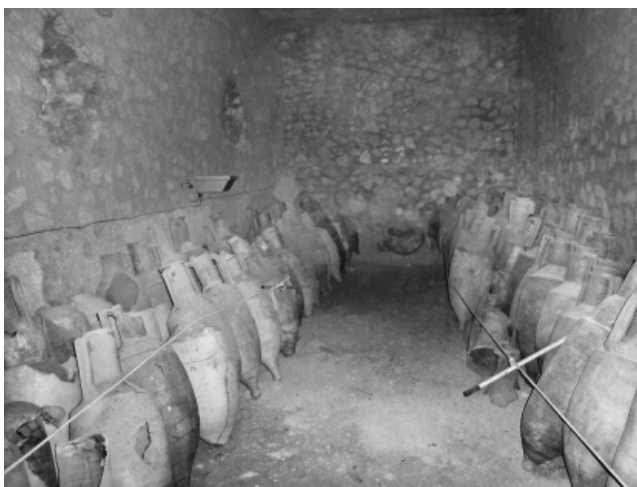
the edges of the House of the Menander (I.10.4, 14–16) at Pompeii. Since the emphasis for owner and guest at Villa A was on views out to the sea, gardens, and fields, the most marginal areas of the maritime villa were at its physical center.⁴³

These service areas seem to have combined work, habitation, and storage. Tools were found in the center of 32, shelves and tools in room 35, and farm implements hung on the walls of 44.⁴⁴ The following spaces potentially represent rooms for slave habitation as well as storage: the loft in the kitchen; rooms above 10bis, 12, and 11, and above 22–23; and the upstairs rooms on the south and east sides of 32. Notably, the rooms above 10bis, 12, and 11, and the rooms above 22–23 were stacked up, using the space of the exceptionally high atrium.⁴⁵ It is difficult to know exactly the shape of these areas, but in the case of the rooms above 43–44, we glimpse one of the contexts of servitude. The steep, narrow stairs at 42 led to a cramped, airless space that included two or three bed niches (Figs. 133–34).⁴⁶

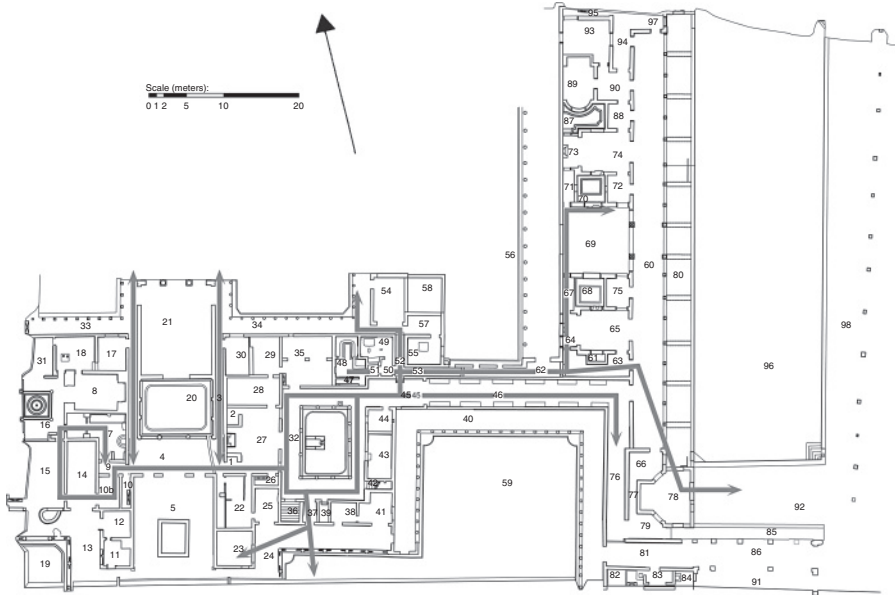
Whether we assume that slaves lived in, or were assigned primarily to, these areas, we also must recognize that in the performance of their jobs, bondspeople were on



133. Narrow stairway to rooms above 43 and 44, Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata). *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



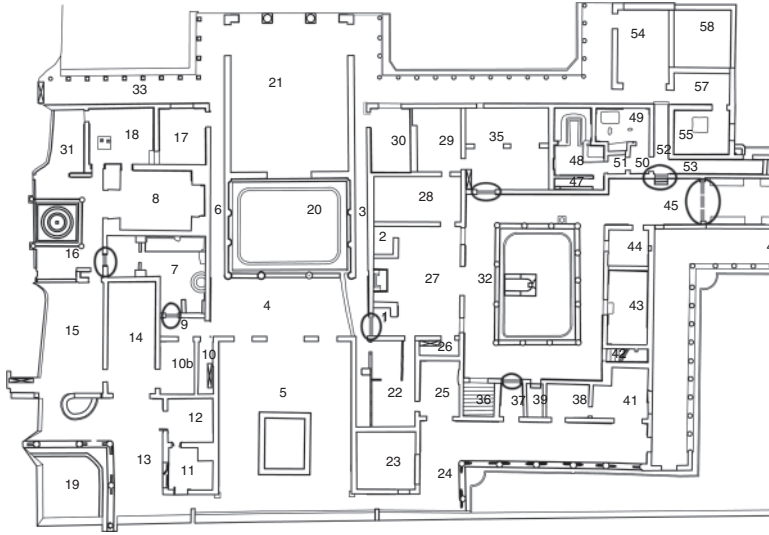
134. Rooms above 43 and 44, Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata). *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



135. Some routes of slave workers and servants at Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata). (Plan only courtesy of the Oplontis Project.)

the move. Figure 135 traces only some of the possible paths taken by slaves working in the residence, on the grounds, or in the fields. Slave servants attended owners in salons and bedrooms; they carried chamber pots from 15 or 23 or 65 to dump them in the latrine in 48. Waiters carted food from the kitchen (7) to triclinium 14 or to one of the suites in the eastern wing; cooks brought braziers, cooking equipment, and ingredients to the edge of dining rooms. Gardeners left 32 for the gardens on the north side of the villa, on the east side of the pool, or on the south side in 59, or they tended one of the areas of planting within the villa (70 or 87). Cleaners needed to be everywhere, wiping up wine that had been spit onto the floor, picking up food scraps, sweeping away cobwebs, and sponging down columns.⁴⁷ Slaves also moved furniture and goods: a worn area on the edge of 24 immediately across from the short corridor 37 may be the result of moving goods into or out of 32; the tunnel reached by stairway 36 may have extended to the sea, and so it, too, may have seen slaves carting objects into and out of the villa.⁴⁸ If they were housed in the villa building, agricultural laborers left courtyard 32 in the core for the vineyards, orchards, and fields that seem to have extended from the edge of the north garden. With each remodeling, the villa grew in size and complexity, and so did the number of slaves needed, the number of spaces they had to cover, and the complications of moving through the residence.

The owners' strategy to control the movement of slaves in Villa A can be observed in the architectural features of containment and the attempt to choreograph slave movement through decoration. Whether by happenstance or intention, the inner core of the villa, which included the two service areas and corridors between them, potentially could be closed off from the rest of the villa (or to slave movement outside this core). Stone thresholds with door pins (and in some instances, the impost blocks) point to doors that



136. Plan marked with locations of lockable doors around the kitchen (7) and service or slave courtyard 32, Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata). (*Plan only courtesy of the Oplontis Project.*)

could be locked (Fig. 136). It appears from the thresholds at the anteroom off courtyard 16 and the door between 7 and 9 that these doors to the kitchen could be locked, and hence the kitchen staff could be locked in. The situation is more complex for service courtyard 32. Thresholds between 4 and 1, 32 and 37, and 32 and 35 indicate the possibility of locked doors. There seems to have been some sort of folding door between 45 and 46 and, most likely, a door at 52 as well. Whether the entrances to stairways 42 and 39 could be locked is unclear from the current state of the building. Although the history of excavation and preservation at Villa A inhibit firm conclusions, a large area of slave activities, extending from the kitchen (7) through 4, into the service peristyle (32), and on into corridors 46 and then 76 (and maybe 81), could be contained.

Closing off this inner core with its service areas, however, would have limited the movement of slaves in the performance of their jobs, so we must suspect that the use of locked doors had a temporal dimension. Physical constraint, for example, perhaps was practiced at night. Or, some doors may have been left open and others locked at different times to control the traffic of servants and workers or to aid in the surveillance of slaves in motion at their jobs.⁴⁹ The “central” location of the kitchen and service courtyard and the arrangement of space with respect to other parts of the residence potentially made the comings and goings of slaves easy to observe. But exactly where such supervisors were stationed is a difficult question in a property of this size, and it is made more difficult by the unexcavated part of the villa and our ignorance of the property’s productive areas.

Choreographing the movement of slaves may have been a more effective and practical mode of control than direct surveillance and physical restraint, especially where the masterly desire for visible and invisible service was concerned. If Bergmann is correct about the orchestration of architecture, decoration, and gardens, and we believe she is,



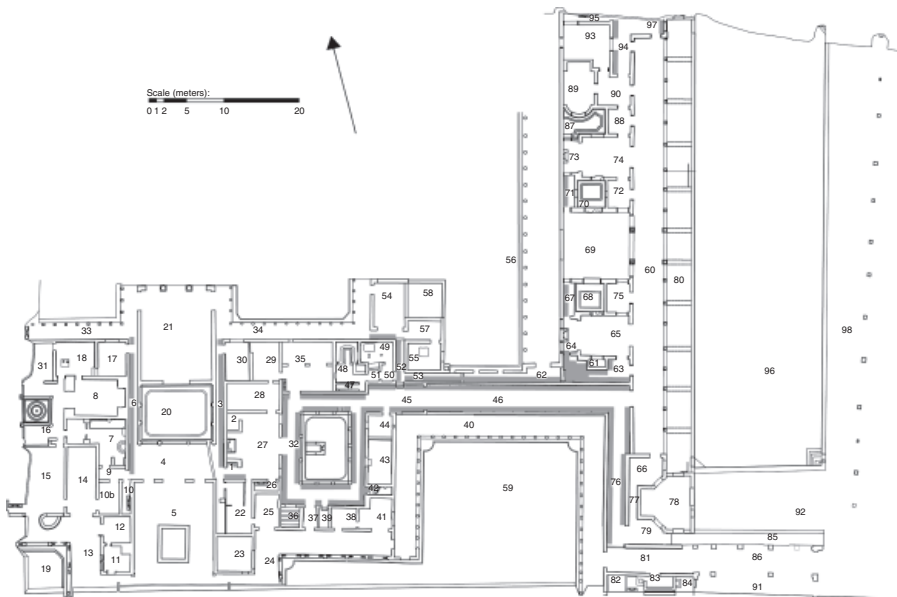
137. Portico 40 and garden 59, Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata). *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

then, we would add, the movements of servants had to be scripted to complement the orchestration of the villa's material environment, and the movements of other slaves who cleaned and maintained the place or who worked in the fields had to be controlled so as not to disturb these arrangements.⁵⁰ Portico 40 and its garden area 59 is Bergmann's example of "the potential of correlating distinct forms and spaces" (2002, 100–2; cf. on the eastern wing, 69) (Fig. 137). Portico 40 ran along an open garden on the south side of the villa facing the bay. Two rows of trees stood before the columns, so visitors walking along the colonnade gazed at the bay through rows of columns and trees. If they looked at the portico wall, they would have seen painted columns, porticoes, and seascapes in the still lifes. In effect, these painted walls mirrored the villa's architecture, setting, and gardens. A servant, groomed and properly dressed, walking at the scripted pace and at the assigned time, potentially added another dimension to the view, whereas a cleaner sweeping the floors along portico 40 at the wrong time may have disrupted this "correlation of distinct forms and spaces."

For slaves, then, working in the villa was not a simple matter: navigating the villa to perform their jobs, and at the same time contributing to, rather than detracting from, its orchestration of nature, art, and architecture would seem to have required planning and attention. A closer look at a single example clarifies the problem. A foot servant, maid, reader, or cleaner leaving the service courtyard (32) for work in the eastern wing had a number of alternative routes, all of them lengthy and complicated (Plate XIII). It should be noted that the routes listed here omit the even longer, or more complex, routes of waiters and cooks who carried food or cooking apparatus from the kitchen (7).

1. The slave walked out of the service courtyard (32) through passage 37, along porticos 24 and 40 into the entrance to corridor 76 at the south-east corner of 40, and then north through 77 into the suite of rooms around 78, or he walked further north through 76 into corridor 46, and then along portico 60 into any of the suites that bordered the swimming pool, or he entered these suites through 63, and/or 67, and/or 71, and so forth; or
2. the slave left 32 through intermediate space 45 and took passageways 52 and 53, and then walked through 62 and 63 and so on;⁵¹ or
3. the slave exited 32 through intermediate space 45 and continued on into corridor 46 from which he could turn south into 76 or north into portico 60 or the back way through 63, 64, 67, etc.

Such varied paths are particularly interesting in terms of the decoration of the service courtyard and certain other spaces and passageways in the villa. All the walls of the service courtyard (32) are painted in zebra stripes, a style known from Pompeii and other villas in the Vesuvian area (see Fig. 131); at Oplontis, the stripes continue in spaces and corridors throughout the villa, including 3, 4, 6, 45, 46, 52, 53, 62, 63, 67, 71, 76, 83, 94, and 97 (Figs. 138–40).⁵² With few exceptions (the service courtyard is the major one), the stripes cover only the lower portion of the walls, divided vertically into panels marked by yellow or red borders.⁵³ Compared to the fine paintings in the atrium, triclinium 14, and salon 15, to name only a few examples, the zebra stripes do not invite study, reflection, or pause. In fact,



138. Plan marked with locations of zebra-striped walls, Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata). (*Plan only courtesy of the Oplontis Project.*)



139. Zebra stripes in corridor 46, Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata). *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

according to Lara Laken, the alternating directions of the stripes may have denoted “speed” as the appropriate pace for those walking by them.⁵⁴

Laken argues that the zebra stripes indicated “public” or “common” space, as in the corridor in an apartment building that leads to different units (2003, 177). We must, however, think a bit more carefully about the meanings of “public” and “common” in private houses and villas.⁵⁵ Laken includes owner, guests, and clients in the “public.”⁵⁶ However, we suggest that in the setting of Oplontis what we have are directional markers for servants and workers – slave residents of the villa who would have known the villa’s layout, slaves of its owners who were new to service or the villa, and slaves who belonged to guests.

The stripes signaled to slaves that this was an area or a corridor that they could enter without specific permission or directions from their owners. The stripes were visual traffic signs: no slave had to remember the villa’s layout or be told where to go. It is striking that the corridors and spaces with striped painting took slaves to every part of the villa and marked routes that avoided the artfully designed views. For example, corridors 46 and 76 provide a path around colonnade 40 and its garden (59) (see Figs. 139–40; cf. Fig. 137); corridor 76 around the suite composed of rooms 66, 78, and 79; and corridor 53 around the colonnade and garden at 56. In the case of salons 65 and 69, the doors at 63, 67, and 71, which give access to these elegant rooms, could have been closed to block the zebra stripes from the view of guests or owners (Fig. 141). The point is not that the owners or their guests had to keep out of the zebra-striped areas; rather, it is that slaves stayed within these areas



140. Zebra stripes in corridor 76, Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata). *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

without an express order or invitation to do otherwise. In this way, the zebra-striped walls at Oplontis define a geography of containment that did not halt motion, but nurtured it by constraining *and* choreographing slave mobility. Moreover, despite the gap of sophistication between the zebra stripes and the villa's other paintings, the former as much as the latter belong to the overall orchestration of experience described by Bergmann. The striped walls insured that owners and guests were served in a way that seamlessly integrated slaves and their labor into the villa's aesthetic program.

The dating of the zebra stripes in light of the villa's architectural changes hints at the history of the owners' strategic control of space and the movement of people within it. There are no zebra stripes earlier than the Fourth Style: in other words, the stripes appear after about 45 CE and the construction of the eastern wing with its intricate play of nature and decor.⁵⁷ Slaves needed to serve, clean, and maintain a considerably larger number of rooms than before; the routes for moving through the villa multiplied and became more varied; and the arrangement of spaces coordinated with paintings and mosaics created



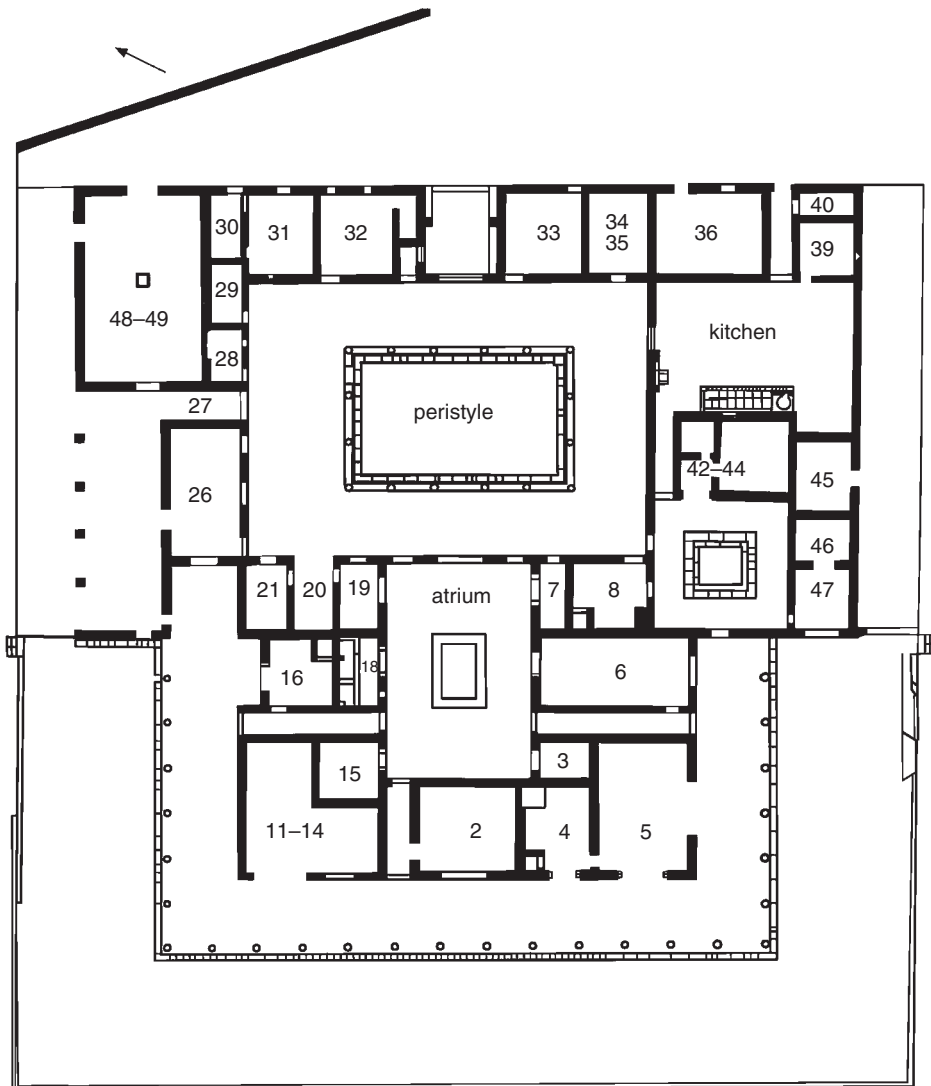
141. View into area 63, Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata). Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).

complexities in the choreography of the the villa’s environment.⁵⁸ Yet the extensive use of the stripes to direct movement may have been more than simply a material solution to a practical problem.

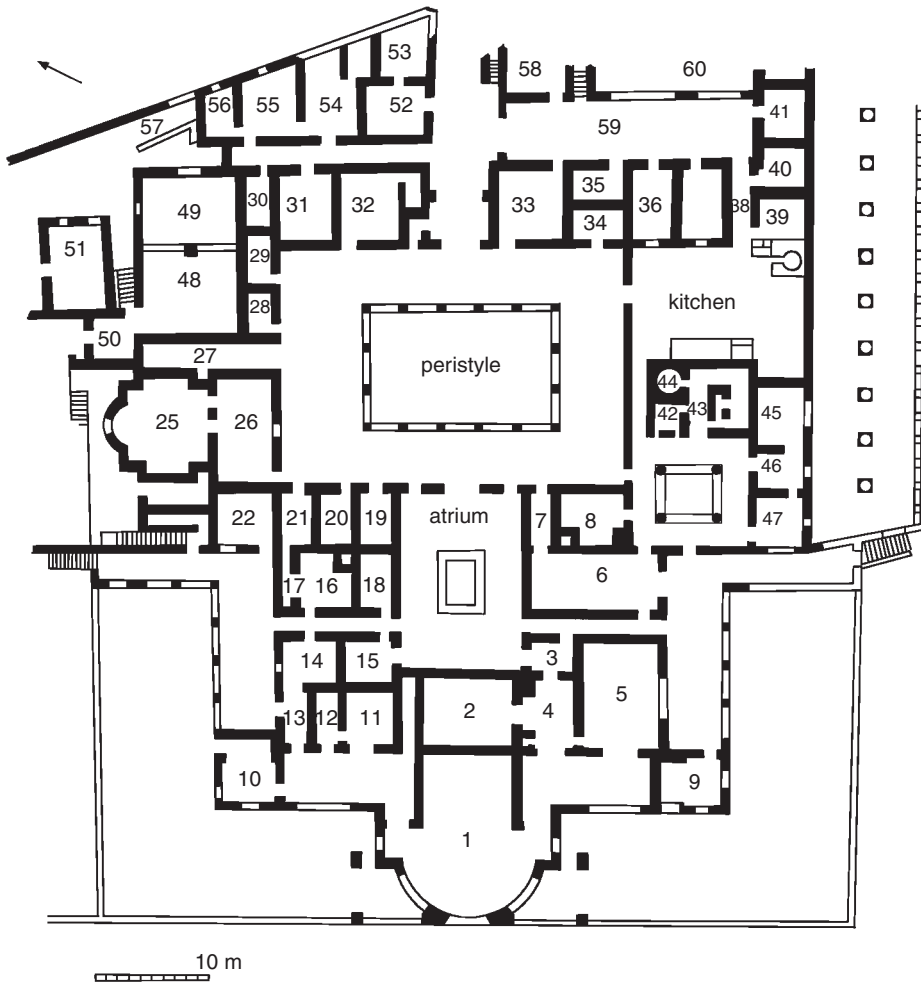
Specifically, the remodeling of Villa A and the appearance of the stripes accompanied the intensified concern with slave choreography that dates to the late Claudian and Neronian period, the time in which the traditional modes of aristocratic expression were adapted to a new political order (see Chapter 1). The increasing importance of display at elite villas and assertion of power over property involved slaves and the practices of mastery. The movements of slaves demonstrated their owners’ power and prestige even more than objects: as *instrumentum vocale*, animate “tools” with a voice and a will, slaves enacted in the material world the order sought by slaveholders’ desires and plans. The history of the zebra-striped paintings in Villa A is perhaps a physical version of what we notice in literature, or rather, the contents of slaveholders’ literature and practices in their material world worked toward similar ends. However the choreography of slaves in other villas was handled, the owners of Villa A borrowed a known pattern in Campanian painting and bent it to their own needs. The use of zebra stripes in service corridors in the Villa Arianna and Villa San Marco in Stabiae suggests that the owners of Villa A were not alone in this particular strategy, although they did apply it with a vengeance.⁵⁹

**STRATEGY IN THE VILLA OF
THE MYSTERIES, POMPEII**

The Villa of the Mysteries, a suburban villa 400 meters outside Pompeii's Porta Ercolano, presents its own arrangements for containment and choreography that vary with its architectural history (Figs. 142–43).⁶⁰ However, the Villa of the Mysteries, like Villa A at Oplontis, generally appears in both scholarship and guidebooks from the point of view of its owners and their guests. Not surprisingly, this has everything to do with intense focus on the villa's decor



142. Plan of the Villa of the Mysteries, early stage, Pompeii. *Drawing by Glynnis Fawkes. (After Esposito 2007, fig. 8.)*



143. Plan of the Villa of the Mysteries, later stage, Pompeii. *Drawing by Glynnis Fawkes. (After Wallace-Hadrill 1994, fig. 3.19.)*

and especially its famous megalographic frescoes in the Room of the Mysteries (5). Whether paintings, mosaics, or architecture is discussed as evidence for the owner's self-expression or the viewer's visual experience, the occupants of the villa's rooms are assumed to be free men and women with the leisure to contemplate art.

The exception tends to confirm this perspective: the eastern side of the villa with a torcularium (press room) on the north, kitchen and latrine on the south, and work or service areas in between (Figs. 144–45). Identified as the *pars rustica* or simply as a general work area, this side of the villa becomes evidence for assertions about the villa's owners. For Amedeo Maiuri, this part of the villa proved his theory of a social and economic transformation at Pompeii. Culminating in the aftermath of the earthquake of 62 CE, Maiuri



144. Torcularium (press room 48–49), Villa of the Mysteries, Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



145. Kitchen, Villa of the Mysteries, Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

argues, the increasing importance of commerce and the rise of a mercantile class meant the decline of the old aristocratic class at Pompeii; their refined, tasteful homes were chopped up (and “defaced”) into shops, workshops, or more modest homes whose decoration displayed a “change and perversion of taste” (1960, 188; 1942, 217). At the Villa of the Mysteries, according to Maiuri, the torcularium and expansion of the east side of the villa

signaled a change of owners from upper-class individuals with refined taste to vulgar, commercial types, probably of servile origin.⁶¹

More recent analyses of Italian villas have made us aware that the urban and rustic parts of a villa were not discrete areas or different phases of the villa's occupation.⁶² Indeed, as Wallace-Hadrill observes, these parts express the power of the *dominus* (owner, master) in two realms: the *pars rustica* displays his control over laborers and the land, and the *pars urbana* (owner's residence) his "control of wealth and the ability to impose on the countryside an alien cultural language" (1998, 52). For Wallace-Hadrill, the plan of the Villa of the Mysteries, which moved a visitor from the eastern working half to the western urban half, displays a set of Roman cultural dichotomies – "rustic and urban, Roman and Greek, practical and luxurious, in careful sequence" (51). Even so, Wallace-Hadrill's reading of the work areas, no less than Maiuri's, is about the villa's owners and guests – not the slaves who lived and worked at the Villa of the Mysteries. The contrast he draws between the western and eastern halves of the villa reflects the values of free men, and he includes slaves primarily for the way that they express the power of their owners. In addition, the emphasis on the torcularium and *familia rustica* (country slaves) tends to make absent the domestic servants who made possible the life of culture and leisure that was supposed to occur in the *pars urbana*. Finally, the changes in the villa's architecture, the villa's changing shape, are not seen for their repercussions for the material life of the villa's slaves.

Whereas the architectural history of Villa A at Oplontis indicates an expansion and opening up of the villa with the construction and remodeling of the eastern wing, at the Villa of the Mysteries remodeling gradually isolated discrete areas on the villa's western side, dividing one area from another. For our purposes, we distinguish three general stages in the villa's history: (1) the "original villa" through the end of the first century BCE, (2) changes to the villa beginning in the Augustan period, and (3) the villa in 79 CE. "Stage" here does not denote precisely delineated phases that mark abrupt alterations; rather, especially in the second stage, the villa's form shifts over a number of years.

As Domenico Esposito has recently shown, the "original" villa, built near the founding of the Sullan colony at Pompeii in 80 BCE, was surrounded by a perimeter wall and included the built spaces around both the atrium and the peristyle (see Fig. 142).⁶³ Small rooms opened onto the peristyle that at some point received a pluteus (partial wall connecting the columns), hindering clear views across it; on the north side, a corridor led to a door that opened into a press room; on the southeast was a door to the kitchen, and to the southwest a door to a small atrium and bath (Fig. 146). On the western side of the villa rooms 3, 6, 7, 15, 18, and 19 opened on the atrium; other dining and reception rooms on the north, south, and west sides opened to porticoes and views of the Bay of Naples.⁶⁴ The atrium was connected with these porticoes by corridors on its north, west, and south sides.

In a second stage, beginning in the late first century BCE, a series of alterations reshaped the arrangement of space (see Fig. 143). The owners added a large reception room (1) that stretched from the so-called tablinum (2) to the edge of the *basis villae* (villa's platform), and at some point, they closed up the wall between 1 and 2, so that the grand room (1) could be entered only by two doors on the north and south. In addition, two small dayrooms were fitted into the north and south corners of the western portico. Most of the

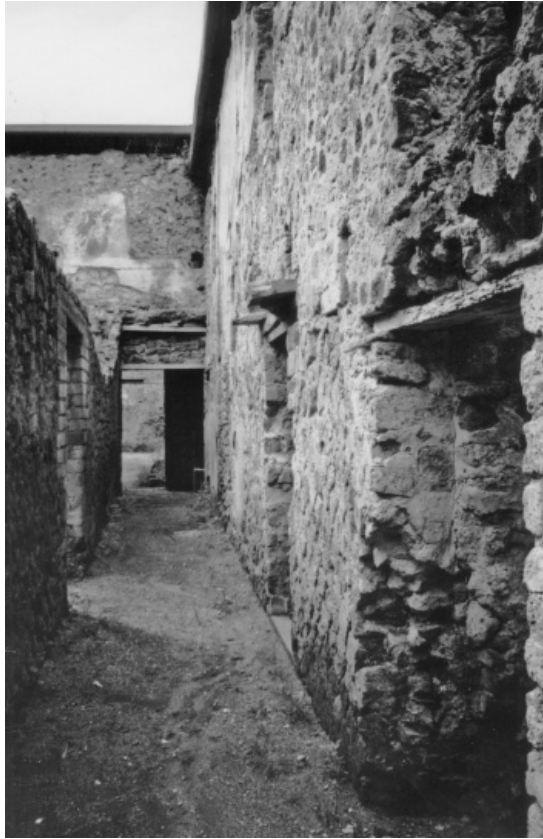


146. Peristyle, looking southwest from the doorkeeper's lodge (at the corner of 32), Villa of the Mysteries, Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

doorways to the rooms around the atrium were walled up, and key rooms were reoriented toward the sea sides of the villa. The owners left the corridors between the atrium and porticoes, but they closed off the hall that connected the atrium with the western portico. In general, the rooms on this side of the villa were redivided and sorted into discrete suites, creating isolated “islands” within the villa.⁶⁵

The eastern side of the villa also saw a number of changes. In the first stage, the torcularium (48–49) was accessible from a corridor (27) that led from the peristyle and from the trapezoidal area formed by the villa's wall along the road and the villa building itself. Later in the first century BCE, the owners built a rustic quarter in this area (Esposito 2007, 459) (Fig. 147; see also Fig. 143). Curiously, at the same time, access to the torcularium from this slave quarter and the door in the hall that connected the peristyle to the torcularium were both closed off. By the first century CE, there also was construction on the southeast side of the villa, and rooms formerly facing the peristyle were reoriented toward a corridor on the eastern side of the villa building. At this point, there were two corridors on the eastern side of the villa (on the north and south). Stairways in room 32 and on both sides of 58 led to upper stories on both sides of the corridors. Maiuri thought that the rooms above 30–32 and the vestibulum, all painted in the Third Style, were not rustic, whereas all the other rooms on both stories of this eastern side of the villa were slave or work rooms.⁶⁶

At the time of the eruption, the western side of the Villa of the Mysteries seems to have been uninhabited – there was a layer of onions on the floor of room 16 and iron tools were found in dayroom 9. The villa as a whole, like Villa A at Oplontis, may have been given



147. Rustic quarter in the northeast corner (rooms 52–56), Villa of the Mysteries, Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

over to rustic uses or perhaps was awaiting restoration.⁶⁷ At any rate, by 79 CE (it is difficult to say exactly when this occurred), there is evidence of individual, small hearths and cooking in rooms 28, 29, 32, 33, 50, 52, and 55.⁶⁸

Leaving aside the villa at the very end of its existence, and considering the first two periods, when it seems to have been functioning fully as an elite residence and production unit, we can imagine that the changes to the villa's arrangements of space meant changes in the owner's strategies of slave containment and choreography and therefore in the material conditions of slaves' lives.⁶⁹ The arrangement of space in the earlier stage suggests possibilities for patrolling slave movement inside the villa. An *ostiarius* in the doorkeeper's room (at the corner of 32) had a clear view of movement in and out of the villa's main entrance and around the peristyle into the atrium: he could see slaves entering and leaving the kitchen, the corridor that led to the torcularium, and the two corridors on both sides of the atrium (Fig. 148; see also Fig. 142). Although he could observe slaves entering or exiting these areas, he could not see what happened within them: for example, what slaves did in the kitchen or press room.



148. View toward the doorkeeper's lodge at the corner of 32 (at the low doorway), Villa of the Mysteries, Pompeii. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

When the pluteus was added to the peristyle later in this phase, it obscured what the *ostiarius* could have seen (see Fig. 146). While he still could keep track of those entering and leaving through the main entrance and those who passed along the eastern side of the peristyle, movement along the western side of the peristyle would have been difficult for him to observe. Whether he could see slaves as they entered or left the kitchen or torcularium depended not only on their height but also on the timing and manner of their movements (especially if they walked toward the peristyle's western side). The southwest and northwest corners of the peristyle would have been blind spots. At the same time, the pluteus limited the vision of owners and guests in the atrium or passing along the western side of the peristyle – at least in regard to the actions of slaves on the eastern side of the villa (Fig. 149).⁷⁰

The arrangement of space also enables us to ponder the choreography of slave movement. With its close attention to wall painting, art historical work on the Villa of the Mysteries often focuses on one room or set of rooms at a time. This tendency morselizes the villa, dividing it into almost unconnected parts, and it shapes a sense of the villa as static. Attending to the movements of slaves forces us to see the villa as a dynamic whole: that is, as a living residence. We can only guess where slaves were housed (if they were housed in separate quarters) in the first stage, but we can consider the circulation of slaves by attending to one route, that from the kitchen (or eastern side of the villa in general) to the rooms on the western side. As Plate XIV suggests, the possible routes taken by slaves walking from the kitchen area to the elegant rooms on the villa's western side seem long, especially for a slave carrying food or equipment, but not overly complex, and they are



149. View of the peristyle looking east from the atrium, Villa of the Mysteries, Pompeii.
Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).

relatively open in the earlier stage. In addition, although the routes are quite varied, there are two basic patterns: (1) moving through the interior of the villa – that is, through the peristyle and atrium, and (2) moving along the edges of the villa through the porticoes on the north, west, and south (whether from the atriola, the small atrium west of the kitchen, or the peristyle). The difference between these patterns lies in the areas *through* which a slave moved, as in the case of a personal servant hustling on an errand, or *in* which a slave worked, as in the case of a cleaner sweeping the floors. Which route was prescribed or preferred depended on the owners' desires for slave visibility or invisibility. These patterns allowed slaves to be where their owners were not, or, alternatively, to have been on display where their owners were.⁷¹

Alterations to the villa from the late first century BCE onward complicated the routes for slaves leaving the kitchen area (or the eastern side of the villa) for the rooms on the western side because, as noted earlier, the changes formed suites cut off from the atrium and from each other. Plate XV indicates both the complexities of slave circulation and the closing down of alternatives. For slaves serving rooms 1, 2–5, 9, 10, and 11–14, the possibilities of movement and the choice of routes were severely limited and the routes were more torturous than in the villa's earlier stage. Only a single path was available to slaves moving from the east side of the villa to dayroom 9. The routes to the grand elegant salon on the edge of the villa (1) were circuitous: one took slaves through the atrium into 3–4 and out to the western portico and the southern door of 1; another took slaves through the atrium to the corridor to the northern portico and through 13 onto the western portico and then to the northern door of 1; and still another had slaves walk through the peristyle to 21, 17, and 16 and then out to the northern portico (Fig. 150).⁷² Equally complex were the paths to the room featured in studies of the villa, the Room of the Mysteries (5). One route took a slave waiter carrying food from the kitchen through



150. View of the route from the peristyle through rooms 21 and 17, Villa of the Mysteries, Pompeii. Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).

the atriola and past room 6, to the southern portico and through the southern corridor into the atrium, and then through 3–4 to a low doorway into 5 or to the western portico to the room’s large doorway (Fig. 151). Whichever route he chose meant a lengthy walk with twists and turns. Overall, the changes to the villa’s arrangement of space seem less concerned with the ease of people’s movement around its western half – and not at all concerned with the inconvenience to slave servants.

The changes on the eastern side of the villa also had dramatic implications for slave circulation, but the excavation, restoration, and preservation of the villa limit our speculations. Although there was an expansion of slave quarters and work areas on the eastern side of the villa, especially in the north, two key points of access to the torcularium (press room) and *cella vinaria* (wine storage area) were closed off (the doorway in the corridor that led from the peristyle to the press room and the entry to the torcularium near the slave quarters on the northeastern side of the villa). A torcularium with two presses, an extensive *cella vinaria*, and the potential use of the cryptoporticus for storage all point to substantial activity in the cultivation of grapes and production of wine. Yet laborers, housed or working in areas on the east side of the villa inside the perimeter wall, had to exit the villa’s main entrance, walk along the road, enter the torcularium area through a gate in the



151. View of the route out of the atriola (*right*), past room 6 (*center*), and through the corridor (*left*) to the atrium beyond, Villa of the Mysteries, Pompeii. Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).

outer wall, and then proceed down a ramp (57) (probably intended to bring grapes from vineyards to the wine presses).⁷³ Like changes to the western side of the villa, these changes to the eastern side seem curious at best and nonsensical at worst. From the point of view of slaves' labor, the alterations seem productive of inefficiency, adding complexity and inconvenience to the tasks of both domestic and agricultural slaves. Whatever the intentions of the owner's strategic arrangements of space, they in fact shaped the contexts of servitude for both the villa's agricultural workers and its servants.

TACTICS IN THE *VILLA URBANA*

Leaving aside the agricultural workers for the moment, we might observe at the outset that the tactics available to the villa's domestic servants and maintenance staff will be similar to those used by slaves in the urban house to the degree to which they found themselves in parallel circumstances and similar jobs (i.e., cooking, serving, personal attendance, waiting on the table, cleaning), albeit in more expansive settings. Indeed, the literary and legal sources reflect similar complaints about flight, truancy, damage, theft, clumsiness, laziness, murmuring, and noise.⁷⁴ However, the villa's extrarurban location and slaveholders' practices introduced other tactical possibilities for slaves that depended on turning an owner's habits and schedule to their own advantage. The seasonal absence of the owner often left a skeleton crew to maintain the villa building and furnishings, and these circumstances widened the possibilities for what slaveholders viewed as damage and theft. Columella, for example, is concerned about the possibility of broken or stolen tools, but also with the

disposition of other items stored at the villa, including clothing, footwear, toilet articles, supplies for daily meals and banquets, furniture, and bronze ware (1.8.8, 12.1.5, 12.3.5). Fires, too, seem particularly associated with slaves' actions at extraurban villas. Interestingly, because troublesome slaves were often sent to the country, the villa potentially housed those prone to such activities.⁷⁵

The size and complexity of the villa also enlarged the slaves' tactical opportunities to manipulate their owners' arrangement of space and attempts to script their movements. The so-called truant could translate space into time for his or her own ends. For the slave worker or servant who had to traverse the entire length of the villa to perform some task, the sheer size of Villa A at Oplontis meant a long walk, giving him or her a ready-made excuse for tardiness. Because both the spatial layout of the villa and its zebra-striped corridors were intended to set slaves in their place and keep them out of view until they were supposed to appear, they also removed slaves from the surveilling gaze of owners and provided the space for the slaves' own timing of their actions. For example, the stripes were intended to encourage slaves to maintain a speedy pace to meet slaveholders' expectations. However, a slave walking along corridor 76 at Villa A, bent on some task and following the path indicated by the stripes, was out of sight of an owner in 40 and had an opportunity to set the tempo, to stroll if he or she liked and was willing to risk the owner's displeasure.⁷⁶

Slave tactics played on and with the owner's imposed terrain in two ways: avoidance and insertion or interruption. In the first instance, as discussed in Chapter 2, slaves made themselves absent where they were supposed to be present. So, for example, to disappear, the waiters or wine pourers at the edges of triclinium 14 at Villa A had to move out of the views of owner and guests, as indicated in Plate XVI. A waiter stationed in the southwest corner could take a few steps or more north, to room 15, and maybe even go as far as courtyard 16. As in the house, the tactic required knowledge of both the physical site and the point of view of the master on the couch. It also took experience with the pacing of the banquet, good timing, and the ability to anticipate opportunities and to act on them.

In the second instance, slaves abused or ignored the visual traffic signs to appear where they were not wanted. At Villa A at Oplontis, a servant slopping a chamber pot, lingering in the garden, or scurrying along portico 40 instead of corridor 76 at the wrong time would have spoiled the careful coordination of the decor and scripted movements of proper servants (see Figs. 137 and 140). Interestingly, the advent of the eastern wing made avoiding the owner's gaze more difficult and interrupting his script easier. The openness and multiplicity of points of view in the arrangements of the suites gave slaves few places in which to disappear and, at the same time, presented multiple chances for them to show up where they were not supposed to be.⁷⁷

In the Villa of the Mysteries, the open plan of the villa's western side in the early stage seemingly allowed for similar opportunities for disappearance or absence, although some rooms presented fewer alternatives than did others (see Figs. 142–43). The wide openings on the south and west of room 5 and the narrow doorway on the northwest left slaves with few places to slip out of sight, whereas slaves serving in room 6 could move out of diners'

view more easily by moving east or west of the doorways on the north and south sides of the room. The openness of the villa's plan in this early stage also allowed slaves to appear where they did not belong. In the later stages of the villa, when the space on the western side was increasingly privatized and circulation patterns were more restricted, it would have been more difficult for a slave to create a disturbance by popping up where he or she did not belong. The ability to disappear seems easier to assess. The divisions of space on this side of the villa increased the nooks and crannies into which servants could duck: for example, the closed-off corridor leading from the atrium to the western portico could have served the "truant," the "malingeringer," or the slave who stashed "stolen" objects or even himself or herself to avoid an irate owner. It also meant more corners out of the direct sight of the slaveholder. In effect, the routes of circulation were more limited for any of the slaves' activities, and yet the isolation of the owner's suites made it easier for the slave to find a space apart from the slaveholder.

As noted in previous chapters, assessing different points of view becomes the basis for glimpsing how the slave owner's space might have been lived by the slave. But how slaves *regarded* various spaces in the villa and how they *used* that space is nearly unrecoverable, or at least especially challenging given the varying slave population of villas. When the owner was in residence, the slave population was likely to have included a diverse group: the residential permanent staff, the owners' personal servants, slaves sent for training at the table, children sent to the villa for raising, the slaves of guests, and perhaps a mix of urban and rustic slaves.⁷⁸ Nonetheless, we can ask how the spatial arrangement of villas might have shaped social relations among such a diverse group of slaves. At Villa A at Oplontis, the kitchen area would have been dark and probably quite smelly from burning wood, cooking odors, and garbage, though, unlike many Pompeian houses, it was separated from the latrine. It is difficult to imagine slaves occupying the kitchen when not preparing meals, although the loft points to a place for activities other than work. In contrast, courtyard 32, if not the rooms surrounding it, might have been a pleasant space.⁷⁹ In the center of 32 was a fountain with running water facing a large lararium (27) (Fig. 152). According to Jashemski, a large chestnut tree shaded the center of the courtyard (1993, 293–94). The tools found in the center of 32 and in surrounding rooms indicate that the area may have been used by agricultural workers or gardeners or both. Perhaps we should consider that the courtyard was central to a wide variety of slave servants and workers who both lived and worked at the villa. This then would have been the physical space for the sort of slave social relations that we can read in the epitaphs of slaves who belonged to large elite households in Rome.⁸⁰

The spatial shaping of slaves' social life in the Villa of the Mysteries is more difficult to divine – or rather the analysis must be as messy as the villa's architectural history. In the earlier stage the peristyle, in Grahame's terms, was an open space – liable to be the site of social encounters among slaves and between slaves and the free owners, clients, and guests who moved from the entrance and around the peristyle to the atrium and beyond. Again, in Grahame's terms, the kitchen and torcularium, whose entrances could be easily patrolled, provided closed spaces for work or "idling." The kitchen yard is large. Its equipment – bread oven, pastry oven, and long, wide cooktop – are indicative of a busy place, and there is



152. Service or slave courtyard 32 with a fountain at the center, Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata). *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

evidence of religious activities in its two *lararia* (see Fig. 145).⁸¹ Throughout the villa's history the kitchen courtyard was a node between the rustic east and the urban west and thus perhaps a place where different types of slaves could meet out of the gaze of owners. Since the kitchen seems to have been unroofed for the most part (which enabled the circulation of air), it was of limited utility as a gathering place in inclement weather.⁸²

Beyond slaves' "own" space (i.e., the kitchen, press room, and quarters), the owners' residential and reception rooms (that seem so fixed in interpretation as spaces of upper-class owners and guests) could have been appropriated by slaves in the absence of owners. The owner's schedule of activities – and slaves' familiarity with it – enabled the slave's poaching on the owner's space when he was elsewhere. We glimpse this possibility in Pliny's description of his schedule at his Tuscan villa (*Letters* 9.36). Waking at sunrise, Pliny composes in his head; then he calls his secretary and dictates his mental composition. The secretary is dismissed and recalled and dismissed again. Three or four hours after waking, Pliny spends time in a covered walkway (*xystum*) or cryptoporticus, again absorbed in mental composition. Then he goes for a drive. He takes a short nap and another walk, and finally reads a Greek or Latin speech. A walk, an oiling, exercise, and a bath follow. At dinner, whether only with his wife or with friends, he listens to a reading, a comedy, or some music. Finally, he walks and talks with some of the well-educated members of his household. Pliny is not interested in slaves or their locations except as they served to depict him as a cultured man who, even in his leisure, works or studies. Refocusing our attention on which slaves are on call when and where Pliny is at any particular moment gives us the



153. Courtyard 16, Villa A at Oplontis (Torre Annunziata). *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

gaps of time and the places open for slave occupation in the owner's absence. With the example of Pliny in mind, we can relook at owners' spaces. In Villa A, for example, a courtyard with a fountain and potted plants (16), adjoining salon 15 and bordering the bath complex, was easily accessed by the kitchen staff and convertible to their use when the villa's owners were strolling along portico 40 or enjoying the view from room 69 by the pool (Fig. 153). At times of the day, the atrium in the Villa of the Mysteries must have stood empty at least of owners and guests, whose entertainment or private relaxation moved to the suites facing the views to the bay; from another perspective, this grand space was available to slaves, who could not be seen from most of the rooms on the western side of the villa and from the doorkeeper's position. In effect, by seizing the opportunities of time slaves "liberated" the masters' space for their own purposes.

THE *VILLA RUSTICA*: STRATEGY IN THE TEXTUAL RECORD

Although Columella follows the lines laid down by his republican predecessors, he spells out the most detailed strategy of the existing agricultural manuals. Like his contemporaries in the late Claudian and Neronian period, he shows an intense interest in the choreography of slaves. Columella's focus is on an estate with land for grain, pasturage for domestic animals, olive groves, and vineyards. In the beginning of his manual, and later in discrete sections, Columella maps the location and arrangement of buildings, animal pens, pastures, fields, vineyards, orchards, gardens, cisterns, dung piles, and structures like press rooms and threshing yards (1.4.8–1.6.24, 3.4ff., 8.3). Within this controlled, carefully arranged environment, the author, estate owner, and slaveholder sets out a regime for the control of objects, animals, and laborers. The slave manager (*vilicus*) and his wife or

assistant (*vilica*) receive specific instructions for the care and use of tools, supplies, food-stuffs, clothes, furnishings, items for washing and toilette, and dishes and cookware. In part, this control of things stems from Columella's anxiety about the perceived carelessness and thievery of slaves.

Columella dictates elaborate methods for constraining and scripting the movements of slave laborers. Keeping slaves in their proper places is a primary concern. At the extreme, this meant chains and the physical imprisonment of slaves in *ergastula* (slave prisons) (I.8.16, I.9.4, II.1.22).⁸³ The *vilicus* patrolled the comings and goings of unchained slaves who were housed in *cellae* in the farmhouse, and the slaveholder patrolled the *vilicus*. In the ideal *villa rustica*, the quarters of the *vilicus* were placed so that he could observe his charges, and the building as a whole was designed in a way that kept everyone as close as possible to make the *vilicus*'s control of movement possible (I.6.3, 7–8; cf. Varro I.13.2).⁸⁴ Slaves were not allowed to leave the farm (I.8.12); ideally, even the *vilicus* stayed put except when he had business to conduct on his owner's behalf (I.8.7, I.8.12–13, II.1.23–24). The *vilicus* limited slave mobility on the farm by leading the laborers out to the fields in the morning and back in the evening, by preventing the cutting of new footpaths, and by close supervision (I.8.7, II.1.17–18, 23).⁸⁵ In the field, foremen, overseers, or the *vilicus* himself kept workers at their tasks and enforced discipline (II.1.26). The latter's presence in the fields ensured that foremen carried out their duties, and at the farmstead, he oversaw the work of his wife (I.8.11, 12.1.4–5). There the *vilica* watched for fieldworkers who remained behind when the others went out to the fields. She checked on the work of weavers, cooks, provisioners, and shepherds (12.1.5, 12.3.7–9).⁸⁶ In Columella's view, it was supervision that kept slaves busy, discouraged shirking, and prevented damage and carelessness.

Yet the *vilicus* himself was subjected to his owner's gaze and supervision in a way that those under the authority of the *vilicus* would have seen. Everything he did had to have the authorization of the owner: he could neither imprison nor free slaves from the *ergastulum* or buy or sell anything without the slaveholder's permission or on his behalf (I.8.6, 13 and 16, II.1.23). Moreover, the slaveholder himself talked to the slaves in the *vilicus*'s charge and checked their food, drink, and clothing. He often gave them the chance to complain about cruel or dishonest treatment. He punished rebels as well as workers who slandered their foremen, and he rewarded industrious slaves (I.8.16–18). This oversight necessitated frequent visits to the estate, and Columella urges the landholder to announce more visits than he actually makes to keep the workers and *vilicus* in line (I.2.1).

Columella's detailed calendar of activities includes little time for anything but work. Slave workers left the farmstead at dawn and returned at twilight (II.1.17–18). Indoor tasks filled slave hours when the season or weather prohibited outdoor work: sharpening tools; making beehives, poles and props for the vineyards, baskets, brooms, and hampers; and, for slave women, spinning wool (12.3.6). By having on hand twice the number of tools as slaves, landowners obviated not only the need to borrow from neighbors but also an opportunity for slaves to take a break (II.1.20).

Control extended beyond a full calendar of work to slave workers' religious practices and social relations. The *vilicus* was not supposed to perform any sacrifices except those authorized by his owner (I.8.5, II.1.22). Columella also forbade any contact with diviners

and fortune-tellers because in his view they drove “ignorant people” (a category to which his slave laborers apparently belonged) to expend resources and to act in disgraceful ways (1.8.6). The taboo belonged to an attempt to regulate the social relations of his slave laborers, including the *vilicus*. The latter could entertain no guests except his owner’s friends and relations (1.8.7, 11.1.23). He was not supposed to play the master with his fellow slaves by assigning them tasks for his own purposes. His social interactions with them should not be overly close: he ate in their sight at his own table, and both he and they were supposed to eat around the household hearth and the master’s guardian deity (probably a painting or statue) (1.8.5, 1.8.12, 11.1.19). The prescribed exhaustion of slaves at the end of the day limited the interactions that caused trouble, and ideally, the relations encouraged at work were those of competition (1.8.11, 1.9.7–8, 11.1.26).⁸⁷

Columella even attempted to regulate the movement, body, and voice of the slave at work. The plowman serves as only one example that could be repeated in many of the agricultural activities discussed by Columella. After a meticulous description of oxen and how to yoke them, Columella instructs the plowman how to walk on the field, how to hold his plow, how to rein in the oxen, how to keep them at the proper pace, how to use the lash, and how to speak to them (2.2.22–26). Columella’s detailed instructions on tasks as varied as hoeing and weeding, feeding fowl, washing sheep, preserving wine, or making sour milk dictate the proper motions and timings of arms and legs, the correct timbre and tone of the voice, and the precise date in the seasonal calendar and place in the strict ordering of assigned tasks. For Roman agronomists, certain jobs required control of the diet and sexual lives of slaves. The beekeeper must not have sex, drink wine, or eat food with strong flavors like pickled fish, garlic, and onions, and he had to wash because, according to Columella, bees hate dirt (9.5.2, 9.14.3). Other authors held that bakers, cooks, and provisioners, too, should be abstemious in both sexual practice and wine drinking. Those who indulged in sex should wash in a river or running water (cited in Columella 12.4.2–3). Columella limited bathing for all slaves laborers to holidays, for in his view, frequent bathing detracted from physical strength (1.6.19). Above all, the *vilicus* was forbidden to indulge in drink, sleep, or sex (11.1.13–14; cf. the *vilica* 12.1.3).

THE *VILLA RUSTICA*: STRATEGY AND SETTEFINESTRE

Returning to Settefinestre, we examine the ways in which slaveholders’ strategic concerns may have been inscribed in architecture. We look beyond the question of slave quarters to observe the historical development of the structuring of slave movement. In the first period of construction, in the late first century BCE and early first century CE (see Fig. 125), the entry courtyard (42) had separate entrances to a *pars urbana* (43–44) and a *pars rustica* (52). The latter included stalls (72), a kitchen (73), a small bath (49 and 57), and press rooms (5–7). The courtyard (42) had two entrances that led outside of the villa building: the main entrance to the villa (187–88) and a corridor on the west side (36) that ran to the upper level of the garden portico. The larger rooms on the south side of the entry courtyard (42) were identified as stalls and *cellae vinariae*; on the east were a kitchen (76) and various other

service rooms. The double row of small rooms on the west side was supposed to have been slave quarters. Three doorways directly on the courtyard opened to single rooms (39, 114, and 112), two led to a back room (38 to 37 and 108 to 201), and two were corridors to double rooms (113 and 40).⁸⁸

In the Trajanic and Antonine periods, the press rooms seem to have been remodeled as storerooms for grain: the presses were removed and the walls plastered. The stable area was reconfigured into a large latrine (69) and several small rooms (71–72 and 74). And as noted earlier, the owners built a new courtyard to the southwest adjoining the old one (107), Carandini’s “new slave quarters” (see Fig. 126). Its construction created a corridor (58) between the older service courtyard (42) and the new one (107); off this hallway opened rooms that Carandini supposes were a kitchen (82), a dining room (78), storage rooms (68 and 64), and various kinds of service rooms (including perhaps *ergastula* or infirmaries, 61, 65, and 81). Small single rooms surrounded the south, west, and north sides of courtyard 107 – enlarging the space that, at least potentially, housed slaves.⁸⁹ The owners also constructed a large piggery (89) south of the “new slave quarters,” with a central yard surrounded by twenty-seven stalls (1.5 x 2 m) and four larger rooms for other purposes.⁹⁰

Although a slave in the “new slave quarters” (107) had easy access to the new piggery (89) through 110, he or she had a long, more circuitous walk to both the *pars rustica* and the *pars urbana* that opened only onto 42. To provide access to this original service courtyard, the owners cut a doorway at the back of room 201 (that led into 108 off the old courtyard). Thus, a slave walking from courtyard 107 to the *pars rustica* or *pars urbana* of the main core of the villa had to pass through hallway 195, then rooms 201 and 108, and finally across courtyard 42. The exits to the countryside in 107 were reduced to two (210 and 110), and later to one (110 was closed off).

Allowing for the varied use of “slave rooms,” we want to focus on a geography of containment that seems to be mapped in the architecture from the early first century to the second century CE. At the least, the architecture offered the structural potential for containment whose realization depended on human surveillance and locked doors. In either period, the greatest assurance of the control of slave movement, especially at night, was the locked door; the archaeological record, however, gives us doorways but not enough information to draw conclusions about locks.⁹¹ Hence, the concentration in this discussion is surveillance. The positioning of the entryways of courtyard 107 made it easier, compared to courtyard 42, for supervisors or foremen to patrol slaves’ comings and goings to the countryside or into the main block of the villa. This development seems to have been complemented by the enlarged possibilities of surveillance within the quarters. In the first period, slaves entering or leaving a *cella* through doors facing courtyard 42 (38, 39, 40, 41, 108, 112, 113, and 114) were visible to a supervisor watching from the courtyard and its entrances; however, that supervisor had difficulty seeing exactly what was happening in the rooms in the back row (37, 47, 48, 115, 200, and 201).⁹² Spatial arrangements, too, created corners in both sets of rooms, in which slaves could escape a patrolling gaze. In Grahame’s terms, courtyard 42 was an open space and the double row of small rooms was a closed space, with the back rooms being more closed than those in the front row. On the one hand, they offered privacy to their slave occupants, while on the other, the arrangement of

space shaped the conditions of surveillance. That is, enclosure, here, became “confinement.” In the later period, however, slaves in all the small rooms that surrounded the north, west, and south sides of courtyard 107 would have found it difficult to escape the gaze of a foreman stationed in the courtyard or at one of the entrances. In addition, in this period, direct access to the kitchen (82) and storage areas (68 and 64) was cut off – interesting in terms of the constant complaints in the literary sources about slave thefts of food and stores. In effect, in the later period, architecture spelled a tight regime of surveillance for the *familia rustica* at Settefinestre.

THE *VILLA RUSTICA*: STRATEGY AND THE *VILLA REGINA* AT BOSCOREALE

The Villa Regina at Boscoreale is the most carefully excavated and reported example of a farmstead in Roman Italy, though it may reflect a different social level than the other villas examined in this chapter.⁹³ Located about two kilometers northwest of Pompeii, the archaeological remains include not only the villa building itself but also its immediate environs (Figs. 154–55). A country road led to the entrance of the villa and another road ran along the west side of the excavated area. In front of the main entrance the road branched around a slightly elevated area that was used as a refuse dump. In addition, several paths ran through the vineyard area to the north of the villa building, one of which led directly to the



154. View of the Villa Regina at Boscoreale, looking south. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



155. Plan of the Villa Regina at Boscoreale. (After Jashemski 1987, fig. 32.)

back door. Most of the cultivated area around the villa was a vineyard. Interspersed among the vines were a large number of olive (or almond?) trees, nut-bearing trees (almond and walnut), and fruit trees (fig, peach, and apricot). On the south side of the villa (east of the entry road) was a garden surrounding a cistern for the runoff water from the villa building; the garden was divided into beds by channels for irrigation, which also served as footpaths. Jashemski assumes that the garden was for vegetables, especially the cabbages and onions for which the area was well known.⁹⁴ In addition, the osteological remains show that the occupants raised a few animals: pigs, chickens, and sheep or goats (de Caro 1994, 75; Jashemski 1987, 70 and 1994, III).

Measuring approximately 450 square meters, the farmhouse had three entrances: a large main door (at XIV) wide enough for the cart whose wheels were found in the portico;



156. Room XII, Villa Regina at Boscoreale. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

a back entrance that led to a path through a vineyard; and another wide entrance from a hayloft (VIII) that opened to a threshing floor (XVII) (see Fig. 155).⁹⁵ Two rooms (X and XII) flanked the entry hallway (XIV). Shelves and household wares scattered on the floor indicate that XII was a storeroom, but a small hearth in the southeast corner points to its use as a makeshift kitchen after the kitchen proper (II) went out of use (Fig. 156).

The courtyard at the center of the farmhouse was surrounded on three sides by a portico (Fig. 157). All of the other rooms in the villa opened onto this courtyard. On the northeast was a large painted room with a *cocciopesto* floor, used perhaps as a triclinium or some sort of entertainment space (IV); next to it was a low doorway that led to the hayloft (and threshing floor). On the southwest were a painted room (Vbis) and a short corridor to a newly added room (XVI) that seems to have been under construction in 79 CE. In the courtyard was a *cella vinaria* with eighteen *dolia* for the storage of wine sunk into the ground up to their necks; a newly built area for more *dolia* on the south side had not yet been put to use (Fig. 158). On the north was a large torcularium with a general work area (IX) and the pressing floor itself (IXbis); here was found the setup for a press and the remains of the beam (Fig. 159). Wine flowed from the pressing floor into a *dolium* in the general work area (IX). Beside it was a small altar, and above that was a painting with the figure of Bacchus. Next to the torcularium was a relatively large kitchen (II) with a



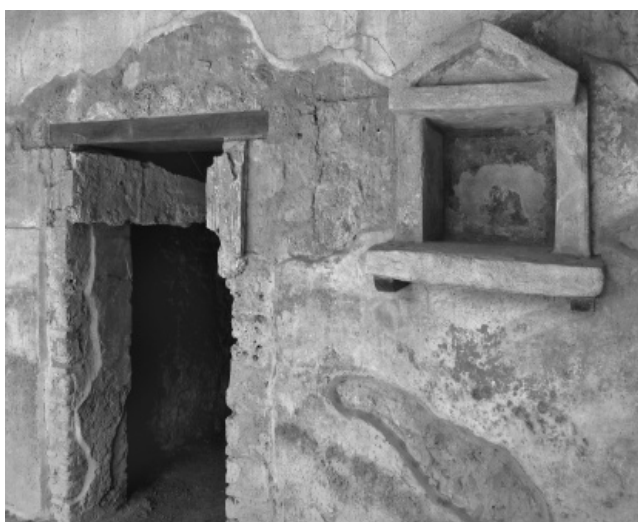
157. Entrance and portico, Villa Regina at Boscoreale. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



158. *Cella vinaria* (wine storage area), Villa Regina at Boscoreale. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



159. Torcularium (press room IX and IXbis), with a shrine to Bacchus at right, Villa Regina at Boscoreale. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*



160. Lararium in the portico next to the kitchen door, Villa Regina at Boscoreale. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei).*

hearth, a bread oven, and the remains of a simple latrine; in 79 CE the kitchen was not in use except perhaps as a workroom or a dump for debris from remodeling or restoration after an earthquake (perhaps that of 62 CE).⁹⁶ In the peristyle at the right of the kitchen door was a lararium that housed the marble head of a satyr taken from a garden herm (Fig. 160). On the southwest side of the portico a low pluteus formed a watering trough. In a corridor that extended from portico (VI) was a cistern that filled with the runoff water

from the courtyard and emptied excess water out to the garden through a channel along the perimeter wall. There were upper floors over the hayloft (VIII) (accessed by a stairway at the end of VII) and over rooms XIV, X–XI, Vbis, and XVI (accessed by a stairway at the end of VI). The room above the hayloft was painted and opened to a terrace that overlooked the courtyard.

Work areas take up more than half of the total space; however, the villa includes what we might call “nice” elements – a few painted rooms and peristyle columns painted white on the upper part and red on the lower with a thin green band between the two zones. There is evidence of remodeling in IV at the time of the eruption in 79 CE; more importantly, additions and alterations to the villa over the course of the first century CE expanded both its productive capacity and its residential amenities: the *cella vinaria* and threshing and drying yard were enlarged, perhaps quite recently; a painted living area was constructed above VIII; and XVI was added and might have been in the process of being decorated in 79.⁹⁷ Despite the few “nice” elements, the building materials and techniques give the villa building as a whole a look of great rusticity: simple white plaster and easily washable *intonaco signino*, for example, cover most of the walls, and the floors are cocciopesto or beaten earth. Except for the figure of Bacchus in room IX, the paintings have no figures or scenes. In addition, the crockery and other material objects are, with a few exceptions, not items with prestige value.⁹⁸

Reading these material remains for the social life of the occupants of the Villa Regina, especially for that of slaves, is more complex than in the case of Settefinestre or even the Villa of the Mysteries. At Settefinestre, as at the Villa of the Mysteries, the owners’ residence and its amenities are extensive, elaborate, and clearly separated from the productive and service areas of the villa. In contrast, at the Villa Regina, the living and working areas of the villa both face the central courtyard, with the former located on the east and west sides of the building.⁹⁹ However, even the simple paintings in limited areas and a room devoted to dining or entertainment mark distinctions between work and leisure activities that may translate into the different social statuses of those who engaged in them. The question is how to interpret material differences in a villa where, compared to Settefinestre or the Villa of the Mysteries, the limited amenities existed amid a predominant rusticity and a proportionally larger space given over to productive activities. There is little problem locating slaves at Settefinestre or the Villa of the Mysteries; however, the archaeological evidence at the Villa Regina does not indicate a large operation requiring many laborers, and scholars have been tentative about their presence. Stefano de Caro favors a view of the Villa Regina as a property run by a free resident peasant proprietor, relying on family labor and perhaps a few slaves (1994, 125, 129–30). Comprehending the presence of slaves depends on how we interpret the size of the property and the number of its inhabitants.

The Villa Regina looks like a single productive unit concentrated on wine production – the latter confirmed by the surrounding vineyard, the wine press, and the *cella vinaria* (de Caro 1994, 126). In addition, the garden, fruit trees, and presence of animals point to agricultural activities that went beyond filling the dietary needs of the inhabitants and likely supplied local markets in nearby cities. De Caro estimates the size of the vineyard by

calculating the capacity of the *cella vinaria* in *cullei* and then translating the number of *cullei* into *iugera* based on the figures given by the agricultural writers.¹⁰⁰ As the writers differ, de Caro suggests that the vineyard itself and some land devoted to the cultivation of foodstuffs (1–2 *iugera* or 2/3–1 1/3 acres) composed a property of 3–8 *iugera* (1 1/3–5 1/3 acres) and not more than 10 (6 2/3 acres). Yet, as de Caro himself notes, the expansion of the *cella vinaria* by one-third and the threshing yard by sixty percent may in fact indicate a larger property (1994, 128–29).

The size of the property, along with the size of the farmhouse, is connected to the number of its inhabitants. Acknowledging the difficulties of assessing this figure, de Caro suggests that the residents numbered between a minimum of five or six and a maximum of ten to twelve. His estimate relies on the size of the available living space, which, he claims, could not house more than twelve people, and agronomists' calculations of the number of slaves needed per *iugerum* (1994, 129). The social configuration of the five to twelve residents is a different, albeit related, issue. If the property was an autonomous holding, it could have been rented or owned and farmed by a single family or a single family with a few slaves. Alternatively, the property could have been one part of a much larger estate composed of discrete properties; it still might have been rented to a free proprietor who relied on family, slaves, or some combination of the two, or it could have been managed by a *vilicus* and farmed with slave labor.

Several considerations make the presence of slaves at the Villa Regina probable. First, the literary sources make it clear that smaller farms like this one might well employ slave laborers. Pliny the Elder approves of farming by a single proprietor with his family and those whom he must feed, that is, slaves (*Natural History* 18.38); he adduces the example of a freedman who got larger returns than his neighbors from a small farm in the vicinity of large estates, relying on slave laborers and his own hard work. Pliny the Younger, like his uncle, assumes the use of slave labor on smaller properties: talking about what will have to be done with the tenants on an estate that he is considering buying, Pliny observes that they will have to be equipped and that includes good slave workers (*Letters* 3.19.7).¹⁰¹

Second, although agronomists' estimates of how many workers are needed vary quite widely, they do indicate that even a small ten-*iugera* (6 2/3-acre) farm may have used slaves. Pliny the Elder believes that a single worker is sufficient to heap the soil around the roots of one *iugerum* of vines (*Natural History* 18.230). Columella claims that one *vinitor* (vine-dresser) can cover seven *iugera* (3.3.8). In his own agricultural tract, Varro cites the Roman agronomist Saserna, who figured that one worker could cultivate (*confodere*) eight *iugera* in forty-five days. Although a worker could cultivate more than one *iugerum* in four days, Saserna allowed thirteen days to account for bad weather, illness, and "laziness" and "carelessness" (1.18.2). Varro's criticism of Cato's well-known calculation that fifteen slaves were needed for a vineyard of 250 *iugera* (166 2/3 acres) suggests that Cato seriously underestimated the number of slaves required (1.18).¹⁰²

Since many of the calculations of the requisite number of slaves focus on a single task, it might be more useful to draw up a list of tasks based on the archaeological evidence for the kinds of work undertaken at the Villa Regina. Fleshing out the list of activities with details from the manuals, then, enables us to think about the possibility of slaves at the Villa

Regina and to examine the character of their material life. First and most obviously, the inhabitants of the Villa Regina worked in the vineyard – planting vines, propping them up with poles, hoeing the area around the vines (Jashemski notes that this was done by hand [1994, 109]), trimming the vines, protecting them from insects and diseases, and watering them when necessary. Before the harvest, workers made small baskets for the pickers, treated wine vessels with pitch, sharpened tools, washed all the equipment and vats that held the grapes or wine, cleaned the *cella vinaria*, and of course performed the necessary sacrifices (Columella 12.18.1ff.). At the harvest itself workers picked and sorted grapes, carried or carted them to the torcularium, treaded them for the first pressing, and gathered the pulp and put it through the press for a second extraction of juice. Workers treated the wine with additives that added flavor or fortified it first when it was in the jars used for fermentation and again when it was transferred to amphorae. Each of the latter stages involved other tasks: at the Villa Regina, for example, the archaeological evidence indicates the setting up of drapes or mats to shade the *dolia* (de Caro 1994, 69).

The fruit and nut trees also required tending: the fruit and nuts had to be picked, and they were then often preserved and processed for various uses. Workers gathered, dried, and stored forage (probably from weeding and trimming in the vineyard). The threshing yard may have been used for drying and threshing hay, grain, or fava beans. The inhabitants of the villa planted, tended, and harvested vegetables and herbs for their own consumption and perhaps for sale in the market. Animal husbandry – here, raising pigs, sheep, and chickens – also engaged the energies of residents. Although not numerous at the villa, loom weights mean at least one loom and the work of weaving, which was usually assigned to women in the country.¹⁰³ Someone cooked food for the residents; a hand mill in the courtyard near the kitchen and an oven in the kitchen itself indicate that someone milled grain and baked bread (whether the grain was grown on the property or purchased). All of this excludes the cleaning and maintenance of the villa building itself, as well as any personal or table service required for those who used the painted rooms and triclinium.¹⁰⁴ Lastly, there was the work of management and supervision – perhaps by a *vilicus* and *vilica* – which Varro claims must be set apart from the jobs of ordinary laborers (1.18.3). Obviously, all these activities did not take place at once; different tasks were determined by season. However, even if we consider Columella obsessive in his attention to timing, his list of tasks assigned to specific seasons, like Varro's, indicates that there was plenty of work to do throughout the year (confirmed by the archaeological evidence for specific agricultural activities).¹⁰⁵

A last consideration focuses on the press and torcularium area. J. J. Rossiter points out that “presses were not cheap; a farmer would probably have invested in a press only if he was making wine on a large commercial scale. . . . Only medium or large-scale production would require permanent processing facilities” (1981, 348).¹⁰⁶ If de Caro's estimate of the size of the villa property is correct (less than ten *iugera*), and it therefore would not merit a designation “medium or large-scale,” then the presence of pressing equipment and space devoted to production suggests that grapes from other farms were also processed here – whether they came from properties that belonged to the owners of the Villa Regina or not. Alternatively, if the property was in fact larger than de Caro's estimate, the necessary labor force to grow grapes and process them would have been larger.

We might imagine one scenario that fits the archaeological evidence at the Villa Regina with a practice known from the literary sources. Estate owners, who did not live on their property, often came to the country to visit, in particular to watch or participate in the vintage.¹⁰⁷ Room Vbis on the ground floor, the painted room with a terrace on the second, and the simply painted triclinium (IV) then make sense as rooms that would accommodate the owner during vintage time or at any time that he visited.¹⁰⁸ Architecture might seem to confirm the picture drawn by Horace, Martial, and Juvenal of a simple life in the country where a master tolerates a slave eating off his plate, *vernae* (homeborn slaves) gather around the *lar* (protective spirit) or hearth, and slaves and masters coexist peacefully.¹⁰⁹ However, it is difficult to know whether this picture represents a looser atmosphere in small villas, the poet's fantasy, or some element in the discourses on luxury and simplicity, urbanity and rusticity.¹¹⁰

The small size of the villa building and the absence of a clearly articulated division of rustic and urban mean that we cannot presume a choreography of slave movement as at luxury villas. Yet even a smallholder had an interest in keeping control of his few slaves – guarding against slaves' ways of avoiding work, "relocating" tools or foodstuffs, and running away. Their relatively smaller number meant fewer bodies for the owner or manager to watch and direct; the farmstead's size and arrangement of space also made patrolling slave movement straightforward. All three exterior doors could be locked or barred; moreover, all windows save one were high off the ground and/or had grates.¹¹¹ Housing slaves in the upstairs rooms over Vbis, X, XI, XIV, and XVI meant that their access was limited to the single stairway on the east wall of VI. If room X was the room of a *vilicus* or *ostiarus*, no one could move in or out of the building without coming under his surveilling gaze. The terrace of the room above the hayloft, too, provided a good position from which to observe activities around the central yard.

While the doors of the villa could be closed and locked at certain times, the daily activities of work required that the building be quite permeable for laborers on their way out the front door to tend the garden, dump garbage, or work in the vineyards; for those who threshed grain or stored forage in the hayloft; and for everyone using the back door to reach the vines planted behind the villa building. The internal space in the villa seems particularly open in Grahame's sense. Most of the villa's space and hence bodies within it are visible from nearly every direction.¹¹² This layout facilitated movement and encounters, and the limited internal area of the building made interaction not only likely but also difficult to avoid. The open arrangement of the interior creates more than simply a small separation of rustic and urban; it also shaped an environment where the spaces of different activities were close to one another and in places must have overlapped.

TACTICS: THE *VILLA RUSTICA*

As they did in the urban house and the *villa urbana*, some slaves at the *villa rustica* disturbed the constraining regimes of their owners or supervisors. We suppose that tactics at large estates like Settefinestre and small farms like the Villa Regina would have varied with the size

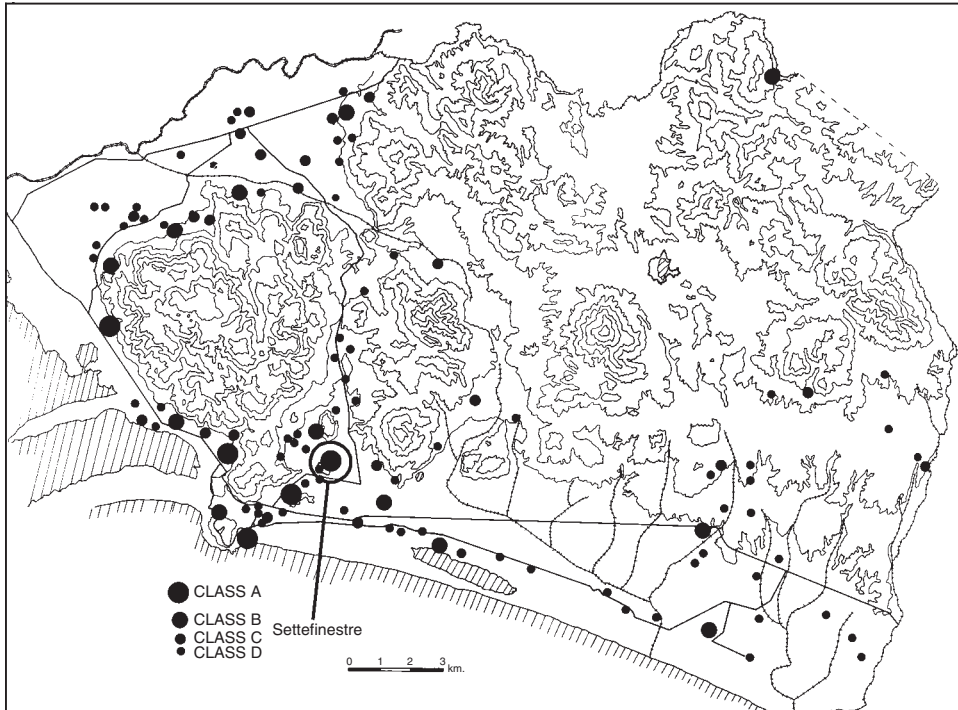
of property and *familia*; however, we must be careful not to see the large property as more oppressive or romanticize the small farm as a haven of familial accord. A small household and proximity did not guarantee compliance, as Horace himself could imagine in a satire in which his own slave talks back (*Satires* 2.7). In fact, slaveholders of varied social ranks complained about slave laziness. The precautions recommended by the agronomists suggest that some slaves altered the pace of their work or took control of it themselves. Indeed, Saserna included slaves' own rhythms in his calculations of the time required to cultivate one *iugerum*, although he attributed them to idleness (*inertia*) and laxness (*indiligentia*) (Varro 1.18.2). In a similar moralistic tone, Columella complains that, left to themselves, slaves hire out the farm's oxen, do not feed the animals adequately, plow carelessly, claim to plant more seed than they actually do, fail to tend crops they have planted, and steal grain from the threshing floor or lose some of it through their sloppiness (1.7.6). And, he, like other agronomists, worries about feigned illness or damaged tools, understanding though condemning the results – the slave's break from work.¹¹³ Behind or beyond slaveholders' moralism may lie slaves' own ways of doing things, whether they consisted of calculated ways of irritating their owners, their own farming practices, or their appropriation of the products of their labor.

Many of these acts would have required the cooperation of other slaves or, at least, their turning a blind eye to another slave's acts. Some slaveholders imagined, and others feared, the solidarity of the *familia*. Apuleius's story of a group of slaves who flee the country and find refuge in the city is an instance of how one *familia* with a shared apprehension bands together and cooperates in a joint effort. Learning of the death of their owner and fearing the change of masters, the slaves organize and carry out a coordinated flight; their solidarity takes them through various dangers, and together they eventually decide to settle, as a group, in a large city (*Metamorphoses* 8.15–23). The legal sources, too, report instances of a *familia* undertaking cooperative actions.¹¹⁴ In these terms, it is especially interesting that agricultural writers recommend various methods to disrupt the bonds among fellow slaves. Varro (1.17.5) tells slaveholders to avoid having too many slaves from the same *natio* (ethnicity, country) because this is the greatest source of domestic resentments (*offensiones domesticas*). However, there may well have been another reason: shared ethnicity would have given one group of slaves within the household a common culture and language other than the slaveholder's. Some of the agronomists' suggestions about granting privileges to certain slaves or advice about stirring competition among slaves in a work group aimed to cultivate bonds between owner and slave and to disrupt relations among the slaves themselves (cf. Chapter 4).

Obviously, anywhere the slave worked was a potential site of tactics; however, certain activities necessitated a place out of sight. The question of where the bonds of community could be nurtured in the *villa rustica* introduces the possibility of looking at the slaveholder's architectural strategy in a different light. We might ask if slaves shaped social relations among themselves in open courtyards under the eyes of supervisors: that is, in courtyards 42 and 107 at Settefinestre or the central courtyard of the Villa Regina. Alternatively, the spatial arrangements at Settefinestre around courtyard 42 created corners of escape in the rooms along the back row (201, 200, 115, 47, 48, and 37) as places for slaves to sequester themselves – and perhaps to hide appropriated supplies.

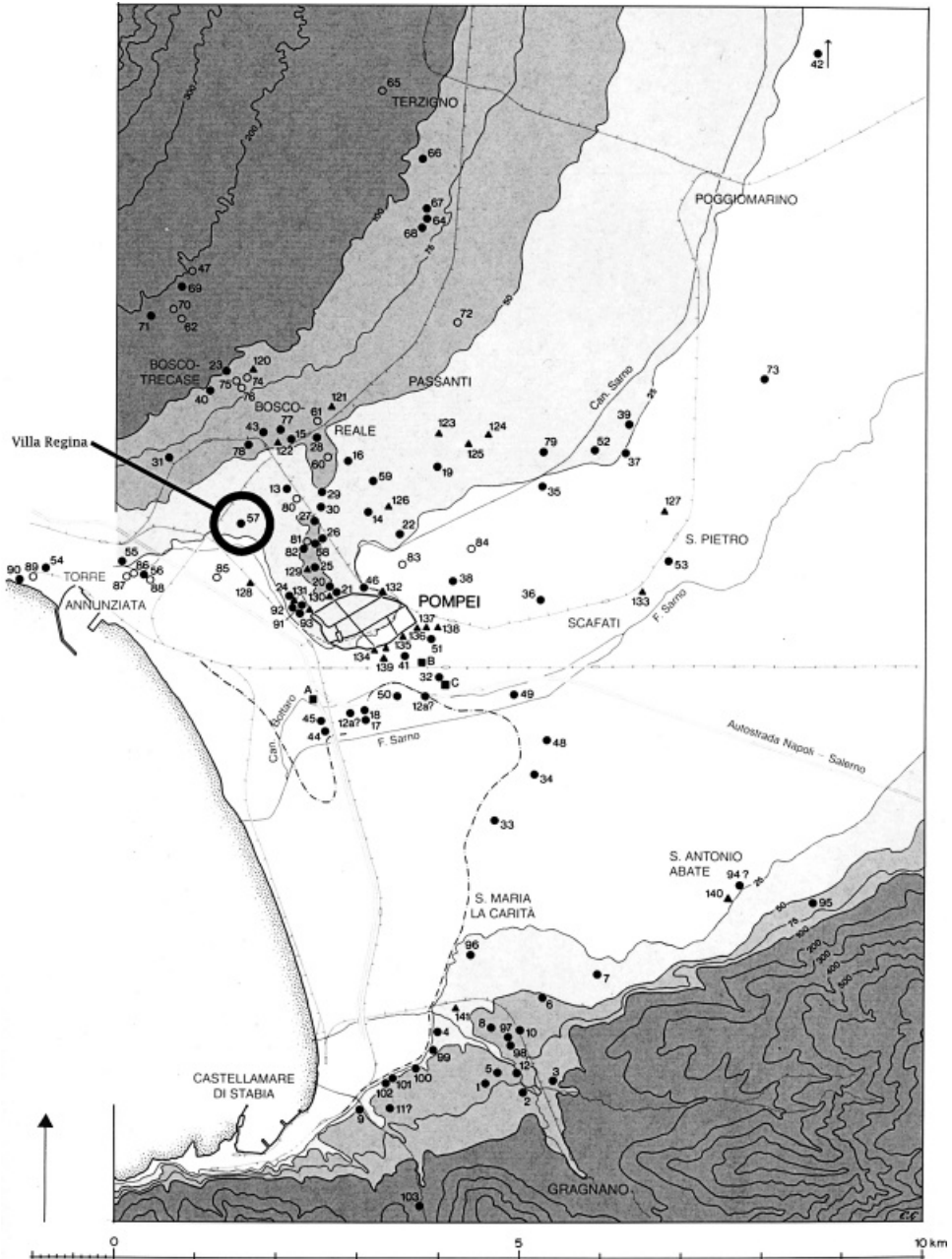
The practice of chaining, the *ergastulum*, and locking slaves in at night indicate that some slaves tried to flee or fought their owners' claims on their bodies and time. The prescriptions of slaveholding writers, too, indicate that slaves moved around the farm out of the control of their owners. The agronomists' injunction, repeated in detailed variations, that the *vilicus* limit his trips to town, market, and neighbors calls attention to the slave manager's relations with outsiders, visits to the local town or market, and business dealings other than those of his owner.¹¹⁵ From the writers' stress on the integrity of the farm's boundaries and their reiterated warnings that the *vilicus* allow no slave to leave the estate, we must also suspect that other slaves left the farm temporarily, with or without the permission of the *vilicus*, on some errand for the *vilicus* or for themselves. Some went into the local village, if there was one; others paid visits to relatives, perhaps on neighboring farms.¹¹⁶ Varro, for one, suggests that slaves had relations, friendly and hostile, with slaves on neighboring estates (1.15.1).

Geography counts, not as a landscape of power and control, but as a map of where slaves could go: that is, where distances were small enough to allow a temporary absence or where geography facilitated escape. Settefinestre, about 3.5 kilometers from Cosa, was only a kilometer away from the large villa, Le Colonne; nearby were three much smaller farms to the southeast and a medium-sized villa and four small villas to the northwest (Fig. 161).¹¹⁷ Occupying a commanding position on a hill that oversees the valley of the Oro, the villa at Settefinestre was reached by one side road that branches off the main road from Cosa on the coast to Saturnia and another side road that leads to the major thoroughfare, Via



161. Map of the villas around the site of Settefinestre. (After Dyson 1978, fig. 6.)

Aurelia, only 1.7 kilometers away.¹¹⁸ About two kilometers north of Pompeii, the Villa Regina was located in an area of Campania thickly populated by villas of various sizes (Fig. 162).¹¹⁹ The farmstead stood near an extension of a country road branching off Via Consolare that led from Porta Ercolano of Pompeii and passed the Villa of the



162. Map of the villas around Pompeii (and neighboring the Villa Regina at Boscoreale).
(After Kockel 1985, fig. 23.)

Mysteries.¹²⁰ The simple point is that a slave from any of these villas was in easy proximity to roads, the city, and other slaves on nearby estates and farms.

The movements of slaves hint at an alternative geography to that mapped by the manuals and by the apparent order of rural architecture. In literature and law especially, we glimpse a “rival geography” of paths, woodlands, and places of refuge. Slaves made their own ways around estates, hence Columella’s injunction to the *vilicus* to allow no new footpaths (1.8.7, 11.1.23). Some hid out, whether as preparation for flight, as a temporary measure to avoid punishment, or simply as a break from their labors. Roman jurists name the countryside, in particular its woodlands, as a frequent destination of fugitives and truants, and charge rural slaves, including the *vilicus*, with sheltering runaways.¹²¹

Our ignorance of the ancient landscape surrounding the *villa rustica* and the virtual lack of slave testimony that describes it means that we cannot see an ancient topography of specific fields, vineyards, trees, and marshes – all those places mentioned in the legal and literary sources in terms of slave movement. This is where de Caro’s meticulous excavation of the Villa Regina and Jashemski’s detailed study of at least a small portion of the land is particularly suggestive (see Fig. 155). The locations of vines, gardens, trees, roads, and footpaths, based on the archaeological and vegetal remains, enable us to imagine how trees, woodlands, and roads, both within and at the margins of the slave owner’s property, could form an alternative landscape.¹²² To take a single example, Jashemski found approximately three hundred vine-root cavities and the remains of thirty-four trees in the immediate vicinity of the villa, twenty-one of them in the vineyard (1994, 98, 102–6). The property across the road also was planted with vines, and large trees lined the side of the country road adjacent to the villa. In addition, the bones of a weasel (or ermine), marten, and pine vole may suggest nearby woodlands (de Caro 1994, 123; Jashemski 1993, 291, and 1994, 114). It is difficult not to wonder if the thick cover of green provided by trees, vines, and shrubs provided shaded spots for private moments or gatherings out of sight and cover for hiding out. In other words, we might envision a landscape of escape and slaves’ own social space instead of a dedicated landscape of production.¹²³

At the least, the work of Jashemski and de Caro highlights the features of rural contexts and issues that we must examine to see a geography of slave tactics. First, we can ask in what relation to patrolled space were woodlands or marshes – that is, unused or underused spaces. Second is the question of slaves’ use of the major roads and local country byways. On the one hand, roads pointed the way to nearby cities or villages as well as to nearby estates; on the other, they were places where fugitives and truants might encounter slave catchers or suspicious travelers. Third, the proximity of other farms meant the proximity of other slaves. The locations of such farms were important for slaves whose relatives, spouses, or friends lived there; they also constituted potential refuges or, alternatively, patrolled areas to avoid.

Lastly, we might see three frequent complaints of slaveholders – about slave thefts, unauthorized visitors, and slaves’ trips to town or market – both in relation to each other and in terms of a well-documented practice in several slaveholding societies of the

Americas. The piecemeal Roman evidence evokes slaves' petty trading in the antebellum Chesapeake and Low Country in the United States.¹²⁴ There, slaves raised crops and animals and traded them not only with their owners but also with peddlers and travelers, on other plantations, and in nearby towns (for those who could leave the plantation). While slaveholders approved their own transactions with their slaves, they regarded extra-plantation trade as an anathema, associating it with slave theft. And, as far as possible, they tried to eliminate such exchanges and legally regulate peddlers who traveled from plantation to plantation.

We must wonder if Roman slaves, too, engaged in some sort of petty trading in the countryside. It is striking that Columella's worries about theft, slave movement, visitors, and the *vilicus's* trading activities parallel those of slaveholders in the antebellum Chesapeake and Low Country. Roman slaves apparently had goods to trade. As Ulrike Roth has argued, agricultural slaves, like urban slaves, could have a *peculium*, property that they held and managed, though technically it belonged to their owners (2005). Indeed, Varro mentions *peculia* composed of animals that the slaveholder granted to rural slaves both to secure their loyalty and to allow them to maintain themselves (I.2.17, I.19.3). In addition, he mentions rewards in general and of food and clothing in particular (I.17.7). It also seems likely that slaves acquired more than their owners handed out. For the most part, since we rely on slaveholders' accusations, we hear about what slaves stole. Columella's observations of grain that disappeared from the threshing room floor, fleeces that went missing at shearing time, and sheep's milk that did not make it into the slaveholder's bucket all suggest that slaves took for themselves some of the products of their labor (I.7.6, 7.4.2, 12.3.9). The *vilicus*, *vilica*, foremen, and provisioners had even more opportunities to "relocate" goods and foodstuffs.¹²⁵

Slaves used such goods to improve their daily material lives, as in the case of the livestock that Varro permitted rural slaves to raise for themselves, but we might wonder if they also sold the goods and crops that they earned or appropriated. Columella wanted to control who could visit the farm and who left its premises; above all he was anxious about the *vilicus's* visits to the local town or market (I.8.6–7, II, 13; II.1.23–24). The agronomist's insistence that the *vilicus* should be a farmer not a trader, that he should buy and sell only on his owner's orders, raises questions about what the *vilicus* sold when his transactions had nothing to do with his owner. Certainly, the *vilicus* could have done business only for himself, but it is possible that he also traded in products on behalf of his fellow slaves. In either case, the landscape of the towns and villas near the villa properties discussed earlier enabled the petty trade of the slaves who belonged to the villa.

Both the geography of control mapped in villa architecture and the regime of containment spelled out in the manuals depended on surveillance and command by slave managers and overseers. The success of slave tactics relied, in part, on the disruption of that surveillance and command and on the relative strength of the ties between *vilici* and slave workers and those between *vilici* and owners.¹²⁶ Columella's instructions on the behavior required of the *vilicus* suggest that the owner's control of the farm's slave workers depended on creating a gap between the *vilicus* and his charges by inhibiting the

vilicus's fraternization with ordinary slave laborers.¹²⁷ Yet the detail that he lavishes on this practice should make us wonder just how wide the gap was. Slaves on estates distant from their owners, Columella claims, did exactly as they pleased, and the slaveholders' stereotype of the slave as greedy, careless, and dishonest undermined their faith in the *vilicus*'s loyalties.¹²⁸ Indeed, Roman jurists suspected *vilici* and *procuratores* (managers) of hiding slave fugitives on the farms that they managed.¹²⁹ We might suspect that in some instances the slave *vilicus* and the slave laborers negotiated a regimen of work that satisfied their own needs and interests, at least within the conditions of their enslavement.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

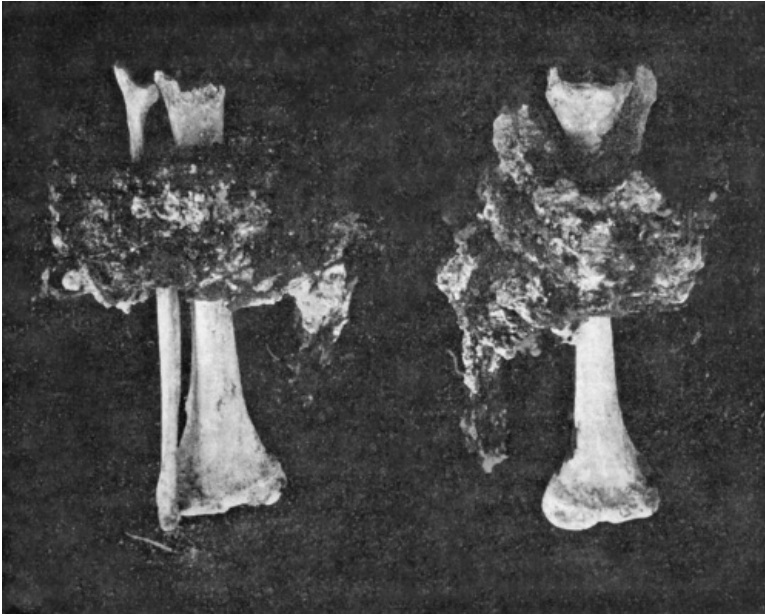
... 17 October 1905, the skeleton of a slave was discovered, trapped at the place of his death as strong iron shackles bound his legs.

—*Notizie degli Scavi* 1910, 259, ON THE VILLA OF THE MOSAIC
COLUMNS, POMPEII

Here lie the bones of Felix, bedchamber servant.

—*Corpus of Latin Inscriptions* 6.6259, FROM THE *columbarium*
OF THE STATILII TAURI, ROME

A SKELETON FOUND in 1905 at the Villa of the Mosaic Columns in Pompeii and an epitaph taken from the *columbarium* of the Statilii Tauri in Rome for a bedchamber servant, Felix, make present two slaves from ancient Italy. The first is visible as a shackled body, and the other as a name and a job. In effect, these actual, historical slaves and their lives are visible in direct ways through their material remains and the marking of them. Some we remember accidentally, like the skeleton, a chance discovery of a slave confined in an underground chamber of a villa just outside the walls of Pompeii and left to perish, with no chance of escape as Mt. Vesuvius erupted (Fig. 163). His bound body reminds us of the grim conditions that could characterize Roman slavery, but little is known and knowable about the slave himself – his name, his work, his relationships. His story, the story of the man, takes on fuller shades only when we locate him in a place – in the archaeological record read with the textual sources. The epitaph from the *columbarium*, or multiburial chamber tomb, gives us something different – written claims that connect the slave’s bones quite literally with a name and job title. Ironically, the epitaph is now separated from the physical remains, since the *columbarium* is filled in and the epitaph is in a museum, divorced from its niche and place on the wall and hence its relation to other epitaphs.¹ Nonetheless, we remember



163. Leg bones and shackles of a slave found at the Villa of the Mosaic Columns, Pompeii. (From *Notizie degli Scavi 1910*, 260.)

Felix through the material traces of intentional acts – through Roman rituals of commemoration.

Most of the slaves discussed in the preceding chapters of *The Material Life of Roman Slaves* had no epitaphs, and their bones, if any remain, are left unrecorded. Although we cannot document or name any one servant in the House of the Corinthian Atrium (Herculaneum), truant on Vicolo di Mercurio (Pompeii), miller in the House of the Baker (Pompeii), or vineyard worker at the Villa Regina (Bosocreale), for example, we know they were there. So to make them visible we patched together facts drawn from law, literature, epitaphs, and the archaeological record, our sources for “real” Roman slaves. In doing so, we have turned a critical eye on the “facts” that the slaveholders tell us about the “real” slaves. By way of conclusion, we look briefly at a few funerary settings belonging to “real” slaves in order to reflect on the work of the previous pages. No less than any other evidence adduced already, this funerary realm engages consideration of the kinds of knowledge that shape our history of Roman slaves.

Epitaphs naming slaves are, in themselves, fairly limited in what they can tell us. To say anything meaningful about the life of a slave such as Felix we need a larger context. And in the *columbarium* set aside for the slaves and freedmen of the Statilian family in Rome we have such a context. Here hundreds of slaves were identified by name and many by job title.² Slaves and work are inextricably linked; as they were in life, so they are in death.³ Sometimes epitaphs, no matter how brief, have more to offer. Among the slaves belonging to the Statilii Tauri, Philadelphus, for instance, was a masseur (*unctor*) who lived twenty years (*CIL* 6.6380).⁴ Donata dedicated an epitaph to Glyco, a bedchamber servant



164. Epitaph of Optata from the *columbarium* of the Statilii Tauri, Rome, first century BCE. (Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 33258; *su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma.*)

(CIL 6.6260).⁵ We cannot know the precise relationship between Donata and Glyco, but we can perhaps perceive comradery among fellow slaves within a household in both life and the afterlife (Flory 1978; Joshel 1992, 98–106). Likewise, friends (*amici*) of Optata, slave of Pansa, commemorated their relationship and identified Optata as a doorkeeper (*ostiaria*) (CIL 6.6326) (Fig. 164).⁶

This *columbarium* can be read as an extension of the large Stilian household, its niches and *ollae* (ash urns) as placeholders for the men and women who served the upper-class family.⁷ Its small marble plaques are the material traces that mark the slaves' physical remains; they also condense and commemorate some facts of the lives of the slaves. While the monument is now covered and hidden from view, many of its slaves have been remembered on account of their inscribed epitaphs and integrated into historical narratives of Roman slavery. In fact, the sheer size of the *columbarium* and its rich epigraphic evidence and connection to a well-known, elite family all have contributed to the visibility of this monument in scholarship and discussions of slaves in a wealthy household.⁸

Not all *columbaria* receive the same treatment, however. The large *columbarium* on the grounds of the Villa Pamphili, on the ancient Via Aurelia (Rome), though still accessible, is hauntingly dismembered, physically and historically. Descending the staircase, a visitor today is confronted with an abstract pattern: rows of arched niches punctuate diamond-patterned, reticulate walls (Fig. 165). There is little wall decoration, although the tomb chamber was once painted throughout (Fig. 166).⁹ At the time of excavation in 1838 there was evidence that some paintings had been already plundered (Ling 1993, 135, n. 5). Further damage to the frescoes occurred during the siege of Rome in 1849, and most of what remained now belongs to the Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome (Ling 1993, 127). In other words, the surviving pictures, like so many other frescoes throughout Italy, were taken from the walls to preserve them, yet doing so removed them from their material, architectural, and ritual contexts. Revealing of modern priorities is a twentieth-century assessment of the tomb's frescoes: "In fact the most important aspect, or rather the only truly important aspect of the monument [the *columbarium*] were its pictures."¹⁰ The implication of this statement weighs art against history: if the paintings of the *columbarium*



165. *Columbarium* at the Villa Pamphili, Rome, late first century BCE. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma).*



166. Lithograph of the *columbarium* at the Villa Pamphili, Rome. *Photo: Bridgeman Art Library International, CHT 221518.*



167. Empty *tabula ansata* (bottom row), *columbarium* at the Villa Pamphili, Rome, late first century BCE. Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma).

at the Villa Pamphili are valued first and foremost, then the individuals buried within are of secondary importance.

Here we are confronted with another large commemorative setting, outfitted with more than six hundred fifty niches for burial.¹¹ The names identifying the individuals buried in the niches were written on plaster within red frames (*tabulae ansatae*) rather than inscribed on more expensive – and more permanent – marble plaques. As the painted walls disappeared from the original setting, so, too, did the names of those within, many of whom must have been slaves, although we cannot identify them today with certainty.¹² Indeed, we possess only about ten percent of the names of those buried within the *columbarium*.¹³ In addition, a few *tabulae ansatae* in situ are blank, devoid of a name.¹⁴ Some of the niches still contain ashes and bone – people now unknown and unknowable much like the shackled slave from Pompeii (Fig. 167). In this funerary context, slaves may quite literally have a place, but many have been disconnected from their names through modern acts of “preservation.” Preservation has meant that this tomb’s figural paintings have been privileged over the names and remains of the deceased – a bitter irony given that the primary intent of Roman tomb building was to perpetuate the memories of the deceased.

Even so, anonymous burial, although it was certainly undesirable, was not uncommon in the Roman world. At the predominantly second- and third-century cemetery at Isola Sacra, located between Ostia and Portus, we witness anonymous burial in vastly different contexts. At this necropolis, large household tombs commanded the attention of someone traveling on the main road between Ostia and the port (Fig. 168).¹⁵ The slaves of those well-to-do families that could afford such monuments would likely have had a space for



168. Monumental tombs at the Isola Sacra necropolis. *Photo: authors (su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma).*



169. Amphora tombs from the *campo dei poveri* at the Isola Sacra necropolis. *Photo: Fototeca Unione, American Academy in Rome, FU2344.*

burial, perhaps in the exterior courtyard, although these niches were usually unmarked, so their dead are effectively unnamed.¹⁶ It should be borne in mind, however, that building monumental tombs on this scale was beyond the reach of most people living and working in the local community. The remains of poor individuals, including slaves not connected with a wealthy family, were interred anonymously in the earth and marked simply above ground, if at all, with an amphora opening to receive offerings; collectively, the poor graves (about six hundred) comprise what scholars call a *campo dei poveri* within the larger cemetery (Fig. 169).¹⁷ Slaves and poor individuals were remembered through rituals that brought the living to the dead (Fig. 170).¹⁸ Once those rituals ceased, the names of the



170. Drawing of offerings to the dead made through the necks of amphorae. Drawing by Susan Bird. (From Walker 1985, fig. 3; courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

deceased were no longer uttered and their memories faded away. Because the material remains were not inscribed, slaves, among others, were especially prone to being forgotten, then and now.

These funerary settings, *columbaria* and amphora graves, are places where we know slaves were, though today their visibility is uneven. In this regard, these funerary settings point to the larger concerns of this book – how we preserve and how we write the past. At Isola Sacra today, the amphora graves have disappeared from the visible landscape, making slaves irretrievable in the material record. All that survives at this necropolis are the monumental tombs of wealthy families, in addition to a few smaller scale tombs for individuals. For the most part, a family's name is recorded in the marble titular epitaph that adorned the exterior of a large tomb; the various dependents, including slaves, had unmarked places in a family tomb and they thus remain largely unknown.¹⁹ A somewhat similar situation exists with the large *columbarium* at the Villa Pamphili in Rome. Although it seems that the intent was to mark the tombs of individuals, we know very few names, slave or free, because modern priorities preserved the frescoes but gave little attention to the human remains. In contrast, the household *columbarium* of the Statilian family preserves the names of many slaves with small interior marble epitaphs, now divorced from their physical context.

Indeed, the slaves of ancient Rome have little narrative of their own. Rather, they are participants in their masters' narratives – absorbed into and necessary for them. Yet through epitaphs and the veil of slaveholders' literature and law, scholars have made the conditions of slaves' lives, family relations, and work visible. This body of work has been vital to our project. However, the words of slaveholders – descriptions of what slaves did or should do and did not or should not do in houses, streets, work spaces, and villas – often feel disconnected from the archaeological settings that we can associate with those descriptions. Our project has been to put slaves in motion in the spaces and places where they lived and worked. Where scholarly practices unwittingly un-see slaves in the material record, we have tried to weave text and archaeology into a project of seeing.

The evidence – legal, literary, art historical, and archaeological – permits us to think about how slaves might have negotiated what was given to them. Michel de Certeau’s notions of strategy (for us, the slave owner’s control of space and the movement of slaves within it) and tactics (for us, the ways slaves dealt with this fixed arrangement by seizing opportunities) has provided a framework to look at the evidence anew so that we can begin to think about timing along with slave movements and actions just beyond the slave owner’s view and interests. Doing so allows us to think differently so that we can see differently, and vice versa, whether reconstructing narratives of domestic architecture and rituals, city streets, neighborhoods, work spaces, or villa life. The process of scholarly collaboration – between a social historian and an art historian – gave us the ability to see the complexity of slave tactics.

A few examples taken from the foregoing chapters help to make these assertions less abstract. As we have little testimony from slaves themselves, we must read through slaveholders’ complaints about malingering, idling, wasting time, damaging property, theft, muttering, noise, and insolence in order to catch glimpses of slave tactics. Yet any particular tactic derived from a critical reading of the slaveholder’s words seemed one-dimensional to us, that is, until we tried to see what such behavior involved in its material location. “Truancy” or “idling” sounds flat and lacks complexity as well as dimension. We almost forget that such acts involved movement, calculation, conscious choice, and planning until we walk through the motions of a truant waiter serving in the large dining room in the House of the Menander (Pompeii). Understanding the archaeological record kinetically made it clear that a waiter’s truancy involved knowledge and skill: where did the master gaze, when would he call on the waiter, when and where to step aside, when to duck out of view and how, what path to take, and so forth.

In more public settings, the legal distinction between a truant and a fugitive meant for us a re-seeing of Pompeian streets: as congested spaces in which to hide, as spots to linger in, or as places to gather and socialize out of the sight of slaveholders. All of this must take into consideration slaves’ knowledge of the rhythms of a city, traffic patterns, their owners’ schedule, and above all a neighborhood’s attributes – its bars, fountains, corners, back doors, and streets without much slaveholder activity.

In the bakery, as in other workshops, timing was critical to efficient operation. Yet the process of commercial bread making included tasks often overlooked, in part because they seem so trivial to baking, hence their absence in both ancient and modern representations of a bakery’s activities. But a slave’s play with the entire range of tasks could be turned to his or her benefit. Gaps, intentional or otherwise, during production could be translated into opportune moments – in effect, manipulating time to take temporary control of space. An unmasterly rescripting of the Roman association of slave and donkey in both graffiti and fables gives us a brief entry into the thoughtworld that lay at the heart of tactics.

Finally, the different types of villas – suburban, maritime, and country – each had its own master narratives and opportunities for slave tactics. In the luxury villa, slaves were expected to perform on cue in its extensive interiors, but their own knowledge of the setting could allow for alternative ways of using and appropriating space. In the *villa rustica*, we observe, if not the material remnants of work in fields and vineyards, then a slice of the built

environment of agricultural operations. Putting these sites in dialogue with the agricultural manuals, we can see the attempts of slaveholders to control the bodies and movements of slaves and have some sense of the disruptions effected by rural slaves. Besides a geography of containment, then, we can set an alternative geography of slaves – in motion, visiting friends or relatives, fleeing, walking about, or gathering for private encounters or larger celebrations.

In the end, a reader may feel slightly frustrated by the fact that what we have are pieces of several puzzles, in which some pieces fit together, some are simply missing, and some do not quite mesh. What we do have, however, is a series of knowable discrete places and moments that allows us to put slaves into view. There is, we argue, a thickness to slaves' lives that scholarship has yet to internalize. Our project has been to proffer a method for seeing slaves in the material contexts that we thought we knew.



THIS BOOK IS AN act of remembrance – not of anyone specifically, but a peculiar act of memory. Our aim has been twofold: to expose some of the ways in which Roman slaves have been made to disappear in narratives of Roman history, archaeology, and art history; and to explore ways of putting disciplines in the humanities to work in thinking imaginatively, yet concretely, about the material life of slaves in different archaeological contexts. The sites we have studied are the same ones pored over by others. In this regard, we have not uncovered anything new – far from it. What we hope to have done, however, is to bring our disciplines together in dialogue, through years of exchanges on site and off, to remember and rewrite the human presences that can seem irretrievable even though we know they were there. The challenge has been, and will continue to be, working with and against the paradigms and regimes of history making – to learn to see what we have been otherwise trained to un-see, to undo our un-seeing.

NOTES

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

1. On brothels in general and the Large Brothel at Pompeii, see McGinn 2002, 2004. On the brothel paintings and graffiti, see Clarke 1998, 196–206; Levin-Richardson 2011, 2013.
2. Fiorelli 1875, 285–86; Flohr 2007b, 132; *Giornale degli Scavi* 1862, 81–85; Jongman 1988, 167–69; Moeller 1966.
3. In contrast, the finds and, to a lesser extent, the paintings of the house (to which it connects) have been preserved: see Bragantini 1997, 502–19; Dwyer 1982, 53–56.
4. See esp. Levin-Richardson (2011, 2013) who argues that many graffiti in the brothel both tell a story about male competition and express the claims of prostitutes.
5. Likewise, for Morris, writing about slaves and women in ancient Athens, this is a “real methodological problem”: the question focuses on “how we can attribute gender or legal status to the agents who produced specific parts of the archaeological record” (1998, 194).
6. Morris 1998, 197. Cf. Hall (2000, 195): slave owners “had every interest in making their slaves and servants as invisible as possible to the archaeologist.”
7. Morris 1998; Webster 2001, 2003, 2005, 2008a; see also George 1997b; Mouritsen forthcoming.
8. In such societies, observes Paul Mullins, “the material traces of slavery are inscribed into everything so captivity is not a spatially or socially isolable phenomenon reflected simply in unique material patterns of goods. . . . The more interesting archaeological pictures of captivity may come from the most prosaic objects that appear otherwise unimpressed by slavery, ranging from public spaces and architecture to commonplace mass produced goods” (2008, 126–27; cf. Webster 2008b, 140).
9. Foucault 1980, 1986; Bourdieu 1984; Lefebvre 1991; Tuan 1977; Soja 1989; see also Massey 2005. On historical archaeology, see Clarke 1977.
10. For example, Allison 1999, 2004; Clarke 1998, 2003; Revell 2009. On houses and villas of the elite, see Chapters 2 and 5.
11. So, too, the history of conservation; see Kastenmeier 2007; Riva 1999.
12. On silencing and slave women, see Roth 2007, 9; on the archaeological record, 53.
13. For examples of this reproduction of erasure, see, for example, D’Arms 1970, 14, 44, 51. The practice of consistently referring to domestic slaves as servants puts their status as property to the side. On workshops, see the current work of Miko Flohr 2007b, 2009, 2011b.
14. In the absence of new facts Trouillot urges us “to make the silences speak for themselves” (1995, 27).
15. Cooks: Martial 8.23, 10.66; Petronius 47, 49; Seneca, *Moral Letters* 78.23, 114.26. Waiters: Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 2.19; Horace, *Satires* 2.8.10–15; Juvenal 5.51ff.; Seneca, *On the*

- Brevity of Life* 12.5. Maids and footservants: *Digest* 29.5.1.27–28, 29.5.14; Horace, *Satires* 1.9.9–10; Juvenal 6.49off.; Martial 2.37, 3.23; Seneca, *Moral Letters* 47.
16. Craftsmen: *Digest* 15.3.7.2, 17.1.26.8, 19.2.13 and 31. Fullers: *Digest* 14.3.5.10, 19.2.13.6, 19.2.25.8, 47.2.48.4. Peddlers and noise: *Digest* 14.3.4; Martial 7.61; Seneca, *Moral Letters* 56.2.
 17. Runaway and truant: *Digest* 21.1.17 (*fugitivus, erro*). Idling, bars, and public places: Columella 1.8.2 (*Socors et somniculosum genus id mancipiorum, otiis, campo, circo, theatri, aleae, popinae, lupanaribus consuetum, numquam non easdem ineptias somniat*). See also Horace, *Letters* 1.14; Juvenal 8.177–80.
 18. On the question of Plautus and a slave audience, cf. McCarthy 2000 and Richlin forthcoming.
 19. For example, Bradley 1990, 1994; Joshel 1992, 2011; Roth 2007.
 20. Cf. Hartman (1997, 10) on “writing a history of the dominated” using slaveholder sources.
 21. Individual instances are noted throughout the book, but the Aediles Edict (*Digest* 21.1) is a repository of the charges against “bad” slaves and masterly naming of their misbehavior. *Digest* 21.1.1.9 (*levem, superstitiosum, iracundum, contumacem*); 21.1.1.11 (*timidi, cupidi, avari, iracundi*); 21.1.3 (*gibberosi, protervi*); 21.1.4.2 (*aleatores, vinarios, gulosos, impostores, mendaces, litigiosos*); 21.1.17 (*fugitivus, erro*); 21.1.18 (*levis, protervus, desidiosus, somniculosus, piger, tardus, comesor*).
 22. On the problem of understanding slave agency through slaveholder sources, see, for example, Hartman 1997, esp. 38, 41, 54; Sharpe 2003. Sharpe warns that we must account for the “possibility of action without negating the unequal relations of power that restrict the ability to act” (xiv).
 23. Fitzgerald 2000. Richlin (forthcoming) distinguishes the play with deference of Plautus’s slaves from those depicted in the slaveholders’ literature.
 24. See, for example, n. 72 in this chapter.
 25. For the use of de Certeau in analyses of slavery in the Americas, see Hartman 1997, 50–51; Sharpe 2003, xxi–xxiii. Like Sharpe (2003, xiii, n. 3), we find de Certeau “helpful for explaining how slaves made use of a world that was not of their own making,” though his topic is the “popular consumption of culture.”
 26. Bek 1980; Drerup 1966; Edwards 1993, 137–72; Marzano 2007, 21–37; Wallace-Hadrill 1998. For architectural politics of the emperor, see Davies 2000; Ewald and Noreña 2010.
 27. Purcell 1987, 191–95. Negative Roman views of control of space and altering the landscape: Horace, *Odes* 2.15, 2.18; Juvenal 7.178ff.; Martial 12.50; Seneca the Elder, *Declamations* 2.1.13; Seneca, *Moral Letters* 86; cf. Statius, *Silvae* 1.2, 1.5, 2.2, 4.3.
 28. The relation of houses or villas and social power is a topic much covered: for references, see Chapters 2 and 5.
 29. Jurists debate what is necessary for a place and its activities (*Digest* 33.7.8 and 12–29), the intention of the owner in making bequests (33.7.2–7), and the use of the objects by the owner (33.7.12.31–32 and 37–38, 33.7.12.39 and 42, 33.7.15, 33.7.17.1–2, 33.7.23). See also *Digest* 33.10 and 34.2 on furniture and items of gold and silver, jewelry, garments, and other luxury goods.
 30. For the arrangement of and control over food, things, and decorations, see, for example, Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 2.19; Horace, *Satires* 2.4, 2.6.101–11, 2.8; Juvenal 7.178ff.; Martial 9.22, 12.66; Petronius 28–77 (cf. Martial 10.13); Seneca, *Moral Letters* 47, 78.23, 95.24, *On the Brevity of Life* 12.5, and *To Helvia* 11.3. On travel, see Seneca, *Moral Letters* 87.8–9. See Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 3ff. on quality and decor of houses. Even where the writer advertises his self-control or simple life, he still exerts control over things in his space and at the same time arranges his relations with others: Horace, *Letters* 1.5 and *Satires* 1.6.114ff., 2.6.63ff.;

- Juvenal 11.64ff.; Martial 3.58, 5.78, 11.52; Pliny, *Letters* 1.15; Seneca, *On Tranquility of the Mind* 1.5–7.
31. Juvenal 5.155ff.; Horace, *Satires* 2.8 (failed).
 32. In house or *villa urbana*: *Digest* 33.7.8.1. On large estate: *Digest* 33.7.8, 33.7.12.5, 33.7.12.35 and 42. Assigned to small farm or house: Horace, *Letters* 1.14, *Odes* 3.17.14–16, and *Satires* 1.6.114ff.; Juvenal 11.142–60; Martial 1.49.24, 1.55, 4.66.10, 8.67. In shops, bathhouses, mills: *Digest* 33.7.13–15, 33.7.17.2, 33.7.18.1–2, 33.7.23.
 33. Martial 5.48, 9.36; Pliny, *Natural History* 21.170, 24.35, 32.135; Seneca, *Moral Letters* 47.7, 95.24. Castration: *Digest* 48.8.4.2; Martial 9.6; Suetonius, *Domitian* 7.1.
 34. Clothes: Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 2.19; *Digest* 15.1.25, 34.2.13; Seneca, *On Tranquility of the Mind* 1.8. Manner of wearing: Horace, *Satires* 2.6.107; Seneca, *On the Brevity of Life* 12.5. Clothing of farm workers: Cato, *On Agriculture* 59; Columella 1.8.9, 11.1.21.
 35. On desired behavior, see *Digest* 21.1.18, 21.1.37; Varro, *On Agriculture* 1.17. On talking, laughing, noise, gestures, timing, see n. 63 in this chapter.
 36. Assignments and changes of jobs: *Digest* 6.1.28, 19.2.13.3, 20.1.32, 28.5.35.3, 32.1.49, 32.1.65.1, 32.1.99.4; Martial 10.66. For organization of labor in agricultural manuals, see Varro, *On Agriculture* 1.17.4–1.18.6, 2.10; Columella 1.8.2–13, 1.9.5–8, 2.12.1ff., 11.1.7–29. On the organization of slave labor, see Bradley 1994, 57–80; Joshel 1992 and 2010, 162–214.
 37. Columella Pref.12, 1.8.7, 11.1.23; *Digest* 33.7.15, 33.7.18.1–2.
 38. Attached to room: Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 1.15; Ovid, *Amores* 1.6.1–2; Petronius 29.1; Seneca, *On Anger* 3.37.2. Attached to a person: *Digest* 29.5.1.28, 32.1.49; Horace, *Satires* 1.9.9–10 and *Letters* 1.7.52–54; Martial 3.23; Valerius Maximus 1.7.7. On assignment of place, cf. Camp, 2004, 16–17.
 39. City, country, and determination of owner: *Digest* 32.1.60.1, 32.1.99, 50.16.166 and 203. Owners moved slaves from city to country for punishment, for nurture (of slave children), for training slaves, and for the owners' personal use (*Digest* 28.5.35.3, 32.1.99.3, 33.7.12.32, 33.7.12.37).
 40. Note the considerable movement of slaves: travels with owners (Columella 1.3.4; *Digest* 29.5.31; Seneca, *On Anger* 3.29.1); errands (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 1.26, 3.12, 3.16; *Digest* 21.1.17.14; Ovid, *Amores* 1.11); running businesses (*Digest* 5.1.19.3, 14.3); working in the provinces (*Digest* 28.5.35.3, 40.9.10).
 41. Thompson 2003, 217–38. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 9.12; Cato, *On Agriculture* 56; Columella Pref.10, 1.6.3, 1.8.16, 1.9.4, 11.1.22; *Digest* 4.3.7.7, 13.6.5.6, 20.1.27; Plautus, *The Captives* 110–18.
 42. Bradley 1994, 117–22 and 1989, 32–40; see also Bellen 1971; Daube 1952. On slave catchers and agents, help of officials and troops, and advertisements, see *Digest* 11.4, 12.5.4.4, 18.1.35.3, 19.5.18; Petronius 97; cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 6.7–8. Bradley's eloquent account of the dangers and difficulties of flight should be emphasized (1994, 127–29).
 43. Owners' paths and pace: Horace, *Satires* 1.6.107–9, 1.9.9–10; Martial 2.57, 12.70; Petronius 28.4–5; Seneca, *Moral Letters* 122.15–16 and *On Anger* 2.25.1, 3.29.1. Movement between farmhouse and fields: Columella 11.1.14 and 17–18.
 44. On slaves as display, see Joshel 1992, 73–76. For owners orchestrating and driving the activity of slaves, see, for example, Horace, *Satires* 2.8; Juvenal 5, 11, and 14.59ff.; Seneca, *Letters* 122.15–16.
 45. See n. 43 in this chapter on master's pace. On secretaries and readers: Quintilian, *Institutes* 10.3.19.
 46. Martial 6.89, 14.119; Petronius 27.5; cf. Quintilian, *Institutes* 11.3.117.
 47. Seneca, *Moral Letters* 47.2–3, 6, 8; 56.7; 95.24; 122.15–16 and *On Anger* 2.25.1, 3.29.1, 3.35.2–5.

48. One *iugerum* is equal to two-thirds of an acre. Cato, *On Agriculture* 2.2; Varro, *On Agriculture* 1.18.1–7; Columella 2.12.1ff.
49. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 2.19; Horace, *Satires* 2.8.10–16; Juvenal 5.120–24, 11.136ff.; Martial 10.13; Seneca, *Letters* 47, 123.7, *On the Brevity of Life* 12.3, and *On the Happy Life* 17.1–2.
50. For an overview of the social and political effects of the Principate on the senatorial class, see Talbert 1996; Wallace-Hadrill 1996.
51. Cf. Shaw on the use of Stoicism in the Hellenistic world of kingdoms and imperial Rome (1985, 51–52).
52. Petronius as the arbiter of elegance: Tacitus, *Annals* 16.17–20. On the identity of the author of the *Satyrica*, see Rose 1971; Prag and Repath 2009, 5–10 with references. For a brilliant discussion of the relationship between Tacitus's Petronius and the *Satyrica*, see Haynes 2010. Social and cultural interpretations of Petronius are legion: see, for example, Bodel 1999; D'Arms 1981; Slater 1990; cf. Petersen 2006, 6–10. On the competition in luxury, see Edwards 1993, 190; Tacitus, *Annals* 3.55.
53. See Spanier 2011.
54. Cf. Brown's description of eighteenth-century planters in Virginia (1996).
55. Walter Johnson, an historian of American slavery, calls the similar phenomenon in the American South a "type of public recognition – a type of honor – that could be beaten out of their [slaves'] backs": in effect, proper choreography meant that "their own mastery would inhabit their slaves' every action" (1999, 107).
56. This use of Grahame's observations on open and closed space is not an attempt at access analysis but rather an attempt to articulate the relations among different spaces.
57. On many of the actions described in what follows as resistance, see Bradley 1994, 110ff.; 2011. For measuring resistance "by the constraints necessary to keep [slaves] 'in place,'" see Shaw 1998, 49.
58. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 8.15 and 23; *Digest* 11.3.1.1–2, 11.4.1.1, 21.1.17, 21.1.17.4 and 6–7, 47.2.17.3, 47.2.36.3, 50.16.225.
59. Fire: Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 8.22; *Digest* 9.2.27.9 and 11, 19.2.30.4; Pliny, *Natural History* 36.115. Animals: Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 7.22; Columella 1.7.6; *Digest* 19.2.60.7. Other slaves: *Digest* 9.2.38, 9.2.45.3, 47.10.18.1. Broken dishes and cups: Juvenal 11.191–92; Petronius 34.2, 52.4. Ruined metals: *Digest* 19.5.20.2. Damaged tools and clothing: Columella 11.1.20; *Digest* 19.2.13.6. Unspecified: *Digest* 4.9.3.3, 9.2.48, 19.2.45. The causes adduced by slaveholders are as varied as the acts – anger, revenge, negligence, and carelessness – in many shapes and forms: Columella 1.7.5–6 (careless or greedy); *Digest* 17.2.23.1, 19.2.60.7; Petronius 49.7 (careless); Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 8.22; Pliny, *Natural History* 36.115 (anger or revenge).
60. Persons robbed: *Digest* 9.4.40, 14.3.5.8, 19.2.45, 21.1.52, 40.7.40, 47.2.44.2, 47.2.54.1, 47.2.68.4. Acting with the knowledge of owners: *Digest* 9.4.2.1, 9.4.3–4, 44.7.20. Alone or with others: *Digest* 9.2.32, 9.4.31, 47.2.57.5. Objects stolen: Columella 12.3.9; *Digest* 13.6.20, 19.2.55, 40.7.40, 47.2.57.5, 47.2.61; Horace, *Satires* 2.7.72–74, 109–10; Pliny, *Natural History* 15.82; Varro, *On Agriculture* 1.22.6.
61. Failed at work: Columella 1.7.5–6; Horace, *Satires* 2.8.54ff.; Martial 3.13, 8.23; Petronius 49; Seneca, *On Anger* 2.25.1, 3.35.4, 3.37.2. Shirking, laziness, malingering: Columella 1.9.7–8, 11.1.16, 12.3.7; *Digest* 21.1.18; Horace, *Letters* 2.2.14–15; Seneca, *On Anger* 2.25.1; Valerius Maximus 9.12 ext.; Varro, *On Agriculture* 1.16.4. For general charge that slaves are *nequam* (worthless, good for nothing), see Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 10.4; Horace, *Satires* 2.7.100; Petronius 30.10, 69.1; Seneca, *Declamations* 3.9.
62. Columella 1.7.2, 12.1.3; *Digest* 21.1.4.2, 21.1.19.1, 21.1.25.6; Petronius 28.3; Seneca, *On Tranquility of the Mind* 8.8.
63. Pliny, *Letters* 2.17.22 and 24; Seneca, *Moral Letters* 47.3, 56.7, 78.23 and *On Anger* 3.35.2–3.

64. See also Valerius Maximus 6.5.5–7; cf. *Digest* 48.18.18.5.
65. Columella 11.1.20; *Digest* 19.2.55, 21.1.17.4, 40.7.40; Horace, *Satires* 2.7.109–10; Varro, *On Agriculture* 1.16.4, 1.22.6. See also Columella 11.1.23; *Digest* 9.2.27.9, 14.3.5.8, 21.1.17.4, 47.2.52.23–24; Pliny, *Natural History* 15.82; Seneca, *Moral Letters* 107.1.
66. Ovid, *Amores* 1.15.17. On the stereotype of slaves, especially dishonest slaves and the tricky slave of Roman comedy, see Fraenkel 2007, 159–72; Spranger 1984; Stace 1968; McCarthy 2000, passim (esp. for debates and bibliography). On slave dishonesty as inherent in the structure of slavery, see Joshel 1992, 64 and 2011, 220–22.
67. *Digest* 10.4.16, 11.4.2, 15.3.3.9 (*calliditas*), 47.10.15.45; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 9.20. See also *Digest* 16.3.1.8, 29.5.1.37, 46.3.19, 47.8.4.13; Petronius 30.10.
68. Horace, *Satires* 2.5.91–93 (*Davus sis comicus atque stes capite obstipio, multum similis metuenti. Obsequio grassare*); cf. Quintilian, *Institutes* 1.11.1–3; Seneca, *Moral Letters* 120.21; Terence, *The Self-Tormenter* 886–87 (*Servi venere in mentem Syri./Calliditates/Itane/Vultus quoque hominum fingit scelus*).
69. See Columella 1.7.6; *Digest* 9.2.27.9, 17.2.23.1, 19.2.60.7; Petronius 30.10, 49 (faked); Seneca, *On Anger* 2.25.1; cf. Bradley 1994, 129.
70. *Digest* 21.1.2, 21.1.4.1, 21.1.4.3.6; Horace, *Satires* 2.8.72, 80–82; Ovid, *Amores* 1.12.4.
71. Stealing in order to sell the stolen goods: *Digest* 9.4.38.2; Horace, *Satires* 2.7.109–10 (a slave who exchanges a stolen strigil for a bunch of grapes). On theft and resale in the country, see Chapter 5.
72. See, for example, Valerius Maximus’s story of a slave named Alexander who was accused of killing another slave (8.4.1). Though innocent, Alexander claimed even under torture that he had committed the crime, and he was then executed for it. A little while later, the supposed murder victim came home. The Loeb commentary suggests that the “facts are garbled” (213); however, this may be an instance where the slaveholders who reported the story could not see Alexander’s reason for holding out. We, too, cannot be sure of Alexander’s motive, but we can observe that if the other slave had disappeared, Alexander’s refusal to deny the murder protected that slave’s absence.
73. See, for example, Ovid, *Amores* 1.6.1 where Ovid calls the doorkeeper (*ianitor*) by his job; cf. *Digest* 40.4.24 and Petronius 36.5 where the slave’s name in the vocative is the same as the imperative of the verb that denotes his job.
74. The difficulty had a structural basis because a name, at least in both the view and the practice of slaveholders, was not a fixed element of the slave’s identity. See Joshel 2010, 94–95. On slave names, see Solin 1971, 1996, 2003.
75. *Digest* 47.10.9.3, 47.10.34; Seneca, *On Constancy* 14.1. Slaves all with the name Eros: *Digest* 6.1.5.5.
76. Horace, *Letters* 2.2.15; cf. *Digest* 11.4.3, 21.1.17.4. Note that some assume that to hide is to act like a slave (*Digest* 40.12.10). On a slave hiding out in a house and an instance of slaves hiding fugitives, see *Digest* 11.3.5, 11.4.1.1.
77. See Chapter 4, nn. 80, 95.
78. This search does not entail the quest for the signs or traces of a distinctive ethnicity or evidence of creolizing in artifacts – that is, exactly what is so difficult to find: see Webster 2005.
79. Cicero (Arpinum); Varro (Reate); Horace (Venusia); Seneca the Elder and Younger (Corduba); Columella (Gades); Pliny the Elder and Younger (Comum); Statius (Neapolis); Martial (Bilbilis); Quintilian (Calagurris); Apuleius (Madaurus).
80. To give only a few examples, in the *Moral Letters* Seneca mentions Baiae (51, 57), the Bay of Naples (53, 55, 87), and Tarentum (68); in his *Letters* Pliny often talks about Comum (1.3, 1.19, 2.8, 3.19, etc.) and names sites in Tuscany (3.4, 4.1, 8.1) and Campania (3.7, 6.4, 6.30, 7.3);

- throughout the works of Horace, beside his place in the country (*Letters* 1.7, 1.14, 1.16; *Odes* 1.9, 1.22; and *Satires* 2.6, 2.7), he refers to various areas and cities in Italy (Baiae, Forniae, Praeneste, Tibur; cities on the road between Rome and Brundisium); and in Martial we hear about Baiae (3.59, 6.43), Bilbilis in Spain (4.55), Venetia (4.25), and his country place (6.5, 6.43, 7.36).
81. Cf. Hall on the comparative aspects of metropolitan center and colonial periphery. The French king at Versailles and the ordinary but wealthy citizen of Capetown in South Africa were obviously different, but at the same time “there is common ground in the way that claims and counterclaims to power and authority were mapped out in personal possessions, household goods, the design of houses and gardens and remodeled landscapes” (2000, 95).
 82. Bodel 2005; Bradley 1990, 1994, 1998; Joshel 1992, 2010; Patterson 1982; Scheidel 2008, 2009; Webster 1997, 2001, 2005, 2008a and b. Cf. Forsdyke’s use of comparative material and emphasis on “a pattern of elements” rather than on “a single point of comparison” (2012, 4–6).
 83. Hall 2000; Webster 1997, 2001, 2005, 2008a and b.
 84. In Hall’s terms, “Comparative study can set up provocative and instructive analogies that are valuable in pointing to new sources of evidence or lines of interpretation.” Hall avers that “to do this hardly implies anachronistic modernism” (2008, 129).

CHAPTER 2. SLAVES IN THE HOUSE

1. For example, the study of the four chronological phases of wall painting, known as the Four Styles, which began with Mau 1882; for a concise description and current bibliography, see Strocka 2007. For bibliography on various genres within wall schemes, see Strocka 2007, n. 2.
2. Some of the more salient examples include: Bartmann 1991; Bergmann 2002; Clarke 1991, 2003; Cooper 2007; Dickmann 1999; George 1997a; Grahame 2000; Hales 2003; Jones and Robinson 2005; Leach 2004; Wallace-Hadrill 1994; Zanker 1998. For alternative approaches to Roman houses, including analyses of activities based on the material finds of a house, see esp. Allison 1997, 2004, website; Berry 1997, 2007. Houses at Herculaneum and Ostia have been subject to fewer monographs, although considerations of their houses appear in some of the sources cited here; see also DeLaine 2004; Packer 1971; Wallace-Hadrill 2011, with bibliography.
3. Cf. Introduction.
4. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, esp. ch. 3. For a sample of other approaches that build on this idea, see also Clarke 1991, 2003, esp. 221–68; Cooper 2007; Fredrick 1995; Grahame 2000; Hales 2003; Severy-Hoven 2012. In addition, Anderson 2011 provides an exploration of what visibility meant in the context of post-earthquake(s) Pompeii and the rebuilding and renovation of houses.
5. On Trimalchio’s overreaching, cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 52, and Hales 2003, 139–43.
6. For example, Clarke 1991, *passim*, and 2003, *passim*; Hales 2003, 143–63; Zanker 1998, 135–203.
7. An exception is at the end of 6.4.2, which mentions the need for picture galleries, embroiderers’ work rooms, and painters’ studios to face north so “the continuous light allows the colors in their work to last unchanged.” The emphasis here, however, is not on the conditions for the workers, but on the effect of the north light on their work.
8. One could also point to the absence of women, children, and other dependents; Vitruvius’s primary concern is the presentation of the house owner to others and the articulation of space in the house so that the head of the house maintains control and mastery over its spaces, and, by implication, its guests and occupants.

9. Joshel 1992; Treggiari 1973, 1975b.
10. See Chapter 1, n. 32.
11. See Trimalchio's slaves as referred to in military terms (Petronius 47). On slave specialization, see D'Arms 1991, 177; Saller 1987; Treggiari 1973, 1975b.
12. Sculpted images of domestic slaves from houses include the bronze candelabra-holding servant from the House of the Ephebe in Pompeii (I.7.10–12, 19; MANN inv. 143753). Pompeian mosaics depicting domestic slaves include that of the bath attendant at the House of the Menander (I.10.4, 14–16); see Clarke 1998, 119–42 (esp. 129–36). See also Lenski 2013. On the many funerary reliefs of banquets with slaves in attendance, see Dunbabin 2003, 103–40; cf. Joshel 2010, 112ff., for images of slaves in various contexts.
13. A possible exception comes from the north wall of the same room. The center picture depicts two servants who form part of the scenery (one to the left, standing behind the couches, and one to the right pouring wine), and a female musician, perhaps a slave, who sits at the foot of a couch, consuming a drink (at left) as she takes a break from performing and thus eliding herself with the banqueters. On this set of frescoes, see Clarke 2003, 227–33, with bibliography. An image from Herculaneum depicts a couple reclining and a servant standing in the background (MANN inv. 9024); see Ferrari et al. 1986, vol. 1.1, 170–71 (color image, p. 65); Roller 2006, pl. 6. On banqueting more generally, and images of banqueting, see esp. Dunbabin 2003; Roller 2006. On slaves at the Roman banquet, see D'Arms 1991.
14. On this stationing of slaves at the banquet, see, for example, Martial 3.23.
15. See Clarke 2003, 239–45, for discussion and bibliography.
16. On this image, see Clarke 1998, 153–61.
17. One could argue that the passage of time is the cause for the apparent fading of this figure; however, it is worth noting that the female figure, whose profile overlaps that of the servant, is more boldly depicted. Of the many other images of bedchamber servants, see, for example, the bedroom scenes from the Villa under the Farnesina at Rome (Clarke 1998, 93–107). An exception to the more typical placement of a bedroom servant in the background also comes from the Villa under the Farnesina: it depicts a naked slave at the right side of the composition in the foreground space; he looks assertively out at the viewer, despite the fact that his body is shown in profile. Clarke suggests that the slave reverses hierarchies by telling us with his gaze that we do not belong, whereas he, the slave, does (1998, 103). See also images of a female holding a writing tablet and stylus in her hand, behind whom stands another female figure in smaller scale, perhaps a servant: the bibliography is scant but cf. Meyer 2009, esp. app. 2, catalogue nos. 6 and 7 (figs. 16 and 17, respectively).
18. See also George 1997b.
19. For example, Clarke (1991, 12ff.) and Wallace-Hadrill (1994, 38ff.), both of whom illustrate the plan of the House of the Menander to introduce the Roman house and its architectural components.
20. Much of what follows derives from these now canonical sources: Clarke 1991; Laurence 2007, 154–66; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 38ff.
21. Clarke 1991, 14ff., with bibliography.
22. See n. 12 in this chapter.
23. This was the case during our many visits to the house, the latest in summer 2012. Typically, entrance to the entire house is by permission only, though it is worth noting that these two spaces have limited access once one is inside the house.

24. The bibliography on this topic is substantial. Good starting points include essays in Amery and Curran 2002, 30–47, 148–67; Coates and Seydl 2007; Foss 2007; Wallace-Hadrill 2011, 40–63.
25. Much work has been done to re-record the material finds from Pompeii: see esp. Allison 1997, 2004, website; Berry 1997, 2007; and now Nevett 2010, 89–118.
26. George 1997b, 15.
27. On material culture, see n. 25 in this chapter. For Roman art historical studies that have encouraged scholars to move beyond dominant discourses, see esp. Clarke 2003; Kampen 1995, 2003.
28. George (1997b) acknowledges the presence of slaves throughout the Roman house but attempts to look for the specific places of slaves within.
29. Seneca, *Moral Letters* 47.2–3, 6–8 (56.7, in nighttime contexts), 95.24, 122.15–16 and *On Anger* 2.25.1, 3.35.2–5. On the invisibility of domestic slaves at work, see Joshel 2010, 238. Also see the discussion on images of servants at the edge of the action.
30. On dining in Roman literature, see Gowers 1993; Wilkins 2005.
31. The scholarship on this topic is vast. See most notably, Bradley 1998; Clarke 2003, esp. 223–27; D’Arms 1991, 1999; Dunbabin 2003; Hudson 2010; Jones 1991; Roller 2006.
32. D’Arms 1991, 177, for primary sources.
33. See *Digest* 7.1.15.1 on the use of slaves according to their character or condition. On specialization, see also Treggiari 1973, 246–47, and 1975b, esp. 60–64; cf. D’Arms 1991, 173.
34. Simple service and slaves with multiple tasks: Horace, *Satires* 1.6.114ff., 2.6; Juvenal 11.136ff.; Martial 5.78, 10.98; Seneca, *On Tranquility of the Mind* 1.5–7. On this topic, see Roller 2006, esp. 8–9.
35. See Saller (1987, 65) on the sheer number of household slaves in propertied households – hundreds in the case of senators, and dozens for the wealthy elite.
36. Ancient authors also make it clear in their descriptions of simple meals, as opposed to elaborate banquets, that along with plain food and dishes, the slave servants were ordinary, unchoreographed slaves (Horace, *Satires* 1.6.114ff.; Juvenal 11.64ff.; Martial 10.98; Seneca, *On Tranquility of the Mind* 1.5–7).
37. On food preparation and artful table service, often taken to an extreme: Horace, *Satires* 2.8; Juvenal 5.120–24, 7.182–85; Martial 1.37, 11.52; Petronius 31ff.; Seneca, *Moral Letters* 114.26 and *On the Happy Life* 17.2. On slaves dressed in finery and gold: Seneca, *On the Happy Life* 17.2 and *On Tranquility of the Mind* 1.8.
38. See, for example, Martial 10.98; D’Arms 1991, 73, for other primary sources.
39. Cf. the carvers at Trimalchio’s banquet, who hardly conjure up the image of carving as an art (36.5–8, 40.5–6). See also Seneca, *On the Happy Life* 17.2, where he rhetorically asks why professionals are needed to carve meat.
40. On cooking as an art, Livy 39.6.8.
41. On the punishment of cooks, Martial 3.13, 8.23; Petronius 47.13 (demotion to the messenger corps to remind the cook of “his master’s power”). On slave punishment and abuse, see Bradley 1987, 113ff.; Joshel 2011, 119–23. On the modern misperception that domestic slaves were treated well, D’Arms 1991, 175–81.
42. That choreography could be taken to an extreme is apparent when it becomes literal and the subject of ridicule in Petronius 31.7; cf. Introduction. For accounts that integrate slaves into the discussion of the banquet, see Bradley 1998; D’Arms 1991; Roller 2006, 15–22.
43. Snap of fingers for a chamber pot: Martial 6.89; Petronius 27.5. See also Quintilian, *Institutes* 11.3.117–20, on the gesture of demanding a cup, threatening a flogging, or indicating the number five hundred by crooking the thumb.

44. This dwelling has also been identified as the House of Lucius Helvius Severus but is more commonly called the House of Sutoria Primigenia in scholarship, which we have retained. Connecting a house with an owner remains a speculative endeavor, with the evidence oftentimes slim and inconclusive. The monograph on the house is by Gallo 1994 (see 185–89, where he identifies it as belonging to the *gens* Helvia). On this house, see also Bardelli Mondini 1990; Clarke 2003, 75–78.
45. On the rooms and spaces surrounding the kitchen (17), see Gallo 1994, 20–21 (room 16); 21–22, 47–50 (room 17); 23–24, 50–51 (room 19); 24–25, 51 (room 20).
46. Doorkeepers: *ostiarii* (Petronius 28.8, 29.1; Seneca, *On Anger* 3.37.2; Vitruvius, *On Architecture* 6.7.1); *ianitores* (Cicero, *In Defense of Plancius* 66; Columella 1.Pref.10; Livy 7.5.3; Ovid, *Fasti* 1.138; Seneca, *Moral Letters* 43.4 and *On Firmness* 14.2); *custos* (Propertius 4.7.21).
47. On trust between slaves and owners, see Parker 1998.
48. Slaves as property associated with animals: *Digest* 9.2.2.2, 21.1.38.7ff., 21.1.48.6; Varro, *On Agriculture* 2.1.12.
49. Three examples of dog mosaics come from Pompeii: the House of Paquius Proculus (I.7.1, 20), where the dog is chained and shown alert; the House of the Tragic Poet (VI.8.5), with a chained but advancing dog and the *carve canem* inscription; and the House of the Caecilii (V.1.26), where the dog is unchained, curled up, and asleep. On the dog mosaics, see Clarke 1979, 9–11.
50. The combination of the dog and human doorkeeper recurs again at the end of Trimalchio's dinner party. As Encolpius and his companions attempt to escape the chaos of the dinner party, they are stopped by a real barking dog and the majordomo (*atriensis*) together (Petronius 72). This doorkeeper seems to exercise excessive control oddly when the guests attempt to exit, rather than enter, the house. On Trimalchio's house as a labyrinth (and its connections with the underworld), see Bodel 1994.
51. Guest choreography was likely a concern as well, but the focus here is on slaves' lives. See Gallo 1994, 185–97, for a discussion of the last owner and his social standing, although such a precise identification is not necessary for an analysis of the spaces within the house and circulation patterns.
52. It is important to bear in mind that when we look at doorways today, many are modern reconstructions. We have to place some trust in the reconstructions, based on a combination of factors: door widths, mosaic floor designs, thresholds, and fresco remains.
53. Bardelli Mondini (1990, 867–72) identifies this space as a tablinum, but it must have also functioned as a triclinium (there are two recesses in the walls for couches). Gallo identifies the room as a dining room in its last phase, but also raises the possibility that it was used as a tablinum in an earlier phase (1994, 16–17, 44–45). On the fluid use of rooms, see Allison 2004, 161–77; Leach 1997.
54. Bardelli Mondini (1990, 860) identifies room 8 as a possible triclinium, an identification that seems highly problematic, especially given the small size of the room. See Gallo 1994, 14–15, 40–41, who identifies the room as a bedroom.
55. Gallo 1994, 22–23. For an Augustan-Tiberian date of the filling in of the doorway on the south side of room 18, see Gallo 1994, 78.
56. This notion of how low, narrow doorways functioned is akin to Wallace-Hadrill's of how narrow passageways lead to slave spaces (1994, 38ff.); the latter are visible on site plans, whereas the heights of doors are not.
57. On the interpretation of the annex (room 20) as a magazine, given its subdivision into three spaces, and the adjacent space 16 as a space for weaving (based on the extraordinary find of 52 loom weights and 13 spindle whorls in the house), see Gallo 1994, 25, 51, 191. The

- stairs on the north wall of room 20 suggest to Gallo a room above for possibly housing slaves (1994, 24–25, 51, tav. 9D).
58. See Gallo (1994, 17), who makes brief note of the short service door but does extend his analysis further.
 59. On this image, see esp. Clarke 2003, 75–78; Fröhlich 1991, 261; Gallo 1994, 47–50; Giacobello 2008, 156–58.
 60. Cf. Fröhlich (1991, 33), who suggests that children of the family are shown here.
 61. On this house more generally, see Auricchio et al. 2001; Bragantini 2003; de Franciscis 1988.
 62. Although many finds in the house suggest to some that the house was converted to a workshop, see Allison (2006, 337–49), who argues that such a conclusion does not exclude habitation for which there is ample evidence. Also see Laurence (2007, 149) for the suggestion that in this house's final stage, the rooms on the ground floor were rented by several individuals.
 63. Ling 1997, 150–70, 283–89. On the debate about the function of room 8, often cited as a bedroom (*cubiculum*), and possibly later converted to a dining room, see Ling 1997, 152; Foss 1997, 210–11; Kastenmeier 2007, 131.
 64. Ling (1997, 287) notes that the door height leading to the garden is modern, but given its width, we can expect a proportionately taller passageway.
 65. For example, Clarke 1991, 146–63; de Vos 1991; Peters 1993, esp. part 3.
 66. See Foss 1994, 235–41; Kastenmeier 2007, 120–21; and Michel 1990, 26–30, for the kitchen at the House of the Ceii. The ground floor at the House of the Ceii measures c. 287 m², compared to c. 310 m² for the House of the Smith and c. 570 m² for the House of Lucretius Fronto. On the House of the Ceii more generally, see de Vos 1990; Michel 1990. Measurements for the House of Lucretius Fronto are taken from Allison: www.stoa.org/projects/ph/house?id=17 (accessed 11/9/11). Measurements for the House of the Smith are taken from Allison: www.stoa.org/projects/ph/house?id=10 (accessed 11/9/11) and corroborated by Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 193 (contra Kastenmeier's figure of 484 m², which must account for the upper floor [2007, 131]).
 67. On the link between kitchens and latrines, see Jansen 1997, 129.
 68. Foss (1994, 240) believes that this back area was later used primarily for storage; see also Michel 1990, 63–64. On finds from this area, see Allison, <http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/rooms?houseid=4#33> (accessed 11/21/12).
 69. Foss 1994, 239; Michel 1990, 26–30. Also see de Vos (1990, 434), who believes that its simple decoration in an earlier phase points to its use as a room for the doorkeeper prior to its conversion.
 70. The house measures c. 230 m² (Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 204) and is thus a bit tighter than the House of the Ceii. On this house, see Maiuri 1958, 261–65.
 71. The study of upper stories is inhibited by the poor state of preservation. On upper floors, see esp. Andrews 2006 (Herculaneum); Packer 1971 (Ostia); Pirson 1997, 1999 (Herculaneum and Pompeii); Sutherland 1989 (Pompeii); and now Mayer 2012, esp. chs. 2, 3. Also see Allison 2004 (esp. 122, 174) and website (*passim*) on material finds from upstairs that were found on lower floors due to collapsing second stories.
 72. Notable exceptions include Ling 1997 (on the *insula* of the Menander) and the volumes in the Häuser in Pompeji series. Also see DeLaine (1999), who touches upon differing widths and heights of doorways, although she focuses on distinguishing degrees of access among guests and relative strangers.
 73. See Joshel 1992, esp. 163–65, on the rhetoric of active and passive in Roman culture and the ways that slaves could claim through job titles the role of a “doer,” rather than “a passive extension of another's existence” (164).

74. Seneca, *On Anger* 2.25.1, 3.29.1, 3.34.1. Of course with these perceived acts of inattention or disruption (from the slaveholder's perspective) came the very real threat of slave punishment: a flogging, whipping, boxing of the ears, confinement, etc. (on punishment, see n. 41 in this chapter). On slave confinement, see nn. 24 and 26 in Chapter 3.
75. Early studies include Bek 1980; Drerup 1959, followed by Clarke 1991 and Wallace-Hadrill 1994, among others.
76. Ling 1997, 272.
77. Seneca, *On Anger* 2.25.3–4, 3.35.2–3; cf. Seneca, *Moral Letters* 56.7–8; Pliny, *Letters* 2.17.22–24.
78. On the date of the annex (the second phase of the house, 80 BCE to the Augustan age), see Gallo 1994, 73–77. Bardelli Mondini (1990, 861) is more uncertain of the date of the annex, however.
79. On these houses, see Maiuri 1958, 280–302 (Mosaic Atrium); 388–92 (Alcove); 384–88 (Beautiful Courtyard); 261–65 (Corinthian Atrium).
80. Although the secondary atrium or slave quarters of this house have received scholarly attention, discussions focus on the viewpoint of the owner and his intentions in decorating this space. On the slave quarters and its decoration, see esp. Clarke 1991, 220–21, and 1998, 169–77; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 39–41. On the lararium painting, see esp. Fröhlich 1991, 93ff., 279; Giacobello 2008, 90, 180–82.
81. Both are episodes in which Trimalchio gets to perform the role of master. For the clumsiness of domestic slaves, see also Horace, *Satires* 2.8.72; Juvenal 11.19; Ovid, *Amores* 1.11.12; Petronius 34.2.
82. For complaints about the negligence of slaves, see Columella 1.7.5; *Digest* 17.2.23.1, 47.4.1.2; Martial 12.87; Petronius 49.7.
83. There are exceptions, to be sure, such as at the service quarters at the House of the Menander, the House of the Vettii, and the House of the Labyrinth (VI.11.9–10), among others. See discussion in the early section of this chapter, along with George 1997b; Kastenmeier 2007.
84. See esp. Kampen 1982, 69ff.
85. See Jansen 1997, 127–31, on water taken from domestic basins to be used in kitchens and latrines. Also see Jansen et al. 2011, esp. ch. 6. For the evidence of the utilitarian activities that took place in peristyles, see Allison 2004, 84–90. On the water basins in the House of the Menander, see Ling 1997, 52 (atrium), 69–72 (peristyle), 103 (kitchen garden water tank, later dismantled), 123 (stable yard and room 44).
86. *Digest* 7.8.12.6, 24.1.31. On the problems of reading the Pompeian material evidence of weaving (e.g., loom weights and spindle whorls) as a domestic enterprise versus a commercial one, see Allison 2004, esp. 146–48; Jongman 1988, 161–65. Of a rather large and exceptional scale are the 52 loom weights found in room 17 (the kitchen) at the House of Sutoria Primigenia, despite the relatively small scale of the house itself (Gallo 1994, 191). Two other Pompeian houses were excavated with a large number of loom weights: the House of the Prince of Naples (VI.15.8) and house I.10.8 (discussed in Ling 1997, 180–81, esp. n. 22). The evidence from Herculaneum is equally difficult to assess: see Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 201 (House of the Loom, V.3.4); and 2011, 83 (the so-called shop of the weaving girl).
87. For the general complaints of slave laziness, cf. Introduction.
88. Cf. Introduction on the ways in which such private spaces can become a type of confinement (per Grahame 1997, 146).
89. On slaves hiding out and hiding other slaves, see *Digest* 11.3.2 and 5, 11.4.1.1–3, 21.1.17.4, 48.15.3, 48.15.5. Further discussion appears in the next chapter.
90. Allison 2004, website; also Kastenmeier 2007.

91. According to Allison, there were “wooden shelves along the east and north walls. The finds included two small lock plates with tongues, a large marble mortar reportedly for grinding pigments, a bronze jug, and a bronze strigil” (<http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/rooms?houseid=21#453>; accessed 1/17/13). Room *L* may have also served as a convenient hiding place, although the presence of toilet articles and a cistern head in the southwest corner (see Allison cited above) may indicate something more than another storeroom, a place to wash up, perhaps. However, see Powers 2011, 11–14, for the provocative notion that two slabs of obsidian placed on the east wall of the peristyle allowed the owner to see himself or herself in the reflection (thus functioning as a type of mirror), along with activities in the peristyle, to which we might add the movements of slaves along the western section (where the service and kitchen area is located).
92. On these storage spaces at the House of the Ccii, see esp. Allison, <http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/rooms?houseid=4> (accessed 11/29/12); Foss 1994, 240; Michel 1990, 50–52, 63–64.
93. On the material found in this recess, which seems to have included pieces of a harness and bridles, see Allison, <http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/rooms?houseid=18#372> (accessed 1/17/13).
94. On this space, see Allison, <http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/rooms?houseid=15#790> (accessed 11/27/12). For a discussion of the house in its last phase and problems of interpretation, see Laurence 2007, 146–49.
95. Although no finds have been discovered in this presumed storage space beneath the stairs, see Allison, <http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/rooms?houseid=17#368> (accessed 1/17/13).
96. Dexter 1975, 44–45.
97. For a description of this space, see Strocka 1991, 19–20.
98. See Webster 2005, 166–68, for a thoughtful critique of the identification of the underground chambers as “cellars.” See also Kastenmeier 2007, esp. figs. 16–17, for a list of Pompeian houses with subterranean rooms, most of which are of unspecified use.
99. Allison’s work deals with storage spaces on the ground and upper floors but less so with underground spaces (2004). On servile underground spaces, see Basso 2003; George 1997b, 19, n. 23.
100. On petty thievery, see *Digest* 9.4.38, 10.4.16, 13.6.20, 40.7.40, 47.2.57.5, 48.19.11.1; Horace, *Satires* 2.7.74, 109–110. On taking away leftovers from the banquet: Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 10.13; Horace, *Satires* 1.3.80–81; cf. Seneca, *Moral Letters* 47.5–6, and the behavior of the miser and glutton who scarfs up all the food and scraps at a dinner party and then the next day sells them (Martial 7.20). For the slaves who take a taste of the dishes served and their punishment, see Horace, *Satires* 1.3.80–81; Juvenal 9.5. Cf. the presumed practice that slaves were *given* leftovers after the banquet: Petronius 67.2, and Seneca, *Moral Letters* 77.8; for discussion, see D’Arms 1991.
101. Cf. Camp 2004, 69. On the silver from the House of the Menander, see Allison 2006, 89–94; Maiuri 1933.
102. Such as the bronze lantern decorated with three fish spine chains (MANN inv. 2174/1900) found in the House of Lucretius Fronto, in room *n* adjacent to the kitchen (and accessible through a window on the east wall); Peters 1993, 395–96.
103. On interpretative schemes for images at the House of the Vettii, see most recently Severy-Hoven 2012.
104. The primary source for Pompeian graffiti is *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions (CIL)* 4. The secondary sources on Pompeian graffiti are vast. See esp. Benefiel 2010, 2011; Franklin 1991; Kellum 1999; Levin-Richardson 2011; Mouritsen, forthcoming.

105. Benefiel 2010, 59–60, esp. nn. 3–4 for bibliography. Also see Benefiel 2011.
106. On the question of Greek names as indicative of servile origins, see Bruun 2013; Solin 1996; cf. Benefiel 2011, 26, who also cites Allison (2001).
107. This observation accords with many Pompeian houses (Benefiel 2011, 30). For a detailed study of the graffiti in another large residence, the House of Maius Castricius (VII.16. Ins.Occ.17) at Pompeii, see Benefiel 2010 (esp. fig. 11). On the graffiti from the peristyle at the House of the Gilded Cupids, see *CIL* 4.6828–6837; 7096–7098 (from Seiler 1992, 48–49).
108. *CIL* 4.6829 appears on the column in the northeast corner of the peristyle; 6834 on the south pilaster supporting the aedicula (before room *O*); 6832 on the column at the northwest corner. See also Sogliano (*Notizie degli Scavi* 1907, 551–53), who reads 6834 as CIRRIIVS.
109. *CIL* 4.6833 appears on the north pilaster of the aedicula; 6837 on the column in front of room *G*. See *Notizie degli Scavi* 1907, 551–53. For a picture of the gladiator accompanying 6833, see Seiler 1992, 48–49 (and fig. 44). On the popularity of gladiators at Pompeii, see esp. Cooley and Cooley 2004, 44–66; Jacobelli 2003.
110. See *CIL* 4.6828–6837; 7096–7098; *Notizie degli Scavi* 1907, 551–53.
111. It appears that there was not a niche shrine in the kitchen area, suggesting the use of the one in the peristyle on a regular basis. On Pompeian domestic shrines, see esp. Boyce 1937; Foss 1997; Fröhlich 1991; Giacobello 2008; Herring–Harrington 2011; Tybout 1996.
112. See also Gallo 1994, 105, 107–8 (no. 25).
113. An alternative reading of the inscription is that Theodorus was a chief officer of a household *collegium* (or association).
114. Most notably, Allison 2004; Bonini and dal Porto 2003; George 1997b; Kastenmeier 2007; Salza Prina Ricotti 1982. On various kitchen features, see Kastenmeier 2007, 58–61.
115. Although Pia Kastenmeier’s work (2007), along with Penelope Allison’s (2004), is quite expansive in thinking about work spaces.
116. The window that connects to the adjacent room (*n*) from the kitchen is a bit odd but would not have provided much light to the kitchen.
117. Fröhlich 1991, 258–59; Menotti 1990.
118. There is also a large loft in the room adjacent to the kitchen at the House of the Ship Europa (I.15.3–4, 6) at Pompeii (see Fig. 85). See George 1997b, 19, on the places for storing objects and housing slaves as the same, but in an underground context; in the villa, see Marzano 2007, 136.
119. Jansen 1997, 128. For a description of the Samnite House, see Maiuri 1958, 197–206.
120. Contra Bradley (2002, 35–37), who suggests that the Romans were acclimated to the smell of urine and that its offensiveness was perhaps more culturally constructed than real.
121. For example, in Clarke’s discussion of the House of the Muses at Ostia, the focus is on wall paintings and especially mosaics (1991, fig. 163). The cooktop in the kitchen (3) is erased from his plan, despite its appearance in Calza 1953, plan 6.
122. On slave sociability, see esp. Flory 1978; Joshel 1992, esp. ch. 4; Treggiari 1975a.
123. See Ling 1997, 278, with bibliography (his room 27).
124. On domestic shrines and their social aspects, see Boyce 1937; Foss 1997; Fröhlich 1991; Giacobello 2008; Tybout 1996.
125. For a description of the house, see Maiuri 1958, 377–83.
126. The issue of who occupied the upstairs of any given house remains largely unanswerable at present, due to the relatively poor state of preservation. Scholars have surmised that slaves occupied the upper stories of houses, on account of a lack of direct evidence for them

occupying the lower floors to sleep, except for slave quarters, where they can be securely identified. Part of the reasoning is the existence of fine decoration in rooms on the ground floor – too fine for slave occupation. Additionally, stairs can be found in service areas, as with here and in the House of the Corinthian Atrium, House of the Vettii, House of the Gilded Cupids, among others, which may be of mere convenience for the owner, so that stairs do not interfere with reception spaces and views; contra the House of Lucretius Fronto, where one set of stairs is outside the service area and visible to anyone passing through to the garden area. But this line of reasoning further disappears slaves, by putting them in spaces that are for the most part no longer present. Moreover, it is important to bear in mind that some of these upper-floor spaces are finely decorated. At the House of the Four Styles at Pompeii, four small, painted rooms survive above the triclinium in the northwest corner of the atrium, and Anna Gallo ascribes these rooms to slaves because of the small size despite the decoration (1989, 10). A similar pattern exists at the House of the Smith at the front of the house, above the rooms along the west side. On upper stories, see n. 71 in this chapter. Also see George 1997b on slaves sleeping at their master's feet and attending to free members of the household.

127. Hobson 2009, 278, although the remains seem to be no longer intact.
128. On this shrine and its contiguous space, see n. 80 in this chapter.
129. These upper-story rooms seem to have been painted simply and possessed only modest finds. See Allison, <http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/rooms?houseid=15> (accessed 11/29/12).
130. Allison, <http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/rooms?houseid=15> (accessed 11/29/12). It should be noted that the upstairs rooms at the very front preserved few traces of decoration and objects, making interpretation difficult. Upstairs rooms closer to court *O*, however, seem to have been used for storage.

CHAPTER 3. SLAVES IN THE CITY STREETS

1. Cited in Wallace-Hadrill 2008b, 90. On this tile and bibliography, see esp. Mullen 2011, 532–35; Wallace-Hadrill 2008b, 90–92.
2. Although see now Kaiser 2011b, 106–39; Stöger 2011.
3. The more extensive studies on Pompeian streets are: Gesemann 1996; Hartnett 2003. On street ruts and cart activity, see most notably Kaiser 2011a; Poehler 2006; Tsujimara 1991; van Tilburg 2007, esp. 137–43. For the quantification of street activity, see, for example, Ellis 2004; Hartnett 2008; Kaiser 2011c; Laurence 2007, 102–16; Poehler 2011; van Nes 2011. On street facades, see esp. Franklin 1980, 2001; Fröhlich 1991, 48–55, 306–41; Gesemann 1996; Mouritsen 1988.
4. There is considerable overlap with these various approaches. On fictional accounts, see Favro 1996, 24–41, 252–80; Hopkins 1999, 7–45. On ambulatory contexts of seeing and reading, see esp. Kellum 1999. For the sensorial, phenomenological, and social dimensions of streets, consult Beard 2008, 53–80 (also with an ample bibliography on street life at Pompeii, 322–23); Betts 2011; Hartnett 2003 and 2011; Poehler 2011. On streets and dirt, see Bradley 2002, esp. 30–35; Dupré Raventós and Remolà 2000; Scobie 1986. For a good synthesis of the state of research, see Newsome 2011. On moral zoning (now dated), see Wallace-Hadrill 1995; Laurence 2007, 82–101; for a critique of this approach, see DeFelice 2001, 129–40.
5. On the related topic, movement as a social practice, see most recently Newsome 2011, 5–6.
6. Kaiser 2011b; Laurence and Newsome 2011; now see O'Sullivan 2011 for observations on walking slaves in Roman culture.

7. *Digest* 11.4; cf. see *Digest* 1.15.4 (on hunting down slaves); 11.3.1.2, 11.3.5, 12.5.4.4, 19.5.15 (harboring or helping fugitives). See Bellen 1967, 1971; Daube 1952.
8. For accounts of street maintenance in Rome and other cities, see Kaiser 2011b, esp. 16–46, 67–105 (Pompeii); van Tilburg 2007, 32–39.
9. See also the *Tabula Heracleensis* (*CIL* 12.593); Crawford 1996, 355–91.
10. On this fresco and relevant bibliography, see Clarke 2003, 87–94; Fröhlich 1991, 332–33; Hartnett 2011, 140–41; Potts 2009.
11. The *Megalesia* was celebrated April 4–10, at which time sanctuaries to Cybele were open to the public. Celebrations and processions among initiates began in March (Turcan 1996, 28–74). On the processions as spectacles, see Beard et al. 1998, vol. 1, 96–98; vol. 2, 133–34.
12. Clarke 2003, 85–87; Fröhlich 1991, 319–20.
13. On the so-called bread-dole fresco, see Clarke 2003, 259–61; Fröhlich 1991, 236–41. On the reliefs of shop vendors, see Kampen 1981.
14. On street activity surrounding such stalls, see Macaulay-Lewis 2011, 266–72. On shopping more generally, see now Holleran 2012, esp. chs. 4–5.
15. For example, Clarke 2003, 152–58; Fröhlich 1991, 241–47.
16. On the frescoes, Beard 2008, 72–78; Clarke 2003, 96–98; Nappo 1989; Sampaolo 1991.
17. On the emptying of slop basins, or chamber pots, into the streets from floors above, see Juvenal 3.276–77. On streets as sites of filth, see Beard 2008, 55–56; Scobie 1986.
18. In the latter two cases the text is not explicit as to whether these activities took place in the streets or elsewhere. For slaves in the streets in Plautus, see *Casina*, 90ff., *Curculio* iff. (at night), *Epidicus* iff., and *Menaechmi* 273ff.
19. Cf. Tacitus, *Annals* 13.27 on freed slaves; on the topic of slave and free dress, see Petersen 2009.
20. For the stereotype of the running slave, see Plautus, *Captives* 778–79, *The Merchant* 111–19, *Poenulus* 522–23, and *Stichus* 274–87; Quintilian, *Institutes* 11.3.112.
21. For all legal aspects of flight, see *Digest* 11.4; also see *Digest* 21.1 passim. On flight and fugitives, see Bellen 1971; Bradley 1994, 118–30; Daube 1952; and now Fuhrmann 2012, 21–43.
22. See also Bradley 1987, 113–37; Kamen 2010.
23. For a discussion of this device and others, see Thompson 1993, 128–31.
24. Cf. Chapter 5, n. 29. Columella (1.6.3) discusses the purpose-built *ergastula*, but these are difficult to identify in the archaeological record.
25. See George 2007, 543 and n. 16, with references.
26. On the scholarly tendency of calling subterranean rooms “cellars” in villa contexts rather than looking for evidence of *ergastula*, see Webster 2005, 166–68. On underground rooms at Pompeii and elsewhere, and the problems of identifying them as slave quarters or prisons, see Basso 2003. Also see house VII.12.29 at Pompeii, which may have had a type of prison, but this notion is rarely discussed. See Fiorelli’s notes published in Pappalardo 2001, 113–14.
27. The marking or tattooing of the face or head of runaway slaves was also a common practice, but one known only through the literary sources, since there are no actual bodies (or visual images of slave markings). These marks were likely a simple “F” on the forehead (for *fugī*: “I have run away”). On tattoos, see Jones 1987; Kamen 2010, 96–103; Thompson 2003, 241–42. Much later in date (4th–6th century) than the remains from the cities of Vesuvius are the inscribed slave collars that served as a visible marker of the slave’s status – that is, as a slave *and* as a runaway (*CIL* 15.7171–7199). Collars were individually inscribed, but a formulaic message predominates: in effect, “Catch me. I have run away. Take me back to my master.” See Kamen 2010; Thompson 2003, 238–40; Thurmond 1994.

28. See esp. *Digest* 1.15.4, 11.4, on the capture and detention of fugitive slaves.
29. Fuhrmann 2012, 32, n. 39; also see Wallace 2005, 94, no. 206. Cf. *CIL* 4.4257 (*vicinos fugitivos*).
30. Wallace (2005, 94, no. 206) seems to misidentify *CIL* 4.5214 as coming from IX.7.3–6, which is the largely unexcavated area along Via dell'Abbondanza.
31. On front doors, see, for example, Clarke 1991, 2–6, 12–17; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 44–45.
32. On the doors at 16 and 15 respectively, see Ling 1997, 138–39, 317–20 and 114, 314–15.
33. For a discussion of the room at the back door, see Allison, <http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/rooms?houseid=17#363>.
34. For a recent assessment of the latrine area, see Guidobaldi et al. 2006, 8–11.
35. Laurence 2007, 39–61; see also Lott 2004, for an important study on shrines and neighborhoods.
36. See Hodge 1996; Jansen 1997, esp. 129–30, and 2001; Jones and Robinson 2005. See also Laurence (2007, 45–49) for a succinct discussion on how wells and cisterns fell out of favor with the introduction of the aqueduct and public fountains beginning in the Augustan era.
37. Kaiser 2011a; Laurence 2007, map 3.7; Poehler 2006 – all of which are based on Tsujimura 1991.
38. But see Poehler (2006, esp. fig. 29), who identifies these streets as once open to one-way traffic; the road blocks were added at the southern end of Vicolo del Labirinto and Vicolo del Fauno, in addition to the impediment at the intersection of Vicolo del Fauno and Vicolo di Mercurio (as per Laurence 2007, map.3.5, taken from Tsujimura 1991, 63), although the two on Vicolo del Fauno are no longer in situ.
39. For a somewhat analogous situation, see Petersen (1997), who discusses opportunities for female sociability at fountain houses in ancient Greece.
40. On the terminology used to describe food-and-drink establishments (*popina*, *thermopolium*, and *caupona*) and for relevant bibliography, see DeFelice 2001, 2007; Ellis 2004; Kleberg 1957; Laurence 2007; Monteix 2007. We use *popina* to mean bar or tavern and consider only spaces identified as bars or taverns where counters survive; many other eating and drinking establishments existed, but they may not be visible archaeologically.
41. Since there is only a single room, it unlikely that individuals entered the bar per se; however, the bar does connect with the residence at VI.13.16. On this venue, see DeFelice 2001, 250–51. A sign from elsewhere in Pompeii suggests that loitering on the street posed a problem for property owners: “This is no place for idlers, move along loiterer” (*otiosus locus hic non est, discede morator*) (*CIL* 4.813; see Kaiser 2011a, 189 n. 74).
42. See Laurence (2007, 154–66) on the regimes of time and space from the slaveholder’s perspective.
43. On the Caupona of the Street of Mercury, see Clarke 1998, 206–12.
44. For a discussion of the elite’s perspective on taverns, see DeFelice 2001, 141–56. On prostitution, often connected with bars, see esp. DeFelice 2001, passim; McGinn 2002, 2004 (for an assessment of McGinn 2002, see Laurence 2007, 82–101).
45. Also see *Digest* 47.10.26: a *paterfamilias* can be considered insulted if someone takes his slave (or son) to a cookshop or plays dice with him with the intent to insult the master (father).
46. For descriptions of these taverns, see the appendix in DeFelice 2001.
47. See Eschebach’s plan for the relative width of sidewalks (1970); also see Hartnett 2011 for a discussion of sidewalk widths at Pompeii.
48. According to Poehler (2011), this stable is not categorized as a transport property, meaning that the stable does not seem to possess a ramp for carts (see table 8.2 for examples of transport properties at Pompeii). It was therefore likely to have been a stable in the service of the bakeries next door. A more extended discussion of donkeys and bakeries appears in Chapter 4.

49. On wastewater run-off of this fullery, see Moeller 1976, 49–50.
50. This notion is especially true for the houses along the eastern side of insula VI.15, all of which opened onto Vicolo dei Vettii. In contrast, a smaller number of houses on the western side of insula VI.16 opened onto the same street, along with some back doors to houses.
51. On street shrines, see Fröhlich 1991 (painting); Herring-Harrington 2011 (Pompeii); Laurence 2007, esp. 39–45 (Pompeian shrines and neighborhoods); Lott 2004 (Rome); van Andringa 2000 (Pompeii).
52. The unexcavated area south and southeast of the House of the Menander hampers a thorough analysis of movement along streets in the vicinity of the house. In addition, as Laurence indicates, many of the streets in the area (regiones I and II) have not been assessed for wheeled traffic on account of missing data (2007, 54).
53. Water was collected with catch basins and cisterns, hardly suitable for drinking water after the introduction of public fountains. See Ling 1997, 52, 69–72 (esp. 69, n. 68), 123.
54. See Ling (1997, 41–42) for the identification of this space as a food-and-drink establishment.
55. For a discussion of this underground space, see Ehrhardt 1998, esp. 110–13; George 1997b, 19; Kastenmeier 2007, 121–23 and fig. 16; *Notizie degli Scavi* 1929, 389–91.
56. On private property and the ability of an owner to block a road, see Kaiser 2011a. The current gate near the back of the House of Paquius Proculus is a modern reconstruction; see Ehrhardt (1998, 22–24, esp. n. 33) for discussion.
57. For a more thorough discussion and presentation of the primary sources, see Hartnett 2008, 105–7.
58. On the development of this area (regio II), see Gesemann 1996, 277–87.
59. Tsujimura 1991 (and Laurence 2007, 54, on the missing data).
60. The number of bars is based on the presence of counters for selling food and drink. There may have been more. For the distribution of fountains, see Laurence 2007, map 3.2. For *popinae*, see Laurence 2007, map 5.4, although we differ slightly from his accounting of the location of bars. Also see DeFelice 2001, app.; Ellis 2004, table 1 and fig. 2.
61. The term “deviant” is very problematic and is used here only to express an elite point of view. For a good critique of this term, see Ellis 2004, 372–73.
62. See Stefani 2005, 102, 103, n. 41.
63. See also Ellis 2004, 373–75.
64. On the location of the bars, see Ellis 2004, table 1 and fig. 2; Laurence 2007, maps 5.3–4.
65. See Ellis 2004 for a viewshed analysis of bars, and, more recently, 2011.
66. Other nearby, independent staircases feeding onto streets include I.2.14 and I.2.26. Slaves moving along Via di Castricio could also duck into the staircase at I.16.1 (still largely extant).
67. On upper stories, see Andrews 2006; Mayer 2012, chs. 2–3; Pirson 1997, 1999; cf. Chapter 2.
68. Although it was once thought that vehicles were prohibited on the streets during the day at Pompeii, recent work has questioned this assumption: see Hartnett 2003, 27; Kaiser 2011a, 174–75.
69. Cf. Martial 8.75: at night four branded slaves bear a corpse of low degree (*quattor inscripti portabant vile cadaver*).
70. *Digest* 9.2.52.1; Juvenal 3.278ff.; Martial 8.75; Petronius 79, 95.1, 96.4–5.
71. The remains of locking features at the front door of the House of the Smith, for example, along with episodes recounted by jurists (*Digest* 21.1.17.15), indicate as much.
72. On these frescoes, see esp. Clarke 1998, 206–12 (Mercury); Clarke 2003, 161–70 (Salvius); Fröhlich 1991, 211–14 (Salvius), 214–22 (Mercury).
73. Clarke 2003, 167.

74. On the topic of second stories, n. 67 in this chapter.
75. To this discussion of domestic slaves, we could add slave peddlers who moved around streets, forming relations with slaves in households where they sold their goods, and maybe bringing messages: see *Digest* 14.3.5.

CHAPTER 4. SLAVES IN THE WORKSHOP

1. For the configuration and archaeological features of various kinds of shops and workshops, see Borgard et al. 2003; DeLaine 2005; Ellis 2004, 2011; Flohr 2007b; La Torre 1988; Laurence 2007, 62–81; Mac Mahon and Price 2005; Monteix 2010. On the fulleries of Pompeii, see Flohr 2005b, 2007a, 2008, 2011a; Flohr's *The World of the Roman Fullo: Work, Economy, and Society in Roman Italy* (Oxford, 2013) came out just as this book was going into production.
2. Bars, brothels, dye shops, and wool-treatment workshops, too, are marked in the archaeological record: DeFelice 2001; Ellis 2004, 2011; Kleberg 1957; La Torre 1988; McGinn 2002; Moeller 1966, 1976; Monteix 2010. On metal workshops, see Grafals 1988.
3. See Joshel 1992, 100–12.
4. See Kampen 1981; Zimmer 1982.
5. On occupational inscriptions in Rome, see Joshel 1992; outside Rome, Mouritsen 2001; on *programmata*, see Franklin 1980, Mouritsen 1988; for a general overview of inscriptions at Pompeii, see Franklin 2007.
6. Flohr 2009, 174–75. Collections of sites: DeFelice 2001; Mayeske 1972; Moeller 1976. Distribution: Laurence 2007, 62–81. Robinson (2005) tries to identify the owners; cf. Flohr 2007b, 130.
7. See esp. Flohr 2007b, 2009, 2011b. For attempts to systematize and ground the ways we identify particular workshops, see also Benton 2011; Bradley 2002; Monteix 2010.
8. Carocci et al. 1990, 19–56; Mau 1899, 388–89; Overbeck and Mau 1884, 386–87.
9. Slaves as laborers and *instrumentum*, see, for example, *Digest* 6.1.28 and 31, 14.4.1.1, 16.3.1.9, 17.1.26.8, 19.2.13.5, 33.7.15, 33.7.19.1, 34.5.28, 36.1.82.12.
10. Slaves rented out: *Digest* 19.2.45 and 48, 32.1.73.3.
11. See, for example, *Digest* 19.2.13.4.
12. Robaye (1991, 133) has noted that fullers and tailors are cited systematically where the legal question is the responsibility of artisans and businessmen.
13. Examples of fulleries and bakeries *in atrium* houses at Pompeii include separate rooms apparently devoted to the owner's social activities, including dining: see, for example, the Fullery of Stephanus (I.6.7), Fullery of Veranius Hypsaeus (VI.8.20–21), Fullery of Vesonius Primus (VI.14.21–22), House of the Baker (VI.3.3, 27). In the Casa del Forno (I.12.1–2) and House and Bakery of Terentius Neo (VII.2.3, 6), bakeries *and atrium* houses, the means of access to the house from the bakery made the boundaries of house and workshop porous; cf. the bakery off the service area of the House of the Labyrinth (VI.11.9–10). For workshops larger than *tabernae* adjacent but not connected to large atrium houses and purpose-built, see, for example, n. 23 in this chapter.
14. Pirson 1999; however, note the power of the landlord over tenants (Frier 1980, chs. 1–2, esp. 26–34, 121–22). Cf. Robinson 2005 with Flohr's critique 2007b, 130. Robinson assumes proximity equals social and economic control. Interestingly, there are several cases of small fulleries in the same insula as large atrium houses without direct entry into the house: I.10.5–6; VI.15.3; VI.16.6. On this topic, see now Mayer 2012, esp. chs. 1–3.

15. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 9.14, 22–30; cf. van Nijf 1997, 22. Dinner parties at the baker's house and at the fuller's seem to take place in or near the work space: the baker's wife hides her lover in a wooden tub used for sifting (9.23), and the fuller's wife hides her lover beneath the wicker frame used for treating clothes with sulphur fumes (9.24).
16. Ridicule: see Joshel 1992, 63–69. Men with property (including slaves) and the law: Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 9.12, 30; *Digest* 4.9.1.5, 12.7.2, 14.3.5.9–10, 19.2.13.6, 33.7.15 and 19, 47.2.12, 83, and 91.
17. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 7.15, 9.12–13; Cicero, *Letters to Quintus* 1.2.14; *Digest* 16.3.1.9; Plautus, *Asinaria* 708–9, *Bacchides* 2, 781, *Epidicus* 145, *Menaechmi* 970, *Mostellaria* 17ff., *Persae* 22, *Poenulus* 1152, and *Pseudolus* 494, 500, 534, 1060, 1100; Pliny, *Letters* 10.74.1.
18. On the Tomb of Eurysaces and the frieze, see Ciancio Rossetto 1973; Petersen 2003, 2006, 84–120. On the representation of baking, see Benton 2011; Ciancio Rossetto 1973, 41–53; Curtis 2001, 358–67; Wilson and Schörle 2009. On baking, see also Mayeske 1972, 1–55; Monteix 2010, 133–61.
19. Benton 2011 calls them a *chaîne d'opérateur*.
20. On mills, see Moritz 1958, 62–102; Peacock 1980, 1986, 1989. On Eurysaces' frieze, the two donkeys move in opposite directions. In Pompeian bakeries this setup took advantage of the restricted space between mills (and between mills and the wall); on the spacing of mills at Pompeii, see Mayeske 1972, 19; Monteix 2010, 142.
21. On ovens at Pompeii, see Mayeske 1972, 23–27. The frieze is incomplete on this side; a leg appearing between the legs of the baker who is still visible may indicate that there was another baker and oven.
22. To present a linear order of production, discussions of commercial bread making do not move around the tomb; rather, as here, they jump from south to north to west.
23. In addition, elsewhere at Pompeii, there are bakeries next to or in the same insula as large atrium houses; however, they have no door that opens directly into the house (VI.2.6; VI.6.4–5). Other bakeries have no connection or proximity to atrium houses and in some cases were purpose-built (I.3.27; I.4.12–13, 16–17; VII. 2.22). On bakeries at Pompeii, see Benton 2011; Mayeske 1972, 1988; Monteix 2009; Monteix et al. 2009, 2010, 2011.
24. On the atrium and alterations to it, see Carocci et al. 1990, 28–32.
25. Mazois 1824–38, vol. 2, tav. 17, fig. 1; Carocci et al. 1990, 43.
26. It is difficult to believe that grinding and sieving took place in the open air. Rain would have made work impossible (Bakker 1999, 57).
27. Boyce 1937, no. 149; Carocci et al. 1990, 43; Fröhlich 1991, L59; Mazois 1824–38, vol. 2, 59–60 and tav. 19.
28. On Mazois's plan (1824–38, vol. 2, tav. 18, fig. 1), but now there are only two stone supports. Mazois also shows a *vaschetta* (small basin) for water along the wall near the oven, still visible in Fiorelli's time, and now completely gone (Carocci et al. 1990, 42).
29. Fiorelli (1875, 92) sees it as a storeroom for grain.
30. See Carocci et al. 1990, 21–26, for the report of finds from 1809–10 (Fiorelli, 1860–64, vol. 2, 23–27, 36–40, 236–37): there were many items of cookware in the spaces around the mill yard (Fiorelli 1860–64, vol. 2, 23). On the finds in the House of the Menander and the House of the Gilded Cupids, see Allison 2006 and <http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/house?id=9> and [id=21](http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/house?id=21); Powers 2006, 37–44 and app. Cf. Flohr 2007b, 138, nn. 54–55.
31. Carocci et al. 1990, 34, with references to older material.
32. Cf. Carocci et al. 1990, 34; Flohr 2011c, 89–94. Other bakeries had connections to atrium houses (e.g., I.12.1–2; VI.11.9; VII.2.3, 6) where, however porous the house, there were clear distinctions between the bakery per se and the living quarters of the apparent owners.

33. It is difficult to imagine that one worker both directed the donkey and gathered up the flour, so we assume that this meant a division between those who guided the donkey and filled the *catillus* (the top cone of the mill) with grain and others who gathered up the flour.
34. A position near the large back door in the mill room would have given the owner an even more encompassing view, although one more limited in terms of activity in the front part of the house.
35. On activities involved in fulling, see Bradley 2002; Flohr 2005a; Moeller 1976, 19–26.
36. Even if the finishers were at the top of the hierarchy, they still endured harsh working conditions for some tasks (contra Flohr 2011b, 96). At least, Apuleius’s description of the lover of the fuller’s wife, whom she hides under the wicker frame for treating cloth with sulphur fumes, indicates the discomfort for the person who worked with it (*Metamorphoses* 9.24). For the physical rigors of fulling in general, see Bradley 2002.
37. See Chapter 5. For notions of time and tasks in the agronomists, see, for example, Cato, *On Agriculture* 1.2.1–2; Varro, *On Agriculture* 1.10.1–2, 1.18. For Roman attention to time, see Pliny, *Natural History* 7.212–15; Vitruvius, *On Architecture* 9.8. See also n. 38 in this chapter.
38. Beyond the measurement of work in *operae* and what counts as a day’s work, *Digest* 38.1.3.
39. On changes to the tablinum (*G*), see Carocci et al. 1990, 37–38.
40. Douglass 1962 [1892], 122; Covey tried to surprise his slaves at work by sneaking up on them.
41. See n. 17 in this chapter.
42. To which we should add the aroma of donkey excrement. On roofs, see n. 26 in this chapter.
43. The relief from the Vigna delle Tre Madonne, currently in the Museo Chiaramonti, shows two horse-driven mills and above them is a lamp; see Zimmer 1982, 112–13 (no. 23).
44. Thompson 1993, 128–31, 142, and 2003, 232–33. If only iron pieces of manacles and fetters remained, they would be difficult to recognize.
45. Unlike some types of shackles that permitted limited movement, the stocks, which held multiple slaves, were attached to the floor (Thompson 1993, 128–31).
46. Columella (1.9.4) assumes this sort of fettering for the vineyard worker.
47. For examples of charges, see *Digest* 11.3.1.5, 21.1.1.9 and 11, 21.1.3, 21.1.18.
48. Two frescoes from elsewhere in Pompeii are suggestive about the use of the mill yard outside of work hours. Each depicts the Vestalia, a festival celebrated especially by bakers in honor of Vesta: cupids, who stand in for workers, and donkeys take their ease in the mill room, as indicated by the presence of the mills in these paintings. One is in the large reception or dining room in the House of the Vettii (VI.15.1, 27; see Mau 1899, fig. 170), and the other, in the Macellum (VII.9.7, 8), currently exists only as a drawing (see Blümner 1912, vol. 1, fig. 23). Although these are holiday scenarios and representations commissioned by slave owners, they raise questions of how and if slaves occupied the space of the workshop when they were not at work.
49. For other trades in Rome we have groups of *colliberti* (fellow ex-slaves) in epitaphs, who act together or were buried together: see Joshel 1992, 131–35. Of the thirty-six bakers in readable epitaphs in Italy, we find fifteen slaves, thirteen freedmen, seven *incerti* (free persons of uncertain status), and one freeborn man. Of these, at least twelve were attached to large domestic households (and two others to the imperial household), and so, we would assume, worked in that context. In two instances we have evidence of comradery at least at death: in one case, two slaves (*CIL* 6.6687), fellow slaves and bakers, were buried together, and in another (*CIL* 6.13406), two bakers with the same nomen, one identified as freed slave and the other without status identification, appear together.

50. Bakeries in Pompeii that had or seem likely to have had stables: I.3.27; I.4.12–13, 17; I.12.1–2; V.3.8; VI.3.3, 27; VI.11.9; VI.14.31–33; VII.1.36–37; VII.2.3, 6; VII.12.11; VIII.4.26–29; IX.3.10–12; IX.3.19–20.
51. Bradley’s point is more complex: he argues that the novel also “reveals the limits of how far manipulation of the slave could be taken” (2000, 113).
52. Like the slaves of literature and law, Lucius the ass flees or acts the truant; he “dishonestly” pretends to be hurt or feigns ignorance or illness (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 4.4–5, 6.27, 6.30, 6.31, 9.1, 9.11). On the Greek use, assigned roles, and cultural valuation of donkeys (and their servile associations), see Griffith 2006, 205–29.
53. Solin and Itkonen-Kaila 1966, 223, 289; Blümner 1912, vol. 1, fig. 22.
54. Cf. Phaedrus’s fable of the donkey and the old man (1.15) whose lesson warns that for the poor (or those without power) nothing changes but the identity of master: n. 65 in this chapter.
55. Other slaves who wrote the graffiti here used donkeys to tell jokes. The most famous graffiti was the crucifixion of a donkey-headed man captioned “Alexamenos adores [his] god”: the donkey becomes part of the joke and a way to ridicule Christianity. See n. 53 in this chapter.
56. On the arrangement of mill and donkey, cf. Moritz 1958, 15.
57. For the scholarship on Phaedrus up to 2005, see Champlin 2005, n. 2.
58. Cf. Champlin (2005, 97–108) and Henderson (2001, 57–92) on this passage and the autobiography Phaedrus creates in his fables; for Phaedrus’s status marked as “servile or libertine,” see Bloomer 1997, 75. For the fable as the genre of slaves and ex-slaves, see Bloomer 1997; Forsdyke 2012, 62–63; Marchesi 2005. On fables and political power, see Patterson 1991.
59. Scott contends that euphemism is “an accurate way to describe what happens to a hidden transcript when it is expressed in a power-laden situation by an actor who wishes to avoid sanctions that direct statement will bring” (1990, 152).
60. Phaedrus on his relation to Aesop: 1.Prologue; 2.Prologue; 3.Prologue.29, 38–40; 4. Prologue.10–12; 4.7.5; 4.22.3–4; 5.Prologue.1–2. Phaedrus on his own telling and craft: 1. Prologue; 2.Prologue; 3.Prologue.38–40; 4.2; 4.22.6–9.
61. It is in this context that we might take his warning that things are not always what they seem to be: one needs to be careful not to be deceived by the surface but to look at what the author takes care to tuck into an inner corner (Phaedrus 4.2.5–7): *non semper ea sunt quae videntur: decipit frons prima multos, rara mens intellegit quod interiore condidit cura angulo*. On the moral as an add-on, see Daly 1961; for the moral inside and outside the story, Gibbs 2008, xii–xx. Phaedrus highlights the artificiality of the moral outside or added on to the story per se.
62. Fables in which donkeys play a key role: Phaedrus 1.11, 1.15, 1.21, 1.29, 4.1, 5.4; cf. 2.7, 3.6, and 4.4 (mules and horses).
63. Pliny, *Natural History* 11.237–38; Juvenal 6.468–69; Columella 2.14.4, 10.81, 11.3.12; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 7.22; Phaedrus 4.1. On fungibility of slaves and “four-footed” cattle, see *Digest* 9.2.2.2.
64. Cf. the reading of Bloomer 1997, 85–86.
65. For example, in 1.15 the donkey is concerned with what he will have to carry, not with who is his master. Phaedrus draws attention to the donkey’s awareness by devoting narrative space to the animal’s observations in direct discourse.
66. “‘Extraordinary,’ [the lion] said, ‘if I had not known your spirit/mind (*animus*) and your origin/species (*genus*), I would have fled in fear like them [i.e., the prey]’” (1.11.14–15). On the interpretation of this fable, cf. Bloomer 1997, 93–94, 99. The donkey’s use of the term *opera*

for his braying makes the lion's insult even nastier. In contrast to the term *opus* used of the work of animals and slaves, *opera* connotes the volition and choice of the doer. Moreover, there is another component to the lion's disdain, since *operae* is a term for the services negotiated before manumission and confirmed by an oath afterward, which a freed slave owed his ex-master.

67. Cf. the stated lesson of this fable, which focuses on how a person without manly courage whose words glorify himself will be ridiculed by those who really know him (I.II.I–2).
68. No donkey graffiti have been found in Pompeii, but keeping in mind the graffito from Rome and Phaedrus's fables, we might ask what the bakery's slaves saw when they looked at pictures of donkeys in the city and in bakeries themselves. Besides the two frescoes depicting the Vestalia (see n. 48 in this chapter), there are also paintings of donkeys and Vesta, six of them in the lararia of bakeries in Pompeii. Ass and Vesta in bakeries: VII.I.36–37; VII.2.3; VII.I2.7; VII.I2.II; VII.I2.I3; IX.5.4. Ass and Vesta not in bakeries: V.I.I8–I9; VII.I.25; VIII.3.II; IX.5.2, 22. In one of the best preserved and most striking of these paintings (a lararium in bakery VII.I2.II), Vesta sits on a throne with a patera in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left hand; the donkey's forefront extends around the left side of the throne. The donkey circles Vesta's throne as a donkey circles the mill in shop signs and bakers' grave reliefs: it is as if Vesta stands in for the mill. On Vesta and donkeys, see Ovid, *Fasti* 6.319–48.
69. Poehler 2006, 57, 61, and fig. 29; Tsujimura 1991, fig. 5.
70. Laurence (2007, 102–16) measures street activity by the occurrence of doorways and messages and their distance from one another. However, since he considers doors and messages for the entire length of a street, we should separate calculations for particular blocks.
71. The ruts in the roadbed have been analyzed by Poehler (2006, 63, 69, and fig. 29) and Tsujimura (1991, fig. 5).
72. In the next block to the east, on the southern end of insula VI.5, there were doors to a bar (VI.5.I2), three atrium houses (VI.5.I3, VI.5.I4, VI.5.I6), and a bakery (VI.5.I5), along with a stable at VI.6.II.
73. VI.2.29 is the entrance to a small house; VI.5.II is an external stairway to an upper floor.
74. See Niceros's tale at Trimalchio's dinner party (61–62): when his master went off to Capua, he seized his chance and went to visit his girlfriend in the country.
75. For opening hours of shops and bars, see Laurence 2007, 159–60.
76. On this garden, see Jashemski 1993, 128; on the large garden up the street at VI.5.7, see Jashemski 1993, 126.
77. For other stairs to upper floors in the neighborhood, see also VI.2.8, VI.3.2, VI.3.6, VI.3.9, VI.5.I8, VI.7.4.
78. On the identification of VI.6.I3 as a stable, see Poehler 2011, 196–204.
79. In addition, there is evidence that the nearby House of the Surgeon (VI.I.9–10, 23) did veterinary work: see Bliquez and Munro 2007.
80. On Ostia, see Bakker 1994; Bakker 1999; DeLaine 2005; Descœudres 2001; Hermansen 1982; Meiggs 1973. For bibliography on Ostia, see <http://www.ostia-antica.org/biblio.htm>.
81. Bakker 1999, 110; De Ruyt 2001, 186; Flohr 2012; Pietrogrande 1976, 78.
82. The Industrial Revolution meant greater synchronization set at the pace of machines, timed labor (as opposed to task orientation), and a “regularization of labor patterns” (see Hobsbawm 1962, 44–73, for a concise summary).
83. However, according to Russell Meiggs among others, markets existed that could absorb large-scale production (1973, 274ff.).

84. On the bakeries of Ostia, see Bakker 1999, 2001; on the fulleries, De Ruyt 2001; Flohr 2009, 181–83, and 2012; Pietrogrande 1976.
85. On this fullery, see Pietrogrande 1976, 55–75. Size and the absence of a shop lead Flohr to think that the fullery processed for “clothing traders” and the “metropolitan clothing market” (2011b, 92–93).
86. See Pietrogrande 1976, 27–49.
87. See Bakker 1999, 110.
88. Meijlink (1999, 76) suggests that some of the space was devoted to storage, and above area 8a used for pouring flour. For a reconstruction of upper floors, see Meijlink 1999, 75–77.
89. On the number of bakeries in Ostia and their distribution, see Bakker 1999, 111–16.
90. Two workers per mill (14); one worker per kneading machine (6); six sievers and six shapers (12); three oven workers (3).
91. Meijlink 1999, 79. There was a fullery at I.13.3, but it was not installed until the third century CE; later, I.13.2 seems to have been a workshop.
92. “The dough had to be carried from the kneading-machines past the mills to rooms 10 and 9. The narrow passageway between the central piers in hall 8a seems to have served this purpose” (Meijlink 1999, 79).
93. Crook 1967, 191. For groups of slaves acting in concert, see *Digest* 9.4.31 (*familia*); 47.6.1 (*plures*); 47.6.5 (*familia*); 47.8.2.14 (*familia*); 47.10.34 (*plures*).
94. On housing at Ostia, see Packer 1971. See Frier (1977) on low-cost housing – small one- or two-room upstairs flats, *meritoria* (spaces for rent), *deversoria* (lodging houses but not just for travelers) in Rome and Ostia (30–34) – and on multiple tenants in single apartments (28).
95. See, for example, the excavation of the bakery at I.13.4 (Meijlink 1999, 64) and of the Caseggiato dei Molini (Bakker 1999, 34–38); cf. Stöger 2011.
96. *Digest* 38.1.50.1 (and time necessary for physical needs).

CHAPTER 5. SLAVES IN THE VILLA

1. See Marzano’s definition of the elite villa (2007, 9–11); one estate could include several different farms.
2. The scholarship on Roman villas is vast. Only a few key works are listed here (see later notes for bibliography on specific villas): Adams 2006; D’Arms 1970; Frazer 1998; Lafon 2001; MacDougall 1987; Marzano 2007 (with extensive bibliography); Métraux 1998; Mielsch 1987; Ortalli 2006; Percival 1976; Purcell 1995; Smith 1997; Terrenato 2001. For research on Vesuvian villas through 1985, see Kockel 1985. For a general overview of Roman agriculture, see White 1970.
3. On the importance of the villa as a site of commemoration and changes in the Principate, see Bodel 1997; on senatorial display and the Principate, see Eck 1984.
4. The development and character of villas are central to two important arguments in Roman social and economic history involving slavery: (1) changes in Roman agriculture and the economy – namely, the growth of large estates, producing for the market and relying on slave labor, and (2) Roman luxury and, in particular, the elite’s use of wealth, especially its investment in elaborate residences, material possessions, and numerous servants. On agriculture and economic change, see, for example, Hopkins 1978; Jongman 2003; Morley 1996; Rosenstein 2004, 2008. On luxury, see, for example, Edwards 1993; Jolivet 1987; Shatzman 1975; Silver 2007; Wallace-Hadrill 1990a and b.

5. For those who maintained and guarded the villa, see *Digest* 33.7.15.2; for *vilici*, *monitores*, *procuratores*, *actores*, see Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 14.16.1; *Digest* 33.7.8; Pliny, *Letters* 3.19.2. For the activities of physical upkeep, see *Digest* 33.7.12.19ff.
6. On *lecticarii*, mule drivers, and runners, see Seneca, *Moral Letters* 55 (without job title), 123.7; Varro, *On Agriculture* 3.17.6.
7. For personal servants, see Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 14.16.1; Pliny, *Letters* 5.6.46, 9.36.2 (*notarius*).
8. On cooks and bakers, see Cicero, *Letters to Friends and Family* 9.23; *Digest* 33.7.12.5 (only for *familia rustica*?); Seneca, *Moral Letters* 123.2. On *ostiarii*, *atrienses*, *diaetarii*, see *Digest* 33.7.8.1, 33.7.12.42; Pliny, *Letters* 3.19.3. For waiters, see *Digest* 33.7.12.32; Seneca, *Moral Letters* 77.8.
9. For cleaners, see *Digest* 33.7.8.1 (*scoparii*), 33.7.12.5–6 (*focariae*). On craftsmen and smiths, see *Digest* 33.7.12.5, 33.7.19.1; Pliny, *Letters* 3.19.3. On gardeners, see *Digest* 33.7.8.1, 33.7.12.42; Pliny, *Letters* 3.19.3.
10. On the agricultural laborers on villas, see in general the agricultural manuals of Cato, Varro, and esp. Columella. For jobs noted in Columella and rural jobs in *Digest* 33.7, see Bradley 1994, 59–60. For cultivators and those who directed them, see *Digest* 33.7.8; *pastores*, *Digest* 33.7.8.1; *saltuarii*, *Digest* 33.7.8.1; *venatores* and *vestigatores*, *Digest* 33.7.12.12; *aucupes*, *Digest* 33.7.12.13; *piscatores*, *Digest* 33.7.27 and Varro *On Agriculture* 3.17.6. There also seem to have been jobs associated especially with the feeding and clothing of the *familia rustica*: see *Digest* 33.7.12.5–6 (*pistor*, *tonsor*, *molitores*, *lanificae*, *fullones*, and women who cook bread and relish for the slaves).
11. On maritime and country villas in discourses of power, luxury, and taste, see Marzano 2007, 21–33, 82–101 (with references). On luxury and building (including villas), see Edwards 1993, 137–72; Purcell 1995; Wallace-Hadrill 1998.
12. Juvenal 11.38ff.; Martial 3.58; Seneca, *Moral Letters* 123.
13. Horace, *Epodes* 2 and *Satires* 2.6; Juvenal 11; Martial 1.49, 3.58, 10.98.
14. On eliding slave agency, see Joshel 2011, 230–39.
15. Instructions: 2.2.25ff., 3.4.3, 3.11.4, 5.9ff., 8.4. You and we: 2.2.20–21, 2.4.6, 2.53, 3.13.6, 4.27.1. Passive voice, etc.: 2.4.8, 2.5.2, 2.10.33, 3.13.8. Columella also makes the agent someone he calls “the farmer” (*agricola*) when it is clear that the tasks would have been performed by laborers directed by “the farmer” (2.1.4, 2.2.2, 5.6.24), who (the owner himself or his agent) is elided with the laborer.
16. For the tendency to make slaves disappear into the activities of the owners, see, for example, D’Arms 1970, 14, 42–43, 44, 50, 51.
17. A good example is the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii, whose western side, with its painted suites, is well maintained, while the eastern side of work and slave areas is falling apart and a place to toss garbage. The numbers scratched on the wall of the kitchen at the Villa San Marco seen in 2007 were barely visible in 2011 (Barbet and Miniero 1999, 355–56). See Purcell 1995, 163–64.
18. For example, see de Caro 1994, 35–42; Maiuri 1931, 96–102.
19. See, for example, Wallace-Hadrill’s discussion of the urban and rustic sides of the Villa of the Mysteries (1998, 47–52). Relations between texts and the material evidence add to the problem; see Roth (2007, 2–10, 56–57) for where women on the farm are concerned.
20. On problems of interpretation, see Dyson 2003; George 1997b; Greene 1990, 67ff.; Marzano 2007; Schumacher 2001. Slave rooms: Marzano 2007, 129–48; Thompson 2003, 81ff.
21. De Caro’s excavation and publication of the Villa Regina at Boscoreale (1994) is an example of precision and detail.
22. Cato, *On Agriculture* 14.2; Columella 1.6.3, 1.6.7–8; Varro, *On Agriculture* 1.13.1–2.

23. Thompson 2003, 83; cf. Bradley 1994, 84–86. Presence of chains, stocks, fetters: see, for example, de Vos and de Vos 1982, 320; *Notizie degli Scavi* 1910, 259–60; 1922, 462–63; 1923, 277–78.
24. For a survey of plans, see Rossiter 1978; and earlier, Carrington 1931. Cf. the Villa of the Volusii at Lucus Feroniae (Sgubini Moretti 1998). For a critique of the interpretation of these areas as slave habitations, see Marzano 2007, 129–48, with references to earlier analyses and problems of typology and function.
25. The villa was excavated by an Anglo-Italian team under the direction of Carandini in 1976–81 (with further work up to 1984). Carandini and Settis 1979 accompanied an exhibition; Carandini 1985 was the full report on the excavations.
26. Carandini (1985, vol. 1, 157–59) offers two hypotheses on the numbers and relations of the occupants of this arrangement, each of which supposes the inhabitants included both ordinary male laborers and foremen (each with his own “wife”). Cf. Roth (2007, 56–57, 138–39) on this “theory.”
27. Carandini 1985, vol. 1, 157–59, 176–77. See also the discussions in Carandini and Settis 1979, 150–52, 197–200; Greene 1990, 89–92; Thompson 2003, 99–101.
28. See also Schumacher 2001, 101. Marzano 2007, 131, cites Purcell (1988, 197) that the identification of the rooms as slave quarters is a supposition based on Varro and Columella, although she omits his comment that “it is hardly rash on the basis of literary texts to suppose that it was slaves who occupied the ranks of small rooms in the *pars rustica*.” Elizabeth Fentress (2008, 421) warns against attacks on the conclusions of Carandini et al. “which [tend] to reduce the meticulous and well-published archaeology conducted there to an ideological construct.” For attacks on Carandini’s Marxism, see, for example, Dyson 1981; cf. Purcell (1988) for a balanced review of Carandini 1985. Note Ross Samson (1989), who connects such attacks with attempts to erase slaves from Roman history.
29. Marzano 2007, 136. It does seem curious that the owners of Settefinestre who built a pigsty in stone would not have used the same material to house their human workers. Note Marzano’s critique of the misuse of the term *ergastulum* in some villa studies and her suggestion of the possible practical uses of the cryptoporticus including slave quarters (2007, 148–53); cf. Webster 2005, 166–68.
30. *Digest* 33.7.8, 33.7.12.2; cf. Varro, *On Agriculture* 1.17.1.
31. The agricultural writers rarely give much detail, as they subordinate slave housing to the productive aspects of a farm or villa; however, all three are clear that slaves lived in the *villa rustica* per se. See n. 22 in this chapter.
32. Fentress (2008, 421) calls it “pure fantasy.”
33. It was systematically excavated in the 1960s and 1970s, continuing into the early 1980s, at which time Wilhemina Jashemski studied the gardens and plant remains. Currently, the Oplontis Project, under the direction of John R. Clarke and Michael L. Thomas of the University of Texas at Austin, and in collaboration with the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei, has undertaken systematic study of Villa A: the result will be a monograph, navigable 3-D model, and database. We are very grateful for the observations of John Clarke, Michael Thomas, Jess Galloway, and Lea Cline, their incisive understanding of Villa A, and their generosity in answering many questions.
34. For bibliography on Villa A, see Thomas and Clarke, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011, and esp. the website for the Oplontis Project: <http://www.oplontisproject.org>. On the gardens and plant remains, see Jashemski 1979, 1987, 1993. Some scholars argue that the villa was being refurbished (de Franciscis 1975, 10; Guzzo and Fergola 2000, 20); however, Michael

- Thomas (private communication) thinks that the villa may have been in a state of being dismantled.
35. Thomas and Clarke 2007, 225.
 36. De Caro (1987, 85) suggests vines or olive trees; Jashemski (1993, 297) finds trace remains of olive trees and fruit trees, though she notes that the pollen counts for the soil samples in the back garden were very low (1993, 297). On tools, see n. 44 in this chapter.
 37. De Caro (1987, 85) and Jashemski (1993, 297) identified rooms 82–84 and probably 81 as an earlier rustic building with a press room (torcularium); however, the east wall of 83 dates to a period later than the Second Style (100–20 BCE). There are the remains of a deep basin for catching the juice of pressed grapes and a pit for the jambs that held one end of the press in room 83. When and how it was used is unclear. Michael Thomas (private communication) thinks that Villa A in its late stage may have become a sort of *villa rustica*. We would like to know the relation of Villa A to Villa B, currently under study by the Oplontis Project; the structure may have been some sort wine distribution center (see Thomas 2013).
 38. Laborers in general are recognized (Bergmann 2002, n. 32) and in particular the work of ornamental gardeners (112, 118).
 39. The comments here apply to color plates IIa-c. Just as the zebra-striped walls are eliminated in courtyard 32, so, too, they are absent on the lower walls of 4.
 40. According to the archival plans from the 1980s excavations (courtesy of the Oplontis Project).
 41. A graffito in Greek was on the wall of corridor 52 near the entry to rooms 48–49: MNESTHEI BERYLLOS (Guzzo and Fergola 2000, 23). Room 22 once had painted decoration; by 79 CE it contained a cistern head and seems to have been used for storage and possible service. At one point, room 26 may have been a staircase (Michael Thomas, private communication).
 42. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 38–44; see also Chapter 2. The peripheral location of the kitchen is only a suggestion, since we do not know how far west the villa went in its early stage. Nonetheless, even if it was more central in terms of the space of the villa, its internal location made it peripheral to the villa's orientation to the bay and gardens.
 43. Suggested by Margaret Laird (private communication).
 44. On tools, see de Franciscis 1975, 12; Jashemski 1979, 290, and 1993, 294. For the extent and complexity of the gardens and gardening activities, see Jashemski 1979, 289–314, and 1993, 293–301.
 45. Thomas and Clarke 2011, 378.
 46. Although this is now a single room, the archival plans from the 1980s excavations show three small rooms and a narrow corridor.
 47. Chamber pots: Martial 6.89, 14.119; Petronius 27.5–6. Waiters: Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 2.19; Seneca, *Moral Letters* 95.24 and *On the Brevity of Life* 12.5. Cooks: Seneca, *Moral Letters* 78.23, 114.26. Gardeners: *Digest* 32.1.60.3, 33.7.8.1, 33.7.12.42. Cleaners: *Digest* 33.7.12.22; Horace, *Satires* 2.8.10–13; Juvenal 14.59ff.; Pliny, *Natural History* 18.32 (sweeping).
 48. Michael Thomas (private communication).
 49. On surveillance and supervision in general, see Bradley 1994, 57–80; Joshel 2010, 168–79.
 50. The aim of Columella's meticulous practices of scripting slave movement was a *morata disciplina* (a well-ordered or conditioned discipline) (1.8.20).
 51. The wall in corridor 53 is a later addition; it is clear that stripes continued all along the corridor without break (Michael Thomas, private communication).
 52. Goulet 2000 and 2001–2; Laken 2003 (esp. 177–86 for their locations).
 53. See Laken (2003, 167–72) for permutations of stripes; see Cline 2012 for a more careful examination and for the chronology of the types of zebra stripes.

54. Laken 2003, 172–73; cf. Goulet 2000, 366. Both Goulet (2000, 367) and Laken (2003, 173, 177) note their practical value – dirt and scratches would have been less visible, and dark areas in need of “path illumination” were “made more vibrant.” Lea Cline (2012) argues that the visual disturbance created by the stripes made slaves less noticeable to the free persons who passed them in the halls.
55. On the meanings of private and public, see Grahame 1997; Hales 2003, 36–39; Riggsby 1997; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 17–37.
56. In the tablinum (4), stripes are on the lowest section of wall; see Cline (2012). Interpretations of 46 have been shaped by the presence of red-painted benches along both sides of the corridor. For some scholars, this immediately evokes clients waiting for visits with a patron; however, it should be noticed that while corridor 46 gives direct access to the eastern wing and pool from the core of the villa or its western wing, it does so through the service courtyard. More scenic routes were available along colonnades 24 and 40. Others have suggested that these benches could have been a waiting station for slaves called to service in any part of the eastern wing.
57. According to Cline (2012), there are at least two chronological stages visible in the zebra-striped paintings. The zebra stripes in 53, 62–63, 71, 94, and 97 date to the expansion of the villa around 45 CE; those in 3–6, 32, 45, and 46 belong to a later phase, perhaps after 62 CE. She also distinguishes four schemes of stripes in combination with different elements and styles. Her argument focuses on the quality and source of the zebra-striped painting, noting that the paintings in the earlier period are of better quality.
58. The expansion and remodeling of the villa meant that slaves needed to serve the rooms along walkway 60, which opened to the pool and gardens beyond (both rooms north and south of corridor 46, especially dayroom 78). Whereas the earlier corridor 53 was convenient for suites to the north, later remodeling may have made corridors 46 and 76 necessary for suites to the south, and, according to Cline, at this point stripes appeared in 32, 45–46, and 76.
59. At the Villa San Marco the stripes appear in a narrow corridor leading from the atrium to the kitchen area, and at the Villa Arianna in service corridors around the kitchen and bath areas.
60. Initially, the Villa of the Mysteries was excavated by a private person (Aurelio Item) in 1909–10 and then under the auspices of the Italian state in 1928–30 by Amedeo Maiuri. For the history of excavation and publication, see Esposito 2007, 441–42. Scholarship on the Villa of the Mysteries is vast, so only a few works can be mentioned here: Cicirelli and Guidobaldi 2000; Clarke 1991, 94–111, 140–46; Esposito 2007 (with bibliography of work up to 2007); Gazda 2000. We are grateful for discussions with John Clarke, Michael Thomas, and Jess Galloway.
61. On the villa, see Maiuri 1931, 94–46, 102–4; see the critique of Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 122ff.
62. Purcell 1995, esp. 164.
63. Esposito 2007; contra Maiuri 1931, 41–42, 102–3.
64. On the shape of the villa in its earliest stages, cf. Maiuri 1931, tav. B, and Clarke 1991, 94–95, fig. 28, with Richardson 1988, 171–76, fig. 27, and Esposito 2007, 442–46, fig. 8.
65. The bath was also closed up and stairs were added in 43 that led to the second floor (Maiuri 1931, 67).
66. Tools were found in 32 (pruning hooks, pickaxe, hoe, shovel, hammer; Maiuri 1931, 81); on rooms above 32, see Maiuri 1931, 80–81.
67. On the one hand, tools in dayroom 9, onions on the floor of room 16, amphorae in room 5, and a general absence of material objects feed Maiuri’s contention that the villa was left to its agricultural workers and a manager (1942, 235–41); on the other hand, there is evidence of remodeling with the furnishings in storage (Richardson 1988, 176).

68. Separate hearths indicate multiple places of food preparation and hence perhaps separate social units.
69. Also part of the owner's strategy was containment within the villa. Throughout the villa's history, the perimeter wall limited slave movement out of the villa. In its current state, with a few exceptions, it is now difficult to assess thresholds inside the villa for doors that could lock, so we cannot speculate on which rooms or areas could contain slaves by locking them in – at least at night.
70. There is not a single point from which an observer could see all of the movement around the peristyle and in and out of the rooms opening on to it. Only observers at three posts – the room of the *ostiarus*, the kitchen door, and at the entrance to corridor 27 – would have produced a completely patrolling gaze of all movement in the area. The closing of 27 as a corridor to the torcularium and work areas eliminated the passageway as an area of concern for slave movement, but it did turn it into a potential hiding spot. At the same time, the opening up of 7 and 21 to 17 as passageways to the western side of the villa introduced new avenues of slave movement.
71. The first route avoided the porticoes, so if owner and guests gathered in room 6, for example, a waiter would appear out of the air so to speak. If owner and guests were in the atrium, the second route that privileged the porticoes would have had a similar effect and kept slaves from passing back and forth through the midst of whatever was going on. Obviously, this was a matter of the time of day and the slaveholder's schedule.
72. Thresholds indicate large, heavy doors on the north and south of 1.
73. Where the vineyards were located is unknown, although Esposito (2007, 459) adduces evidence of cultivation on the east side of the road that passes the villa. We should also note the movement of people and goods down to the cryptoporticus along the stairway in the shed inside the peristyle and on the northern side of the villa.
74. The issue of flight, which involves different considerations in the country, is discussed in the section "Tactics: The *Villa Rustica*."
75. Fires: *Digest* 9.2.27.9–11, 19.2.30.4; Pliny, *Natural History* 36.115. Troublesome slaves in the country: Columella 1.1.20, 1.7.6–7; *Digest* 28.5.35.3, 40.7.40; Petronius 53; Seneca, *On Anger* 3.29.1; Valerius Maximus 6.5.7; Varro, *On Agriculture* 1.22.6.
76. Slaves on the run: Quintilian, *Institutes* 11.3.112; Seneca, *On Anger* 3.29.1 and *On the Brevity of Life* 12.5.
77. On framing views at Villa A at Oplontis, see Thomas 2011.
78. Columella 1.3.4; *Digest* 28.5.35.3, 33.7.12.32.
79. Although the latrine (48) was nearby, it did not immediately abut the courtyard.
80. Flory 1978; Galvao-Sobrinho 2012; Joshel 1992, 100–6. How the rituals conducted at the lararium fit into life centered in courtyard 32 is unclear; in the present state of the site (with about 40 percent unexcavated) it is the only lararium in the villa.
81. On the kitchen and its lararia, see Boyce 1937, no. 481; Giacobello 2008, 220; Maiuri 1931, 82–86.
82. Consideration of the social life of the villa's slaves should also include the peristyle and the rooms on the eastern side of the villa whose residents are presumed to have been slaves, especially agricultural workers. In the later stages of the villa, the peristyle became something of an intermediate space in between the residential and productive area of the villa. The closing off of the entrance to the torcularium, the addition of the pluteus, the remodeling of rooms on the eastern side of the peristyle, and the reorientation of the rooms away from the atrium toward the Bay of Naples increasingly separated the owner's residential and reception areas from the work area of the villa. On the distinction between the ground and upper floors on the eastern side of the villa, see Maiuri 1931, 80–82, 94–95, and criticism of Esposito (2007, 446).

83. He particularly recommends chaining vinedressers, whose work required mental sharpness; apparently, Columella saw the smart slave as a troublesome slave (1.9.4).
84. The *procurator* should have a place over the entrance to keep track of the *vilicus* (1.6.7).
85. Columella's two metaphors for the work of the *vilicus* are telling – general and shepherd, making slaves soldiers and sheep (11.1.17–18).
86. On the work of the *vilica*, see Roth 2004.
87. On competition among slaves, cf. Chapter 4.
88. Scrapings on the elevated thresholds of the doorways directly on the courtyard and the holes for hinges suggest sturdy doors that opened inward (Carandini 1985, vol. 1, 69, and vol. 2, 154, 166). There is no evidence for their locks (and if they locked). Only the thresholds on 114, 40, 39, and 41 were examined.
89. The doors opened outward; on the doorways in this area, see Carandini 1985, vol. 1, 73, and vol. 2, 173–75. Again, not every threshold was examined. Of the seven that were, four thresholds (105, 106, 16, and 77) had no holes for the door hinges or evidence of how they closed, although they probably closed in a way similar to those with holes for door hinges and a *paletto* for locking (102, 103, and 174).
90. Carandini 1985, vol. 1, 182–84.
91. See nn. 88–89 in this chapter.
92. This description ignores Carandini's configuration of *monitores* and their families (1985, vol. 1, 176).
93. The villa buildings were excavated in 1977–80 by de Caro; Jashemski began her work on the surrounding land in 1980. This description of the villa building relies on de Caro 1994.
94. Jashemski 1987, 64–71, 1993, 288–91, and 1994.
95. For the doors, see de Caro 1994, 29, 56–58, 81, 84; for wheels and cart, 206–8.
96. For a summary of the scholarship on the earthquakes in the Vesuvian area and the well-known quake of 62 CE, see Allison 2004, 14–21. On the state of the kitchen in 79 CE, see de Caro 1994, 50.
97. The enlargement of the *cella vinaria* was recent enough that the added space had not yet been used (de Caro 1994, 66–67). On the history of the changes to the building, see de Caro 1994, 116ff.; for evidence of work going on in 79 CE, 56, 74–75, 121.
98. De Caro 1994, 124. Catalogue of objects: de Caro 1994, 131ff.
99. De Caro 1994, 124.
100. De Caro 1994, 127–28. 1 *iugerum* = 2/3 of an acre; 1 *culleus* = 20 amphorae = c. 120 gallons.
101. The larger context of their remarks is their disapproval of the use of chained slaves, who were associated with larger estates (*Natural History* 18.21, 36, and *Letters* 3.19.7).
102. Beyond the emphasis on acreage, Varro introduces other considerations. He urges the proprietor to omit the *vilicus* and *vilica* from the number of workers needed and to consider the character and size of farms in the area, the number of workers on each, and how many workers affected the success or failure of the farm.
103. Roth (2007, 79–80) observes that at least one weight points to a loom, weaving, and, most likely, women. Of the two weights, one was in room 10; the other was used in the building material of the walls of the main entrance (clearly not in use) (de Caro 1994, 197–98).
104. In addition, the quality of the masonry work and carpentry led de Caro (1994, 28) to think that the construction at the villa was performed not by professional builders but by the farm laborers.
105. Columella 11.2–3; Varro 1.27–36.
106. See also Marzano 2007, 92–93.

107. *Digest* 33.12.32; Horace, *Letters* 1.7.1–2, 73–77; Marcus Aurelius, *Letters to Fronto* 4.6; Martial 3.58.29–32, 8.61, 12.57.
108. Cf. the nearby Villa della Pisanella that was twice as large and had more extensive productive facilities (wine press, oil press, large *cella vinaria*, stable) and more amenities, including baths (Pasqui 1897, cols. 397–554).
109. Horace, *Epodes* 2, *Letters* 1.10, 1.14, 1.16.1–16, and *Satires* 2.6.6off., 2.7.118 (eight slaves); Martial 1.49, 1.55, 4.64, 10.98.7–10, 12.18, 12.57; Juvenal 11.136ff. Martial (1.49) and Horace (*Letters* 1.14) explicitly mention a *vilicus*.
110. For discourse on urbanity and rusticity, see Wallace-Hadrill 1998.
111. The exception is the large window in the torcularium, but it could be barred (de Caro 1994, 42–43).
112. Only in the northern part of the kitchen (II), the corner with the cistern in VI, and room XVI was it possible to conceal one’s activities (and in the upstairs rooms).
113. Cato, *On Agriculture* 2.2; Columella 1.8.8, 12.3.7; Varro, *On Agriculture* 1.22.6.
114. *Digest* 9.2.32, 9.4.9 and 31, 29.5.1.30, 47.10.34.
115. Injunction: Cato, *On Agriculture* 5.2; Columella 1.8.6–7 and 12–13, 11.1.13 and 23–34; Varro, *On Agriculture* 1.16.5. Dealings: Columella 1.8.6–7 and 13, 11.1.23–24.
116. Cato, *On Agriculture* 2.2; Columella 11.1.23; *Digest* 21.1.17.5; cf. Petronius 61–62.
117. Carandini and Cambi 2002, esp. 145ff. and 218ff.; Dyson 1978, 256ff. (buildings). On the extent of the property per se, see Carandini and Settis 1979, 35–41; Dyson 1978 and 2002, 212.
118. Laurence 1999, 104–5.
119. It was within one kilometer of the remains of six villas and two possible villas (see Kockel 1985). For villas in the area around Pompeii, see also Casale and Bianco 1979.
120. De Caro 1994, 19–20; Kockel 1985.
121. *Digest* 11.3.1.2, 11.3.5.3, 11.4.1.1–2, 11.4.3, 21.1.17.4 and 8. On the dangers of extrarban areas, esp. banditry, see Laurence 1999, 178–82 (with references).
122. See esp. de Caro 1994, tav. E and fig. 30.
123. Even still, we lack the kind of information that allows Anthony Kaye (2007) to construct the neighborhoods in the antebellum American South whose configurations were established by slaves.
124. On slave higglering or petty trading in the Caribbean and southern United States, see Berlin 1998, 33–38, 68–70, 136–38; Simmonds 1987. On trading off of the plantation and the association with theft, see Morgan 1998, 366–67.
125. See Camp (2004, 69) on stealing as “relocating” things. Cf. Chapter 2 for the “relocation” of objects in a domestic context.
126. Cato, *On Agriculture* 2, 5.1–4; Columella 1.6.7–8, 1.8.3–12, 11.1.14–23, 12.1.iff.; Varro, *On Agriculture* 1.16.5, 1.17.5–6.
127. Columella 1.8.5, 11.1.13 and 17–19.
128. Columella 1.7.6, 1.8.20. Columella (1.8.2–4, 11.1.7) urges the slaveholder to raise the *vilicus* from boyhood and to test his knowledge and loyalty.
129. *Digest* 11.4.1.1.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

1. The epitaphs are part of the collection of the National Museum of Rome at the Baths of Diocletian or Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano.
2. The standard source on the monument is Caldelli and Ricci 1999. See also Bodel 2008; Hasegawa 2005; Joshel 1992.

3. On this topic, see Joshel 1992.
4. *Philadelphus / unctor / v(ir)vet ann(i) XX o(ssa) h(ic) s(ita) s(unt)*.
5. *Glyconis cubic(u)lari(i) / hic ossa sita sunt / Donata fecit*.
6. *Optata Pasaes [sic] / ostiaria fecerunt / amici*.
7. On the house-tomb concept for *columbaria* and family tombs in general, see esp. Hope 1997; Petersen 2006, 184–226; Saller and Shaw 1984; Wallace-Hadrill 2008a, all with bibliography. See also Galvao-Sobrinho 2012, for an explanation on the rise and fall of *columbaria* in the late Republic and early Principate.
8. For example, Caldelli and Ricci 1999; Flory 1978; Hasegawa 2005; Joshel 1992. Cf. work on large *familiae*, Treggiari 1975a, 1975b.
9. The *columbarium* of Scribonius, also on the grounds of the Villa Pamphili, provides a rich comparison. This tomb has yet to be fully published. See Galvao-Sobrinho 2012, 139–40, 154 (n. 59).
10. “Infatti la cosa piú importante, anzi l’unica cosa veramente importante del monumento erano le pitture” (Bendinelli 1941, 1).
11. This number is based on Roger Ling’s calculation of another row of niches, no longer extant (1993, 129, 135 [n. 11]). John Bodel puts the number of burials at more than one thousand within the monument’s five hundred niches (2008, 207, n. 57), but it is unclear on what basis.
12. While some epitaphs contain a single name, none preserves a job title, making the secure identification of slaves extremely difficult. Many of the surviving epitaphs, however, do belong to freed slaves. See *CIL* 6.7817–7844; Hülsen 1893. Moreover, the monument seems not to have been a *columbarium* belonging to a single family but rather one in which several families purchased burial spaces (Ling 1993, 129).
13. *CIL* 6.7817–7844. See Hülsen (1893, 150–64), for additional painted epitaphs (approximately 45) and graffiti that should be added to the twenty-eight originally published in *CIL*. Four small marble epitaphs came from the tomb’s interior; these were affixed niches, and all but one are lost. See *CIL* 6.7814–7816; Hülsen 1893, 148–49. For further discussion of the epigraphic evidence from this *columbarium*, see Bendinelli 1941, 2–3; Hülsen 1893.
14. For a discussion of some names connected with niches, see Hülsen 1893.
15. On the necropolis, see Baldassarre et al. 1996; Calza 1940.
16. Petersen 2006, 272, nn. 85–86. The standard source on the epitaphs of Isola Sacra is Thylander 1952.
17. On the *campo dei poveri*, see Baldassarre et al. 1996, 22–24. Also see Carroll 2006, 69–78, for a discussion of anonymous burial.
18. On visiting tombs and performing rituals, see Galvao-Sobrinho 2012, 137–41; Petersen 2006, 210–12 (with bibliography); Toynebee 1971, 43–64.
19. Cf. n. 16 in this chapter. See also Baldassarre et al. 1996.

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Abbreviations

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*Corpus of Latin Inscriptions*).

PPM = *Pompeii: Pitture e mosaici* (1990–2002), 10 vols. Rome.

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