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INDEX

PAINTING SIGNS IN ANCIENT POMPEII
Contextualizing *scriptores* and Their Work[*]

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Introduction

The painted wall inscriptions in Pompeii and Herculaneum are an almost unique type of evidence from the Roman world. Some 3270 texts have been found inside the city walls of Pompeii and about 95 on the tombs outside the walls.[1] Most of these texts are electoral notices (ca. 2450) and advertisements of gladiatorial games (*edictum munerum*) (ca. 100). The content of other painted texts varies and includes captions for images, greetings, poetry, and insults among other subjects (ca. 700). The painted texts have been used to study Pompeian elections, prosopography, and gladiatorial games among other topics,[2] and recently, their appearance and materiality have also been examined.[3] The practice of painting signs has also been discussed based on the contents of the texts. Lists of painters, or *scriptores*, have been created using the almost 50 (about 1,5% of all) texts signed by using a name in the nominative and the verb *scripsit / scribit*, usually abbreviated as *scr*.[4] However, systematic analyses of the painters and their work also considering the materiality of the texts on the walls of Pompeii have not been conducted.

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[*] My sincere thanks to Mrs. S. Viitanen-Vanamo for the language check.

[1] Only about 10 painted texts in the *Corpus Inscriptiorum Latinarum* IV have been found in Herculaneum, Boscoreale, and Stabiae.

[2] For example, Willems 1887; Della Corte 1965; Castrén 1975; Franklin 1980 and 2001; Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980; Mouritsen 1988; Chiavia 2002.

[3] Fioretti 2014; Baratta 2016; Opdenhoff 2019.

[4] Term *scriptor* occurs commonly in modern scholarship but is not used in Pompeian inscriptions. On painters see De Marchi 1916; Magaldi 1929–1930, 49–76; Franklin 1978; Baratta 2016. Discussions also in Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980, 122–24; Mouritsen 1988, 31–32; Chiavia 2002, 86–94; Fioretti 2014.

The current perceptions of painters and their work were formulated already in the early 20th century mainly by Attilio De Marchi and Emilio Magaldi, and relatively little has been added by later studies.[5] The painters are commonly regarded as professionals employed to paint all kinds of texts. A workshop (I 7,16) for *scriptores* has been identified based on painted texts found on the walls inside the house.[6] However, some signatures mention other professions for the painters suggesting painting could also be a secondary activity. Painting notices possibly involved more than one person at a time as the texts name for example a *dealbator* (limer) and a *lanternarius* (lantern holder). Mentions of the lantern holder and of painting notices in the light of the moon have led to conclude that the work was done at night. Nighttime makes sense also regarding texts asking not to paint notices or threatening painters with misfortune – they were not always wanted.

The aim of this paper is to collect and analyze data related to the painting of signs in Pompeii starting with how the painters can be identified in the texts. The signatures are essential, but the lists of painters also include names that do not appear in signed texts. What arguments have been used for identifying painters? The second part concerns the social and archaeological contexts of the painted texts. The general distribution of the texts has been established previously, but the conventions of painting have not been analyzed. The last section focuses on the styles of the texts – is it possible to identify distinctive scripts? Do they relate to places, people, or both? The current perceptions need to be re-evaluated based on the results of these locational and paleographic analyses.

Most painted texts have disappeared with the plasters covering the façades of the buildings and observing them directly is rarely possible. Details described in the publications are often minimal and limited primarily to the content of the text. Consequently, old photographs and drawings are crucial for this study. Images are mostly limited to the east–west oriented main street of Pompeii, Via dell'Abbondanza, and other parts of the town excavated in the 20th century, mostly in the southeast.[7] Chronologically, the paper concerns the last two decades of Pompeii before its destruction in 79 C.E. Most of the painted texts

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[5] See above note 4 for relevant literature.

[6] Della Corte 1965, 320 No. 650.

[7] Most importantly, Spinazzola 1953 and Varone – Stefani 2009. See also Curuni – Santopuoli 2007. An invaluable online resource, Pompeii in Pictures (https://pompeiiinpictures.com), also contains old photographs.

are probably from the period after the earthquake of 62 C.E. and few painters are mentioned in the earlier texts.[8]

How to identify a *scriptor*?

More than forty individuals have been named as painters in previous research – the evidence and references are listed in Table 1. The attributions are usually based on their names appearing in the nominative case with the verb *scripsit / scribit* in all kinds of painted texts. Most of these are electoral notices and *edicta*, but four other signed texts also exist. In addition, some of the names identified as painters in *edicta* appear in the nominative case without a verb. Some of the names never appear with *scripsit / scribit* or in the nominative case in the *edicta*. Although the basic method of identification seems to be clear, it has seemingly been applied in different ways.

The electoral notices are usually short and formulaic. They feature the name of the candidate, the office he was running for, generic praise, and/or support expressions. If there are other names, they are most commonly in the nominative case. The names in the nominative are usually accompanied with a verb indicating support of the candidate (most commonly *rogare*) – over 600 cases (ca. 25 %). The other verb is *scripsit / scribit* which features only in some thirty notices. A notice for Cerrinius Vatia features most of the elements: *M(arcum) Cerrinium Vatiam aed(ilem) dignum rei │ Messenio rog(at) scr(ipsit) Infantio cum Floro et Fructo et │ Sabino hic ubique*.[9] If a name in the nominative appears without a verb, the likely interpretation should be a supporter rather than a painter. This has been the conclusion drawn for every name on its own apart from Astylus and Iarinus (see below).[10] Physically, the expressions for support and painting are usually located at the end of the notice and they are written with smaller letters than the name of the candidate.

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[8] Viitanen forthcoming a.

[9] Translation of *CIL* IV 230 in Cooley – Cooley 2014, 178 F74: "Messenio asks Marcus Cerrinius Vatia for aedile, worthy of public office. Infantio wrote with Florus, Fructus and Sabinus here and everywhere."

[10] Though, see Gafio in Table 1. Franklin (1978, 55) seemingly regards all the texts with the names of painters and/or *ubique* as signed.

The *edicta* are often longer and more complicated texts than the electoral notices, but they do not commonly include other names in the nominative apart from the painters. There are some exceptions, two greetings and two acclamations, where a name in the nominative appears as part of those phrases.[11] In addition to the full signatures, there are two names, Magus and Ocella, which appear without a verb and isolated from the rest of the text (Table 1). Ocella is inside a letter D in *dedicatione* at the beginning of the text. The case of Poly(---) is slightly ambiguous because the case ending is not included, but both times the four letters cannot be part of any other phrases and have been placed inside large letters similarly to Ocella's name (Table 1).[12] Interpreting these cases as painters seems plausible. Aemilius Celer and Infantio are the only painters to sign both electoral notices and *edicta* which could be considered to support their professionality.[13]

Some texts by Papilio could combine the conventions used in electoral notices and *edicta* (Table 1). He signs three electoral notices with *scripsit* / *scribit* and is a supporter in two others. In further two notices, Papilio's name is written without a verb and his role remains uncertain, but they are more likely to indicate support than making.[14] In addition to these, three texts feature another person as a supporter and Papilio without a verb.[15] In this last group, Papilio's name could be interpreted as a signature similarly to announcements for gladiatorial games. The other known painters have not used this kind of phrasing.[16]

The contents of painted texts beyond electoral notices and *edicta* resemble graffiti in their variability and informality.[17] These texts include four cases of names in the nominative with *scripsit* / *scribit* (Table 1). Asciola and Geminus sign a sexual invective together. Melicertes / Certimeles has left behind

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[11] See Cuniclus and Paris in Table 1. Greeting *CIL* IV 7991 with Gavellius in the nominative.

[12] This interpretation is probably verified by *CIL* IV 10925 where the signature of Claudius Primus is inserted inside a large O in an acclamation.

[13] Cf. Mouritsen 1988, note 120.

[14] For example, *CIL* IV 7298: *L(ucium) Ceium Secundum* │ *IIvir(um) o(ro) v(os) f(aciatis)* │ *Papilio*.

[15] For example, *CIL* IV 9829a: *Amarantus Pompeianus rog(at) Papilio*.

[16] *CIL* IV 10966: *Epidius Pamphilus rog(at)* │ *Acestes* is the only other certain case, but Acestes is otherwise unknown. A supporter and Infa(---) occur in *CIL* IV 239, but the text cannot be emended with certainty.

[17] Cf. Fioretti 2012, 418–20. For a division of graffiti content, see Lohmann 2017, 136–9.

a signature and a signed greeting. Livius Severus is featured only in a signature. These have sometimes been interpreted as informal advertisements for the skills of the painters,[18] but the names have not been found in other painted texts or graffiti. They do not seem to participate in the making of the more formal texts and as such should probably be regarded similarly to the persons signing graffiti occasionally – they probably did not paint signs regularly.

The expression *hic et ubique* (here and everywhere) has also been regarded as an indication of painters.[19] The interpretation imagines painters busily working all over Pompeii. The complete phrase appears in only one painted text, the electoral notice for Cerrinius Vatia mentioned above (p. 287), and six times in graffiti.[20] *Ubique* on its own is part of five electoral notices and three *edicta*, but its associations are clearly to supporting the candidate or as part of other phrases.[21] *Hic et ubique* is an expression borrowed from letter writing and used mainly in greetings in Pompeian contexts.[22] The presence of *hic et ubique* or *ubique* cannot be used to identify painters.

The names Astylus and Iarinus never occur with *scripsit / scribit*, but both feature in lists of painters (Table 1). Their identification as painters is based on both names having been found in workshop I 7,16 regarded as a base for painters.[23] Astylus's name appears in the nominative case with the text *Papilio v(ir) b(onus)* (good man) on the same wall in one of the small rooms – Papilio is a painter known from other texts.[24] Astylus also dedicates an acclamation to Aelius Magnus in the courtyard. Iarinus is the target of sexual invective written below

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[18] Chiavia 2002, 87–8.

[19] Magaldi 1929–1930, 57–8.

[20] Magaldi also mentions notice *CIL* IV 7980 with *Celer f. ubique*, but the *f* is probably an expression of support rather than making – *facit* is used regularly. Graffiti: *CIL* IV 2393, 3926, 4120, 7755, 8556, and Giordano 1966, 80 No. 34.

[21] In *CIL* IV 343, *ubique* in a greeting. As part of support phrases in *CIL* IV 485, 7240, 7980, and 9880. For *edicta*, see *Incertus* 5 in Table 1; in *CIL* IV 1184 *ubique* possibly as part of the main text; in *CIL* IV 7991 in a greeting. Also in two painted greetings (*CIL* IV 652, 653) and in a text with uncertain meaning (*CIL* IV 7384).

[22] Castrén 1982. Cf. Mouritsen 1988, note 120.

[23] Della Corte 1965, 320 No. 650–4.

[24] *CIL* IV 7248. The male face with a phallus nose next to the texts (Langner 2001, No. 305) could suggest either a comic or an abusive tone.

this acclamation.[25] Many other texts, including one full election notice, were painted on the walls of the courtyard.[26] These have been interpreted as samples for customers to choose from or painters honing their skills. Photographs suggest practice as the likely interpretation – all texts are stylistically similar and cannot be regarded as samples.[27] The reason why the various names have been written on the walls remains unknown. They could indicate inhabitants, but also equally likely visitors or other somehow important persons.[28]

Outside the workshop, Astylus is featured in the role of supporter or probable supporter. He even receives two rare recommendations to vote certain candidates and that gives him some prestige. The scripts of four of the notices featuring his name are so different that they were likely produced by different painters.[29] Iarinus features in mostly fragmentary texts difficult to interpret, but there is one notice where he is a supporter without any doubt.[30] The interpretation of the workshop as a base for painters is supported mainly by the painted texts in the courtyard. Electoral notices are occasionally found inside private houses, but this collection is larger and more varied than any other known case which supports the traditional interpretation. The presence of Papilio, a known painter, affords a connection to other painters, but it is not known why his name appears in the house. The workshop could have served painters, but the evidence for Astylus and Iarinus excludes them from that company.

The identifications of painters based on the contents of the texts depend on the type of text. The combination of the nominative name and *scripsit* / *scribit* is necessary when it comes to electoral notices. The expression is usually placed at the end of the texts. In the *edicta*, a simple nominative is sufficient assuming

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[25] *CIL* IV 7243.

[26] *CIL* IV 7244–7247, 7249. See also Tychicus in Table 1.

[27] Varone – Stefani 2009, 88–89.

[28] Cf. graffiti writers and their motivations discussed in Lohmann 2018, 329–58.

[29] Varone – Stefani 2009: *CIL* IV 7243 on pp. 86, 88–89, *CIL* IV 7464 on pp. 156–57, *CIL* IV 7794 on p. 288, *CIL* IV 9831 on p. 115. As a comparison Infantio's signed and supported notices which are similar (Varone – Stefani 2009: as supporter *CIL* IV 7191 on pp. 63–66, as painter *CIL* IV 7658 on pp. 246, 249–51; also *CIL* IV 7618 with Infan[---] on p. 233 could be his).

[30] Earinus is the usual form of the name (Solin 2017, 250 No. 2b) and *CIL* IV 7387 *Earinus rogat* could also be Iarinus. However, as Iarinus is used several times in the unusual form and Earinus only once, they should perhaps be considered as two different men.

that it is clearly not part of some other phrase, usually an acclamation or greeting. The names in the nominative in the *edicta* are sometimes placed inside large letters. The cases discussed also suggest the importance of using visual and contextual evidence to evaluate interpretations previously based solely on the textual content.

Painter activity in Pompeii

The list of painters in Pompeii diminishes to some 30 persons after the methods for identification described above have been applied rigorously (see Table 1 Part I). Four painters remain unknown because their names have not been preserved. Moreover, seven names are known only partially. Only one painter uses a family name in addition to a *cognomen*, Aemilius Celer.[31] Most are known only by their *cognomen* which sometimes limits the possibilities of identifying their other activities within the textual evidence of Pompeii. For example, Sabinus and Secundus are so common that it is impossible to connect texts to a specific person if the family name is not mentioned. On the other hand, Infantio and Papilio occur almost exclusively in painted texts, and these can be assigned to the two painters with relative certainty.[32] Issus is generally regarded as a name and he signs a notice for the candidate Cerrinius Vatia (Table 1). However, it is more likely to be a local version of *ipse*, in which case the signatures could be considered to mean 'I wrote (this) myself'[33] – perhaps a joke by the candidate

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[31] Aemilius written backwards as suilimeA (*CIL* IV 660, 660a, 7494) has sometimes been regarded as Aemilius Celer (Panciera 2011, 59; Solin 2017, 259 No. 9b). However, suilimeA never appears with a *cognomen* whereas Aemilius Celer is referred to with the whole name or the *cognomen*. In addition, Aemilius Celer appears only on one street in Region IX whereas suilimeA is found mostly in the central parts of Pompeii. They are more likely two different men. Infantio could be C. Nisius or Calvisius (*CIL* IV 485), but both readings and person remain uncertain (Chiavia 2002, 77 nota 115).

[32] Infans (*CIL* IV 2974, 7374) and Infanticulus (*CIL* IV 7665) have been regarded as referring to Infantio (for example, Franklin 1978, 55 note 4; Baratta 2016, Tab. 1), but it is uncertain if *infans* is a name. In *CIL* IV 7374, Infans is a supporter with Hinnulus, a known painter, which could be considered to support the interpretation, but also here the connection to Infantio is weak. Kajanto 1965, 448 maintains that Infantio features 11 times in Pompeii and these do not include Infans or Infanticulus.

[33] Väänänen 1937, 113–14.

or supporter. Corrado has sometimes been regarded as a name, but the phrase is probably not a normal signature and *corrado* is likely to be a verb rather than a name.[34] Most of the names appear more than once and only Ascaules, Ataude, and Florillus do not appear in other texts (Table 1). The following two sections focus on the relationships between painters, people, and places in Pompeii.

Chronologically, the *edictum* signed by Magus is probably the earliest signed text. Its exact date cannot be determined, but it was painted on a plaster layer which features also an Oscan painted text probably from the 1st century B.C.E. Both texts were covered with another layer of plaster with later notices.[35] Assigning candidates to annual elections is impossible, but some can be deemed to be earlier or later with relative certainty. The candidates with signed notices range from Claudius Verus probably from the 60s C.E. to two of the presumed candidates for the last elections in 79 C.E., Cuspius Pansa and Popidius Secundus.[36] Aemilius Celer signed notices for Claudius Verus, Statius Receptus, and an *edictum* for games organized by Lucretius Satrius Valens, all of which could be earlier than the 70s.[37] The duumvirate campaign for Epidius Sabinus can be dated from early to mid-70s based on references to Suedius Clemens, an imperial agent in the city probably in the early part of the decade.[38] Epidius's connection to Paquius Proculus and Vettius Caprasius Felix dates the activity of Ascaules and two unnamed painters probably to the earlier part of the decade. Ascaules signed a notice for Vettius's *aedilis* campaign which is probably earlier than the early 70s campaign for *duumvir* with Epidius Sabinus. Aemilius Celer's activity could be tentatively considered earlier than most of the other painters' who signed notices for candidates who can be dated to the 70s.

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[34] See *Incertus* 5 in Table 1. TLL *c.v. corrado*, maybe jokingly 'writing (and) erasing everywhere' which could refer to whitewashing the walls before painting the signs. Cf. Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980, 79–80.

[35] Varone – Stefani 2009, 258. The Oscan text is *eituns* Vetter 28. The later plaster layer in Spinazzola 1917, 259. Another possibly early signature is *CIL* IV 10925 by Claudius Primus also on an earlier plaster layer, but there is no evidence to suggest a date for the earlier plaster layer.

[36] On dating wall inscriptions, see Viitanen forthcoming a. For the candidates, see Chiavia 2002, 126–40.

[37] For the *edictum*, see Mouritsen – Gradel 1991.

[38] Stefanile 2016 fixes Suedius Clemens in Pompeii in the early 70s based on a previously unnoticed overlay. This changes the date of Epidius Sabinus's *duumvir* campaign to early 70s instead of late 70s (old dates in Chiavia 2002, 135).

It is not known who was responsible for designing and executing the campaigns.[39] It seems likely that the painters were professionals, and that money was needed to pay for their work. Candidates themselves could have paid for their campaigns or then the supporters could have at least participated in the costs. It has also been suggested that the painters might have been proactive: when the candidates were announced, they would have immediately painted some notices to attract business for themselves – the candidate might have paid a notice even if he had not ordered it.[40] Many of the painters were active as supporters and it is possible that the supporters also painted their notices – some signed their work, some did not.

A hundred candidates can be identified with certainty and most of them ran for the office of *aedilis* with *duumvir* campaigns accounting for some 950 and 500 notices, respectively. Predictably, most of the signed notices were painted for campaigns for the office of *aedilis*. The number of notices per candidate varies from one to more than 120. The number of notices does not seem to be significant for occurrence of signed ones – the only known notice for Statius Receptus was signed by Aemilius Celer and none of the 120 notices for Helvius Sabinus has a signature. The number of signed texts is small, but the electoral notices of more than fifteen candidates were signed.

Cerrinius Vatia is known from some 70 notices for his *aedilis* campaign and six different painters signed notices for him: Florillus, Florus, Fructus/ Fructus *pycta*, Hinnulus, Infantio, and Sabinus (Table 1). Some of them worked together: Florus and Fructus sign together twice, one of these with Infantio and Sabinus. Infantio also signs a notice for Cerrinius on his own. As mentioned above, the signature of Issus could be interpreted to mean that Cerrinius painted it himself. This could be a fact, a joke, or perhaps negative campaigning based on some shady supporters for Cerrinius.[41] Fructus and Fructus *pycta* (boxer)[42] sign notices for Cerrinius and this is likely to be the same Fructus – two painters with the same name does not seem plausible. Four of the six painters seem to represent a workshop, but each man could also sign notices on his own. Two

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[39] Mouritsen 1988, 31–32, 47 and Chiavia 2002, 89–90, 240 for speculations on how the campaigns might have worked.

[40] Chiavia 2002, 89.

[41] *CIL* IV 576 *furunculi* (little thieves) and 581 *seri bibi* (late drinkers).

[42] TLL *c.v. pycta*.

were seemingly working unrelated to the others. None of the painters supported Cerrinius and their work cannot be regarded as a voluntary contribution to the campaign.

Two other candidates, Postumius Proculus and Popidius Secundus, have more than one signed notice (Table 1). Postumius's campaign for *aedilis* consists of some 30 notices and four painters possibly worked on it. The names of only two have survived, Hinnulus and Porcellus. The notice painted by Hinnulus was a joint one for Cerrinius and Postumius. Hinnulus also supported Postumius in another notice. (Table 1.) Porcellus did not sign other notices but he supported Lucretius Fronto and Helvius Sabinus in two other texts (Table 1). Popidius Secundus also ran for *aedilis* and his notices were painted by Infantio and Papilio (Table 1), but the name in the third text has not survived. Popidius Secundus features in almost 60 notices and the notice painted by Infantio is a joint one with Cuspius Pansa. Neither painter supported Popidius but were active on behalf of other candidates.

Some notices also contain names of supporters in addition to the signature and 13 of the painters signed such work – their role in these texts is seemingly limited to painting (Table 1). The case of Papilio was discussed above and it suggests that in certain situations, a name in the nominative in an electoral notice could also be a signature. Paris signing a notice for and supporting Suettius Certus at the same time is a unique case.[43] Seven of the painters supported candidates but did not sign those notices. In these cases, the supporter could also be regarded as the painter, but the interpretation remains uncertain. Hinnulus, Mustius, and Paris supported the candidate they signed notices for – could they have painted some notices without payment?

The notices for Cerrinius indicate that painters worked in groups and the texts also mention different tasks for the participants: whitewashing, holding a lantern, and lending a general helping hand (Table 1). It has also been assumed that someone was holding the ladder.[44] Florus, Fructus, Infantio, and Sabinus seem to have co-operated (Table 1). In addition, Dion and Onesimus were limers, respectively for Ataude and a painter whose name remains unknown (Table 1). Secundus also had a team, possibly Victor doing the whitewashing and Vesbinus

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[43] *CIL* IV 821 *scribit Paris idem rogat.*

[44] Based on *CIL* IV 7621 where the lantern holder was also holding the ladder.

as a general helper (Table 1).[45] Aemilius Celer and Mustius state in their notices that they were working on their own, not in a group (Table 1). These could indicate exceptional situations worth mentioning. Aemilius Celer has sometimes been regarded as "the leader of the painters"[46] because his two names suggest free status, but there is no evidence for connections between him and the others. In addition, he might have been active slightly before most of the others. Hinnulus signs alone but supports with Papilio indicating a connection between the two painters. Papilio's name was also found in the painters' workshop creating a possible connection to Astylus and Iarinus, but as these two are not painters, a team cannot be hypothesized.[47]

The evidence for the campaigns with multiple painters indicates that more than one painter or team could work on one campaign.[48] It is possible that more painters were needed for a big campaign to be set up quickly – the time for campaigning before voting was not long, probably less than a month.[49] The assumption that supporters regularly painted notices seems unlikely based on the presence of supporters with painter signatures. The supporters could paint notices occasionally, but most of them were probably painted by someone else. However, the painters did have a double role: they worked for the campaigns but could also support candidates independently. The content of the notices varies for each candidate, for example, no signatures in Helvius Sabinus's massive campaign. This could be intentional: whoever ordered the work might have requested for certain content or forbidden others. The material does not answer the question concerning design and execution of the campaigns – both candidates and supporters, alone and/or together, could have been active.

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[45] Vesbinus features as a supporter in the notice *CIL* IV 636 signed by Ascaules suggesting a connection.

[46] Chiavia 2002, 88. The recently published Claudius Primus (see Table 1) is now a second example of a full name for a painter.

[47] Iarin[---] is part of the notice signed by Paris suggesting a connection (*CIL* IV 821). The name can be emended to Iarinus, but there could have been more.

[48] Mouritsen 1999, 517 supposes that one painter or a team was responsible for all the notices in a campaign. See also below the analysis of scripts.

[49] Stavely 1972, 143–49.

Painters in the cityscape

Turning now from content to space and contexts. Most of the painters known from signatures were working inside the city walls – no one is attested both inside and outside the walls.[50] The tombs outside the Nucerian Gate south of Pompeii feature many electoral notices and *edicta*, but the names of the candidates and organizers of games do not occur inside the walls. It seems that this area was used mostly for events and elections taking place elsewhere, Nuceria, Puteoli, and Herculaneum among them. It remains uncertain whether the three painters signing texts in that area came from Pompeii or elsewhere (Table 1 Part III) – either option seems equally plausible. The early *edictum* signed by Magus advertised for games at Puteoli inside the walls and he could also not be from Pompeii. Sexti[---] signed a text outside the Herculaneum Gate and in that area candidates are familiar from the city suggesting he could be Pompeian. Although the numbers of texts and painters are low, the division between work inside and outside the walls seems clear.

The distribution of signed texts inside the city walls matches the general distribution of painted texts fairly closely: the painters were active in every part of town (Fig. 1). This kind of scattered distribution is expected if the painters worked professionally for different candidates. Relatively few signed notices have been found in the most popular areas, particularly in the central part of Via dell'Abbondanza. It is possible that notices got regularly replaced by new ones in the most popular locations, whereas in the side streets the texts and signatures survived longer.

The distributions of notices by painters with more than one signed text differ from each other (Fig. 2). Infantio's signatures can be found scattered in different parts of the city, whereas Florus, Fructus, and Papilio signed texts in smaller areas. Aemilius Celer's signatures are all on one street in Region IX. When the notices where the painters support candidates are added (eight cases), these three patterns become even clearer. Some remain in limited areas – Aemilius Celer, Mustius, and Porcellus. Some covered a larger section of the city, such as Fructus and Hinnulus. Papilio's supporter notices are distributed far more widely than his signed ones. The smaller patterns tend to occur in the central parts of

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[50] Claudius Primus inside the city walls and Prim[--] outside (see Table 1 for references) could be the same person, but the latter is fragmentary and the *cognomen* could be also something else.
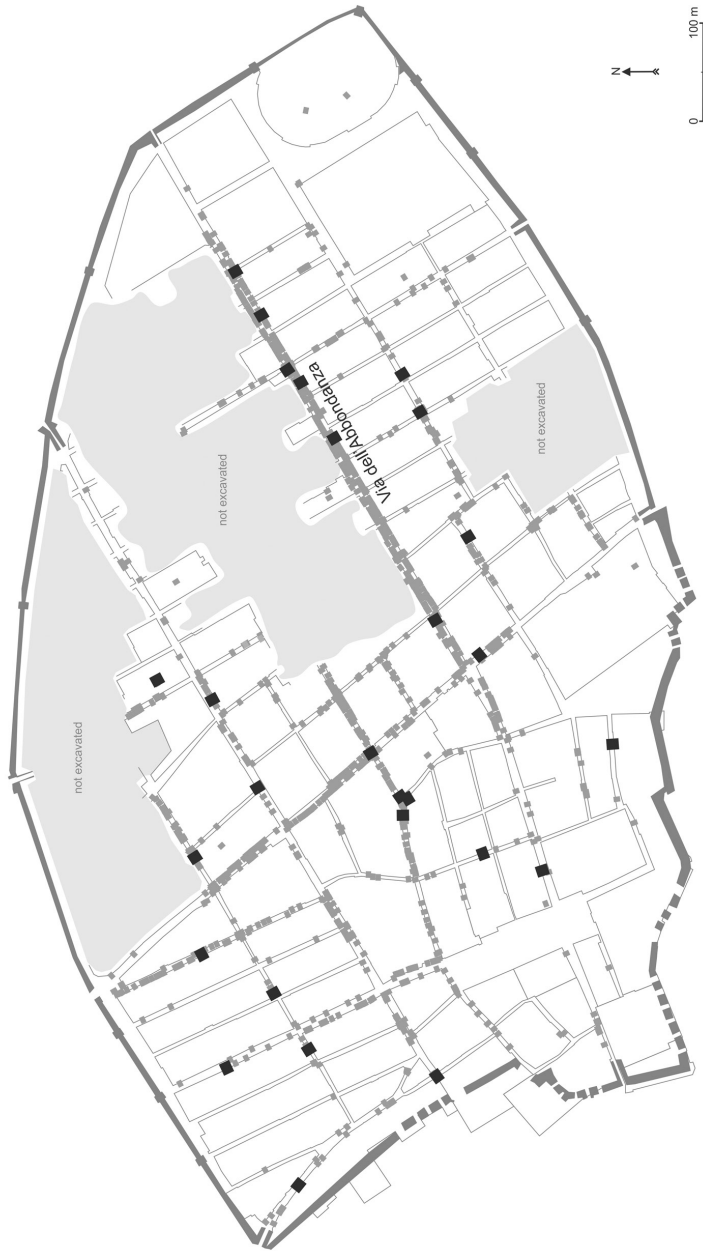
Fig. 1: The distribution of electoral notices in Pompeii with grey squares. The locations of signed notices marked with black squares. (Map by author.)
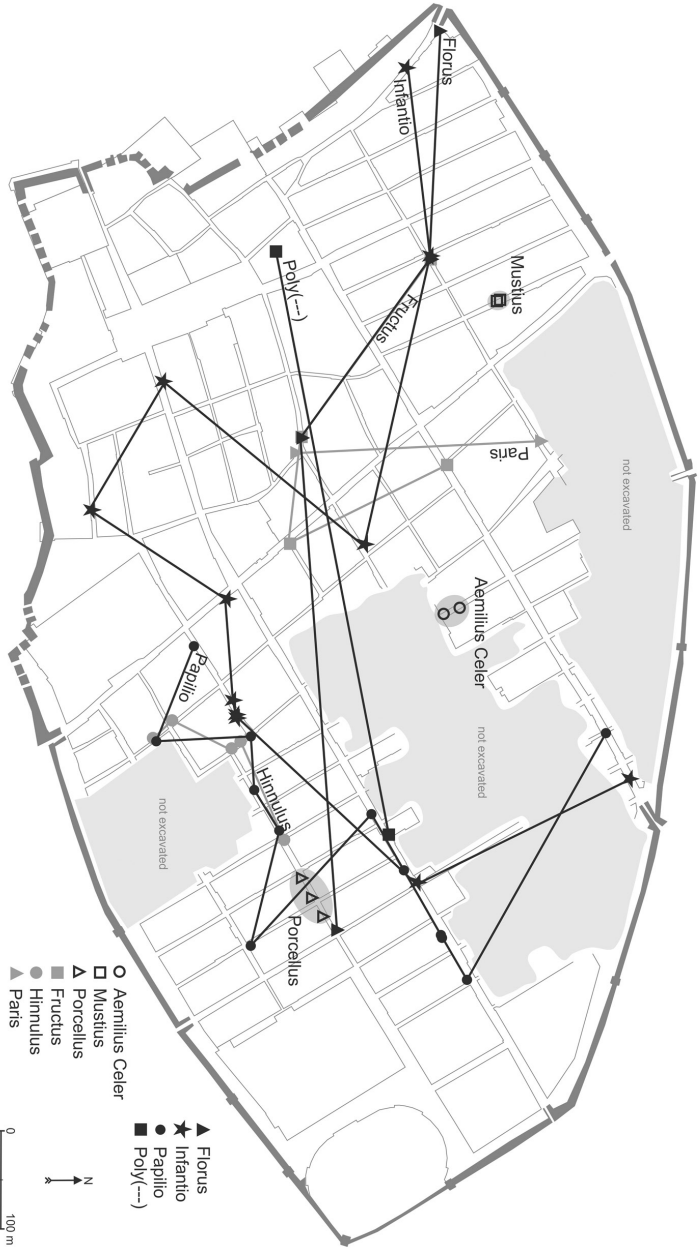
Fig. 2: The distribution of different activities of the painters in Pompeii. Limited areas with black open signs, medium distances with grey signs, and long distances with black signs. (Map by author.)

the city and the ones with long distances closer to the walls. *Scriptores* had access to locations beyond their own houses because of their professional activity and they were able to use their connections also for supporting other candidates.

The patterns of painter and supporter activities are similar[51] and this could suggest that some supporters painted their own notices, particularly the ones active in limited areas. The most obvious case is Mustius who declares his profession as *fullo* (fuller) and signs one notice (Table 1). He is a supporter in another notice on the same façade but cannot be found elsewhere. Fructus *pycta* (boxer) could be another case although he is likely the painter with the same name (Table 1). The question of the professionality of the painters was raised earlier on based mostly on Mustius, but also considering the availability of work.[52] The election period was short and there seems to have been few other regular jobs for painting signs available. Having other ways to earn a living in addition to the seasonal painting job seems a necessity.

The question of professionality can also be approached by analyzing the conventions and processes of painting based on the locations and the appearance of the notices. Using photographs and other data available it was possible to reconstruct the placement of notices on 17 façades on the Via dell'Abbondanza (four depicted in Fig. 3).[53] The façade drawings make tangible how some locations were not used at all and others were used repeatedly despite all the façades being in the most popular areas for electoral notices.

The notices are painted with red or black paint over a whitewashed surface – whitewash was commonly used even on a light-colored plaster surface.[54] The whitewash could be applied over a stone or masonry surface, usually brick or combination of small stone blocks and brick. The plasters covering the façades were often painted in a simple manner: a high red socle, commonly reaching 1,5 to 2 m above ground level, and an unpainted or white surface above this. Sometimes the socle was painted with other colors and featured divisions into

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[51] See Viitanen forthcoming b.

[52] Della Corte 1965, 167–9 No. 307.

[53] There are 25 façades east of the Via Stabiana. The reconstruction drawings cover locations for some 550 notices (23% of all).

[54] The early electoral notices from the 1st century B.C.E. were painted with red color directly on tuff ashlars (cf. Sakai 1993). The earlier Oscan texts were also usually painted directly on stone, but at least Vetter 28 was painted on plaster on the façade of house III 4,2–3.

panels similar to the contemporary wall painting styles.[55] In some cases, the façades were decorated with images, most commonly deities and other religious subjects, but some pictures related to the activity of the shop or workshop have also been found.[56] The decoration style was rarely uniform on the entire façade of a city block; the changes occur along property borders. Even the height of the red socle could be slightly different for adjacent properties. This made it possible to intuitively understand which notices belonged to which house in most cases. (Fig. 3.)

Along the Via dell'Abbondanza most of the electoral notices were painted on the upper parts of the walls: on the unpainted/white surfaces (ca. 2/3) and on the upper part of the socle (ca. 1/3) (Fig. 3). Consequently, most of them were located at or above 1,5 to 2 m above ground level. In the side streets, the notices could be painted also slightly lower. Above the socle, the notices could be painted in two or three rows on top of each other, and the rows were often divided into irregular columns. Usually only the top 50 cm of the socle in one or two rows was used despite plenty of wall surface available below. If the socle was divided into panels, their borders were often used as limits for the width of the notices. The preference for heights at eye level or above heads of most adults suggests that good visibility was wanted – the notices could be seen and read without hindrance from anywhere. In the streets with less foot traffic slightly lower levels worked equally well. The height would also effectively prevent vandalism of the notices, but this seems less important considering that many notices were at lower levels also. There is little evidence for defacing the notices or even graffiti being scratched on them.[57]

The sizes of the notices varied according to space available: they could be fitted onto a 30-cm wide doorpost or they could be more than 4 m wide on a long wall surface. In the usual arrangement there are notices in at least one row above the socle top and one below it. The most popular façades along the Via dell'Abbondanza often feature one larger notice in the center with smaller ones

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[55] See Spinazzola 1953, *passim*.

[56] Catalogue in Fröhlich 1991.

[57] In three cases, the name of the supporter has been covered with whitewash or paint: Zmyrina in *CIL* IV 7864, Cuculla in *CIL* IV 7841, and the word *popule* in *CIL* IV 9870. In *edictum CIL* IV 7995, *Neronis* is treated similarly. Some 40 graffiti have been recorded in the whitewashed areas in streets where the notices are at low level.
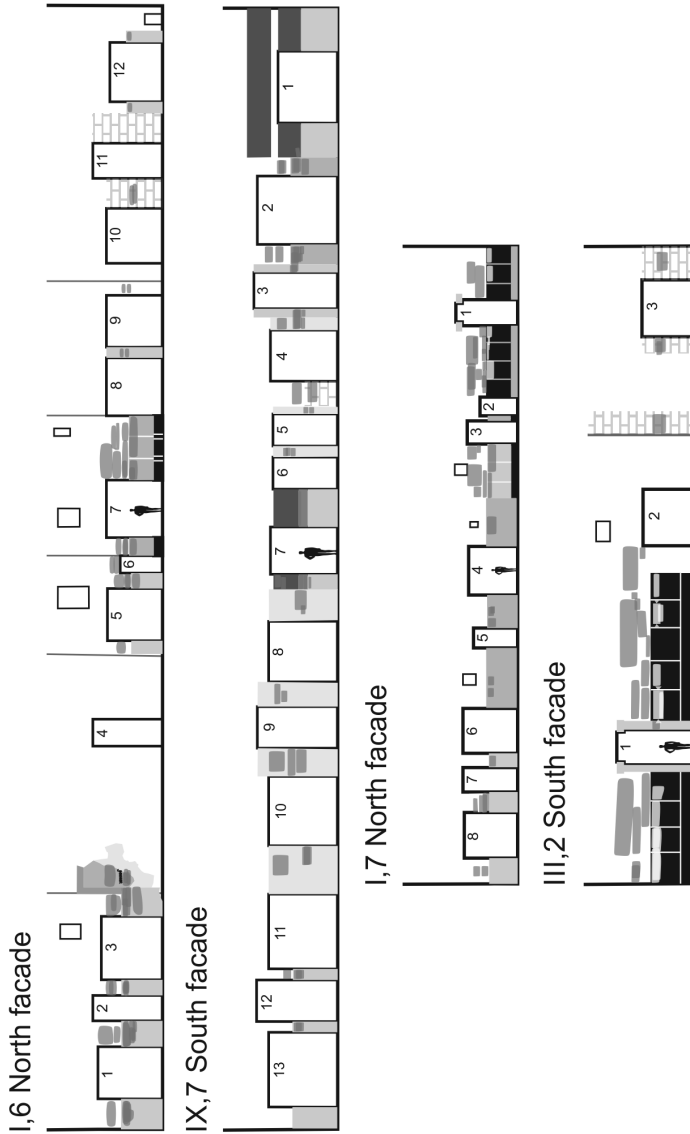
Fig. 3: *The façades of four city blocks on the Via dell'Abbondanza showing the locations of painted texts on them. The drawings are not to scale representations, but proportions were maintained as close to correct as possible. Grayscale tones used do not refer to real colors (apart from black) but are varied to indicate changes in the decoration of the façades. The dark grey areas on IX 7 indicate painted images. The raster with rectangles represents masonry surfaces. (Drawings by author.)*

arranged around it. If the wall surface was between two doors, the notices tend to be neatly aligned to one of them, usually 2–3 rows of notices. The notices right before the next door were not organized in neat rows and columns and there is often a gap between the texts and the door. The neat alignment could indicate the property which was responsible for the notices getting painted. On many façades, the same spots were used 2–4 times in different elections and the old texts were covered with layers of whitewash (ca. 130 cases). These tend to be located right above the socle or on the socle. The notices were not randomly painted on the façades, there were designated areas for them. The situation was different in the side streets where there was often plenty of space available and little competition for it. Consequently, neat organization and layering of notices on one façade was not needed.

The whitewash probably served more than one purpose. It was used on light and dark surfaces suggesting that making red or black text visible was not its only function. It covered old notices but was also used over previously unused surfaces. The whitewash moistened the surface making the painting process easier and the paint to adhere to the wall better. In addition, the fresh white surface indicated clearly that the notice was new, especially on a façade with more texts.[58] The whitewash could be just a few brushstrokes barely covering what was underneath or a neatly outlined thick surface. Sometimes *tabulae ansatae* were painted, but not very often. The size of the whitewashed area varied – it needed to cover at least a possible old notice but did not have to be exactly the size of the text intended to be painted on it. Sometimes the notice did not quite fit the area, sometimes there was enough space for another notice.

The width of the notices is reported for some 870 of them. The average is about 75 cm, half are between 60 and 120 cm wide, the rest divided almost equally into smaller and larger ones. The layout varies: most are in one or two rows (some 1000 and 1100, respectively).[59] The name of the candidate was almost always painted with large letters in the beginning or at the top and the rest of the text was considerably smaller indicating a hierarchy in the text – the important

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[58] I am indebted to architect and DSc Anu Koponen for sharing her expertise on painting walls and answering my questions on the use of whitewash. I also owe her the idea of the visibility of a new notice on fresh white surface.

[59] Cf. Fioretti 2014, 57 who maintains that they feature almost always more than one row.

parts were larger.[60] The total height varied according to the number of rows and the size of letters between 2 and 70 cm, most tended to be 20 to 50 cm high.[61] The *edicta* are usually wider than the notices as they usually feature one phrase (name of the organizer, *pro salute*, or *dedicatione*) in very large letters and the rest in one or more rows below and/or around the larger phrase.

Painting the notices neatly in straight rows could have been done by incising or drawing guidelines in the whitewash, but these cannot be observed in the photographs of electoral notices or *edicta*.[62] For many of them, the socle border probably functioned as a natural guideline. Yarn attached to the plaster could have been used and this would not leave observable traces. In very many cases it is possible to see the row(s) rising or dipping down indicating that the text was painted without a guideline.

The process of painting seems to have been mostly this: first a space needed to be found, the spot was then whitewashed, and lastly the text was painted. The text was most likely painted on wet whitewashed surface, and it might have been necessary to wait for the surface to moisten properly. Variation in the thickness of both whitewash and paint can be seen in the photographs. Drip marks of whitewash and paint have sometimes been interpreted as indications of rush jobs, but they could also simply mean thinner paint than what was generally used. The height of the locations means that the work often required a stool or a ladder – relatively few notices could have been painted standing on the sidewalk. The notice where the lantern holder is told to hold the ladder is located by the architrave of a doorway about 3 m above ground level.[63] If the text were of average width, one position would probably have sufficed to paint the entire notice, but the length of some texts indicates that the ladder or stool needed to be moved. The necessity to use a stool or a ladder could also mean that nighttime might have been preferred for having less traffic on the narrow sidewalks. However, this

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[60] Fioretti 2014, 58–59.

[61] Measurements collected from *CIL* IV. Fioretti 2014, 57 mentions letter heights between 10 and 80 cm.

[62] Incised or painted guidelines occur in three texts featuring multiple rows of small letters – a precise execution was seemingly wanted. They are a rental announcement for Iulia Felix (*CIL* IV 1136), a list of names of possible religious magistrates (*CIL* IV 7807), and a text on a water tower in Herculaneum (*CIL* IV 10489).

[63] *CIL* IV 7621, doorway III 2,1 east side.

raises the question of light needed to do the work. Could a *lanternarius* standing at ground level provide enough light to paint a notice 3 m above ground level? A lantern could of course be attached to the upper part of the ladder and another person might not have been needed for the job. Most of the work could probably be done by one person, but two might have been faster and more efficient – for example, one whitewashed in advance and then helped the other to paint the notices.

Negative attitudes and practices

The examination of the locations and the painting process can also be used to explore some common perceptions about wall inscriptions and their making. A small number of inscriptions from around the Roman world beg writers of all kind to leave buildings alone or threaten them with dire consequences for painting or scratching texts. These have been interpreted to mean that painted texts and graffiti were generally unwanted and had to be done in secret. However, these warnings occur predominantly on burials and cemeteries where the owners of the monuments could not control the situation unlike house owners inside the city walls.[64] In Pompeii, the notices occur in highly visible places along the main streets and on large private houses possibly with guards. It seems unlikely that notices could have been painted secretly even in the middle of the night.

It has been previously suggested that anyone could have freely painted on any façade.[65] If this were the case, it could be expected that in such popular areas as along the Via dell'Abbondanza every façade would feature notices. However, this did not happen. Notices are found more commonly on the façades of large private houses than on workshops.[66] A small number (ca. 35) of electoral notices have been painted inside private houses and in these cases, a permission was obviously needed. Moreover, public buildings were only rarely used despite their typically good locations for visibility – only 52 electoral notices have been found on them. It seems more likely that the inhabitants of the houses controlled

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[64] Kruschwitz 2010 lists 22 cases and ten requests or threats are from burials. Four are probably from inside city walls (no. 5, 13, 15, maybe 21). Eight describe other attitudes towards writing.

[65] Mouritsen 1988, 58–59.

[66] Viitanen – Nissin 2017.

what could be done to their façades and that the candidates/supporters wanted a connection to the houses and the people associated with the properties.[67] The regularity in the ways the façades were painted suggests that conventions of where and how to paint on each house were distinct and adhered to by the painters.

Painters have also been accused of indifference, or even vandalism, for painting notices over images on the façades.[68] However, a survey of the locations of the more than 90 façade paintings shows that this occurs in only one place, the workshop IX 7,6–7. A small painting depicting woolworkers has been whitewashed and painted over with two notices. A third notice was made in another painting on the same façade so that the text was placed between the people depicted but not disturbing them.[69] Elsewhere, two notices have been placed on the edges of paintings and in three further cases, the whitewash partially covers the edge of the painting.[70] Defacing pictures is so rare that the only known case was likely done with permission.

The analysis of placement and layout of painted texts supports some of the old hypotheses such as working in pairs or small groups for speed and efficiency. Work at night seems also plausible based on the need to use stools or ladders and for the time the work took. The process was divided into different phases and time was needed for the wall to be ready for work as well as for the painting itself. Illumination could have been a slight problem at night, but not an obstacle. The assumptions that the notices were unwanted and that painting them could not be controlled inside the city walls are not supported. The conventions of painting signs were strong, they were followed, and they make sense in different kinds of contexts from busy main streets to more isolated locations.

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[67] Inhabitants deciding whose name appears on the façade could also explain lack of competing candidates painting over each other's notices.

[68] For example, Mouritsen 1988, 58.

[69] Façade paintings based on Fröhlich 1991. *CIL* IV 7843–7844 on the painting, 7838 in the painting with text between images.

[70] Notices in a painting: *CIL* IV 348 at VI 13,6–7 and 7810 at IX 7,1. Whitewash partially over the edge of a painting: *CIL* IV 7430–1 at I 12,3, 7435–6 at I 12,5, and 7491 at II 1,1.

Exploring scripts in Pompeii

The last section moves even closer to the texts by examining scripts used in
them. Rustic capitals were the most common script and features generally long
and narrow letters with varying thickness of brush strokes and distinct serifs.
It is not a uniform style as letters were painted usually without guidelines. In
an ideal case, it might be possible to identify painters by their script. However,
it is not known whether the painters aimed at personalized styles reproduced
through their work – a team or a workshop could also have determined the
script styles used by individuals. Painting without guidelines is already bound to
produce some unintended variation. It is also possible to find letters painted in
seemingly distinctive ways which then occur with different scripts – for example,
the oblique strokes of the letter Y rising above other letters like a palm tree with
long curving lines on both sides (Fig. 4).[71] However, as individual styles were an
essential part of many crafts in the Roman world, it can perhaps be assumed that
Pompeian painters and/or workshops had their own distinct scripts.[72]

The rustic capitals were not the only script used in Pompeian painted
texts. In the early electoral notices from the 1st century B.C.E. simple sans-serif
capitals were used.[73] A similar, but slightly wider and squarer typeface was also
used, for example in the *edictum* signed by Magus. This kind of lettering appears
on earlier plaster layers also in other contexts[74] and it is possible that it was used
simultaneously with the rustic capitals. Rustic capitals were the preferred script
during the last decades of Pompeii and it was first introduced probably by the 30s
C.E.[75] Some other scripts also occur even in the last phase, such as small cursive-
like texts or sans-serif capitals in large brushstrokes.[76]

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[71] Different versions of the letters B and G also occur with different scripts.

[72] For example, the Fourth Style wall painting workshops in Pompeii in Esposito 2009.

[73] Cf. Fioretti 2014, 53–4.

[74] See Magus in Table 1. A stylistic comparison by Fioretti 2014, 54 nota 82 to *CIL* IV 9956 could
date Magus to early part of 1st century C.E. Other texts include *CIL* IV 733 in Greek and 7124–5
in Latin.

[75] Fioretti 2014, 53–6.

[76] Cursive-like *CIL* IV 7305a–g (Varone – Stefani 2009, 98–100). *CIL* IV 7691 is similar but with
clearer serifs (Varone – Stefani 2009, 264–5). Large brush capitals in *CIL* IV 7796 (Varone – Stefani
2009, 288). Cf. Fioretti 2012, 419 nota 34 for a list of unusual scripts.

Fig. 4: Letter Y painted in a similar way in two different scripts. (Originals extracted from Varone – Stefani 2009, 115, 408.)

The analysis of styles was conducted by comparing repeated sections in the notices and *edicta*. This is usually the name of the candidate as the rest is often merely two ligatures such as AED OVF lettered similarly in very many cases. The material consists of more than 200 images covering texts for almost 50 candidates. Five or more images of different notices could be found for 17 candidates and 1–3 images of names for almost 30 other candidates. In addition, texts for candidates with the same family name or *cognomen* were compared. Infantio is the only painter with more than one signed and/or supported notice available.[77] The focus was on two questions: firstly, whether there was variation in the notices on the façades of different houses and secondly, whether notices for individual candidates were written in one or more styles.

In most notices, the names of candidates were usually painted with large lettering and the rest with smaller. This applied also to texts in one row: the name is large and followed by the rest of the information divided into one to three rows

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[77] See above note 28.

of small text not exceeding the height of the name. The smaller texts contained
the office the candidate was running for, a general support phrase, and the names
of supporters and/or painters. The size indicated the most relevant part, and the
rest was not as important. The large letters were also painted with more detail
than small ones. The details in how the lines were painted (straight or curving),
how the stroke width varied, the height and width of the letters, how the letters
were spaced, how different letters were shaped, and how the serifs were done can
differ considerably between notices. Less distinctive detail was used in smaller
texts and they tend to be relatively similar in style. This could depend on the skill
of the painter, but also the size of the brush probably mattered. The similarity of
the smaller texts makes it difficult to compare the names of the supporters and
painters.

A general visual comparison of the scripts used in the façades where
more electoral notices appear is enough to establish that different styles do
occur. For example, the façade of the *taberna* of Asellina (IX 11,2–4) features
more than ten notices which were mostly written in different scripts (the part
between doors 3 and 4 in Fig. 5). Some of the texts could have been painted
by one person, for example the two notices for Lollius in the west and middle
piers. But the third notice for Lollius between doors 3 and 4 is different: wider
spaces between letters, less careful and more curving lines, different serifs (Fig.
6). In another example, the notices on the façade of *fullonica* of Stephanus (I
6,7) are all painted with slightly curving lines and narrow spaces between letters

Fig. 5: The façade of IX 11,2–3 displaying six electoral notices, all with different scripts.
(Image used by permission of Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e il Turismo – Parco
Archeologico di Pompei.)
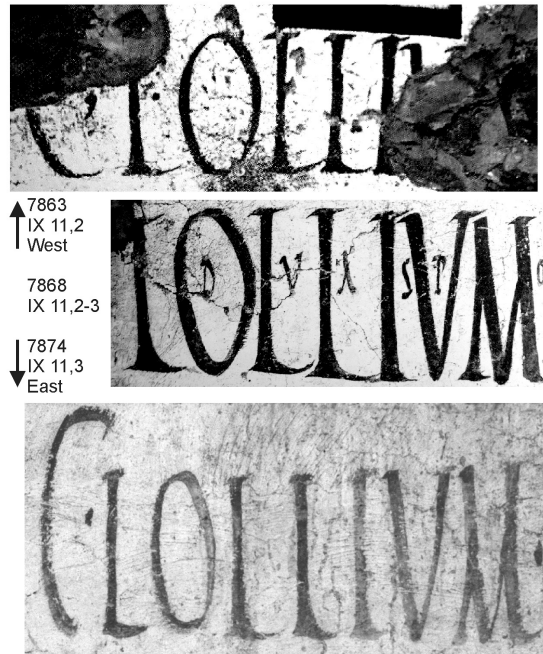
Fig. 6: Three electoral notices from the façade IX 11,2–4 for Lollius Fuscus. Two possibly painted by one person, the bottom text by a different painter. (Originals extracted from Varone – Stefani 2009, 423–424, 429.)

(Fig. 7).[78] However, the details of many notices could mean different painters despite the general similarities. It cannot be known who was responsible for the general aesthetic impression – it could be one painter (an inhabitant?) or many painters working similarly at the request of the inhabitants of the house. In most cases, the stylistic diversity is the norm and many painters worked on one façade.

The analysis of notices for different candidates also reveals variety. In all cases it seems obvious that more than one painter worked on each candidate's campaign – this concurs with the information provided by the signatures. Most

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[78] The two supported notices at the top and bottom left side end in ROG exactly alike (particularly the letter G) suggesting that one painter did both.

Fig. 7: The façade of I 6,7–8 displaying eight electoral notices with somewhat similar appearance. Details reveal probable separate painters, but the overall similar impression is unusual among the Pompeian evidence. (Image used by permission of Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali e il Turismo – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.)

of the texts come from campaigns for only one office and most of these involved many notices. Photographs of campaigns for different offices exist for Audius Bassus and Iulius Polybius. Audius is known only from six notices and they are from campaigns for *aedilis* and *quinquennalis*, with probably time between them (Fig. 8). The scripts are so different that two painters must have been at work. Iulius Polybius's notices are for *aedilis* and *duumvir* campaigns. Also in his case both campaigns featured multiple painters using different scripts. It is assumed that the candidates ran for an office only once and that the notices all belonged to one campaign.[79] It is possible that the notices represent more campaigns

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[79] The catalogues of Mouritsen 1988 and Chiavia 2002 *passim*.

Fig. 8: The name of Audius Bassus painted with two different scripts – CIL IV 7613 is from his aedilis *campaign and 7704 from* quinquennalis *campaign. (Originals extracted from Varone – Stefani 2009, 233, 269.)*

for one office and that the different scripts are related to them. Neither textual nor contextual evidence provides enough support for identifying one or more campaigns for one office.

The distribution of the signed notices showed that the size of one painter's activity area varied from one street to the entire city. These patterns can perhaps also be seen in the distribution of scripts. Albucius Celsus's campaign for *aedilis* included 80 notices and images of 12 of them could be found (Fig. 9). It is possible to discern three painters who featured more than once, and two others known only from one instance. The notices by the painters with more than one text were on the Via dell'Abbondanza, but also in the quieter side streets and outside the city walls. The concentration of the evidence to Via dell'Abbondanza is problematic, but in addition to Albucius, there are also other cases where one script could be found in different parts of the city.

The results of the analyses on scripts confirm the activity of quite many painters in the last years of Pompeii. Although it was not possible to try and

Script 1
7786 III 7,1 SW
7051 V 7,6 East
7846 IX 7,7-8

Script 2
182 VI 8,12 South
inedita V 2-7 area
1169 Villa di Cicerone
7046 V 7,3-4

Script 3
inedita V 7 area
inedita V 7 area
1154 II 4,1 NW

Individual Scripts
7837 I 19,4 West
inedita V 7 area
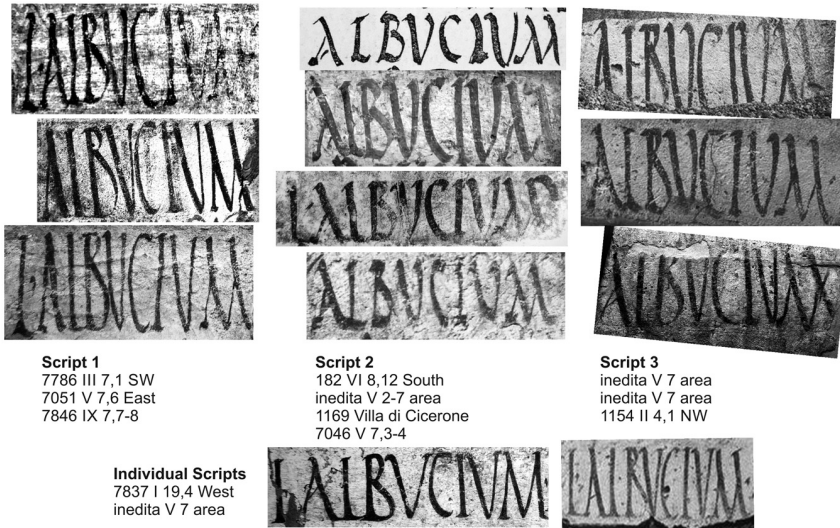
Fig. 9: The campaign for aedilis *of Albucius Celsus featured at least three painters responsible for more than one notice as well as four others with only one notice photographed. (Originals extracted from* CIL *IV 182, Varone – Stefani 2009, 173, 286, 309, 311, 408, 515, the unpublished examples downloaded from the social media channels of* Parco Archeologico di Pompei.)*

identify painters working for different candidates on this occasion, the current results indicate that it was common for more than one painter to paint notices in one context and that more than one painter probably worked for one campaign. The notices had to get up on the walls relatively quickly and for a campaign with dozens or even more than a hundred notices, this would have required more than one painter. Neither house inhabitants or candidates seemed to have preferred painters or workshops with uniform style. The different scripts could belong to different members of one workshop, but this cannot be verified – and if this were the case, there was no uniform workshop style. The evidence for the geographical distribution of painters based on style is limited but suggests that there were no limitations for working in different parts of the city.

The skills needed for painting legible and neat notices suggest a fairly high level of professionality. The painters needed to know the techniques of painting, conventions of how to paint notices and *edicta*, and have access to materials and tools. The work for the campaigns had to be done quickly and efficiently and experienced painters could do that. It has been suggested that the sign painters could also have worked on wall paintings and this would make sense based on this analysis.[80] However, although most painters seem to have been skilled, there are also those whose texts feature wobbly lines and letters randomly varying in size with little attention to detail. The notices written in a cursive-like hand in the façade of house I 8,15[81] appear to be the work of one person and this could be interpreted as activity of the inhabitants of the house in support of their candidates. Although most of the work seems to be on a professional level, its seasonal character does not exclude work by those not painting signs regularly as perhaps also shown by Mustius *fullo* signing a notice.

Conclusions

The amount of evidence directly related to the painters of Pompeii is at first glance small – about 50 signed notices. But combining those notices with other texts associated with painters themselves, candidates, and other persons, and placing all of them in the social, geographical, and archaeological contexts reveals much more of painting signs and painters than the texts on their own do. However, lack of detailed data and images in the publications made the analyses difficult. A good photograph is essential for verifying location, script style, and even content of the texts. The available evidence cannot provide answers to many of the questions concerning the organization of election campaigns but analyzing the evidence from multiple perspectives aids in understanding what questions could be answered.

A stricter methodology applied to identifying painters and combined with visual evidence of scripts excludes some names from the lists of painters presented in previous research. Furthermore, activity inside and outside walls raises questions on the relationship of some painters with Pompeii – they could

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[80] Della Corte 1965, 167–9 No. 307.

[81] See above note 74.

have come from neighboring cities. It is also possible to observe some variation in the activity periods of the painters, but apart from Magus who can be much earlier, most painters were active in the latter part of the 1st century C.E.

Painting signs required skills and know-how that most Pompeians probably did not have. Most of the notices were likely painted by experienced, possibly professional painters. However, both textual and visual evidence suggests that also non-professionals, probably supporters, sometimes painted notices. It is also clear that the painters had a double role in the elections as they also supported candidates. Sometimes the painters signed notices for and supported one candidate, but more commonly they supported other candidates.

The general distribution of notices is focused on main streets where they were painted high on the walls to ensure good visibility. This visibility in addition to regularity of placements and repeated use of select locations do not support the old assumptions of an unwanted activity done in secrecy. The places for electoral notices were controlled most likely by the inhabitants of houses. Working at night seems plausible to avoid foot traffic disturbing painters working on detailed scripts on a ladder.

Both textual and visual evidence suggest that more than one painter/team worked on most campaigns. Furthermore, households had no preferences towards certain painters, as many different scripts can be observed on most façades. However, different scripts could represent members of one workshop and indicate that no "workshop style" was aimed at. It seems unlikely that the texts produced by members of one workshop could be identified. Further work on scripts could identify individual painters working for campaigns of different candidates.

The results suggest that the process of producing painted signs in Pompeii was not simple and uniform – the active agents consisted of individuals and teams, professionals and amateurs. The organization of the campaigns cannot be reconstructed, but it seems likely that those processes were equally diverse and involved candidates, supporters, house owners, and painters in varying degrees and formations.

Vantaa

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Part I Painters				
Name	**Reason**	**Signatures**	**Supporter**	**Other possible texts**
[---]cina	nom + scr PR	PR 1165 scr. [---]cina		
[---]sius	nom + scr? PR	PR 222 s[---] sit [---]sius dealbatore Onesimo		
Aemilius Celer, P.	nom + scr PR 2, EM 1	PR 3775 scr. Aemilius Celer, 3820 scr. Aemilius Celer; EM 3884 scr. Celer, scr. Aemilius Celer		Person? Celer supporter PR 7333, 7334. EM 9977 ememded Ce[ler scripsit], but C and E in large letters, not a likely signature. OP 3790, 3792, 3794; GR 5325, 5328
Ascaules	nom + scr PR	PR 636 scrib. Ascaules		
C[---]	nom? + scr PR	PR 6621 scripsit C[---]		
Claudius Primus	nom + scr OP	OP 10981 scr. Claudius Primu[s]		Same as Prim[-] in 9971? (see below)
Florillus	nom + scr PR	PR 803 scr. Florillus		
Florus	nom + scr PR 2	PR 230 scr. Infantio cum Floro et Fructo et Sabino hic ubique, 581 scr. Florus cum Fructo	9877 Fundilius Eugamus cum Floro suo rog.	Role? PR 95 Florus. GR 2223, 3097, 4299, 4298c, 4299, 4378, 4387, 4392, 7339, 8153c, 8861a, 8816 (Florus gladiator?)

Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
	Pothinus	SCR Postumius Proculus		A, E, H
[--]sius, Onesimus		SCR Epidius Sabinus, Marius (Rufus), Paquius Proculus, Vettius Caprarius Felix		A, E, F, G, H
	Vicini	SCR PR Claudius Verus, Statius Receptus. SCR EM Lucretius Satrius Valens		A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980
	Menecrates, Vesbinus	SCR Vettius Caprasius Felix		A, C, E, F, G, H
		SCR Obellius Firmus		A, C, E, H
				CIL IV 4.2
		SCR Cerrinius Vatia		A, C, E, F, G, H
Florus, Fructus, Infantio, Sabinus	Fundilius Eugamus, Messenio, seri bibi universi	SCR Cerrinius Vatia. ROG Lucretius Fronto	Hic et ubique	A, C, E, G, H

Name	Reason	Signatures	Supporter	Other possible texts
Fructus = Fructus *pycta*?	nom + scr PR 2; nom + scr PR	PR 230 scr. Infantio cum Floro et Fructo et Sabino hic ubique, 581 scr. Florus cum Fructo	934 Fructus cu[pit?]	OP 3599; GR 1250, 1875, 2126, 2244, 2245, 2245a, 2409c, 3324=5042, 3539, 4151, 4471, 4473, 4513, 8171, 10033.4
Hinnulus	nom + scr PR	PR 9851 scr. Hinnulus	2993dα Innulus rogat, 3367 Hinnulus cum Papilione rog.	Person? Role? 7373 Hinn(ulus?) rog., 7374 Infa(n)s nec sine Hinnulo. OP 2993zβ? GR 8985
Infantio (C. Nisius/ Calvisius Infantio?)	nom + scr PR 6, EM 1	PR 120 scr. Infantio, 230 scr. Infantio cum Floro et Fructo et Sabino hic ubique, 709 s[c]r. Infantio, 785a s[c]r. Infantio, 984 scr. Infantio, 7658 Infantio scr.; EM 7343 scripsit Infantio	1226 Infantio rogat, 3296=3680 T. Genialis Infantio rog., 7191 Infantio rog. cum suis, 7348 Infantio cupit	Person? Role? 239 Miscenia rog. Infa[---], 485 rog. Lassi cum [F]abio et Crimio et C. Nisio/Calvisio? [In] fantione ubiq(ue), 789 scr. Infa[---], 7618 Valens fac(it) et ille te fecit Infan[---]. GR 1226, 1314a, 1316
Magus	nom EM	EM 7994 Magus		
Mustius fullo	nom + scr PR	PR 3529 Mustius fullo facit et dealbat scr. unicus	3527 Pupius Appuleia cum Mustio vicino f(acit) et Narcissus vos roga[t	

Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
Florus, Fructus, Infantio, Sabinus	Capito (pycta), Messenio, seri bibi universi	SCR Cerrinius Vatia. ROG Marius Rufus	Hic et ubique; other profession?	A, C, E, F, G, H
	Euxinus, Iustus	SCR Cerrinius Vatia, Postumius Proculus. ROG Ceius Secundus, Postumius Proculus, incertus		E, F, G, H
Florus, Fructus, Infantio, Sabinus	Incertus, Fabius Eupor, Messenius, Scymnis, Trebius	SCR PR Ceius Secundus, Cerrinius Vatia, Cuspius Pansa, Popidius Secundus, A. Postumius. SCR EM Popidius Rufus. ROG Albucius Celsus, Helvius Sabinus	Hic et ubique	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H
		SCR EM Capinia?	On an old plaster	D, G, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980
	Sodales?	SCR Pupius Rufus. ROG Pupius Rufus	Other profession?	A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H

Name	Reason	Signatures	Supporter	Other possible texts
Ocella	nom EM	EM 7993 Ocella		OP 1093
Papilio	nom + scr PR 3	PR 7418 scr. Papilio, 7465 Papilio scr., 7536 scr. Papilio	1157 Papilio rog(at), 3367 Hinnulus cum Papilione rog(at)	Role? 1080 Verus innoce(n)s facit Papilio, 9829a Amarantus Pompeianus rog. Papilio, 10925 Successus cliens rog. Papilio, 7251 Papilio, 7298 Papilio. OP 7248a
Paris	nom + scr PR	PR 821 scribit Paris idem rogat	7051 Paris rogat	Role? 1179 Maio quinq(uennali) feliciter Paris (well-wisher). EM 1179 (greeting). OP 148, 330, 1085, 3013, 3609, 7367. GR 23 times
Philo[---]	nom? + scr PR	PR 7027 scr. Philo V[---]		
Poly(---)	nom? EM 2	EM 1177 Poly(---), 7992 Poly(---)		
Porcellus	nom + scr PR	PR 9925 scr. Porcellus	9919 Porcellus cum suis rog., 9922 Porcellus rogat	GR 2347
Protog[---]	nom + scr PR	PR 2975 scr. Protog[---		

Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
		EM Alleius Nigidius Maius	Inside O in Dedicatione	B, D, G, H, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980
	Lollius Synhodus cliens	SCR PR Calventius Sittius Magnus, Popidius Secundus, Secundus. ROG Ceius Secundus		C, D, E, F, G, H
		SCR Suettius Certus. ROG Albucius Celsus, Casellius Marcellus, Suettius Certus		A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980
		SCR incertus		A, C, E, G, H
		EM incertus		B, C, E, G, H, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980
		SCR Postumius Proculus. ROG Helvius Sabinus, Lucretius Fronto		F, G, H
	Diadumenus?	SCR Lucretius		A, C, E, F, G, H

Name	Reason	Signatures	Supporter	Other possible texts
Sabinus	nom + scr PR	PR 230 scr. Infantio cum Floro et Fructo et Sabino hic ubique		Person? Sabinus as supporter in 360, 629, 768=1030 (dissignator), 880, 969, 1048 (copo?), 1049, 9880. GR 40 times
Secundus	nom + scr EM	EM 1190 scr. Secundus dealbante Vic(tor) e adstante Vesbino (red) em(p)tore [--		Person? 558 Numisius Iucundus com Secundo et Victore rog., 840 Euhode perfusor cum Secu[---], 878 Secundus rog. OP 343; GR 65 times
Sexti[----]	nom? + scr EM	EM 1200 scr. Sexti[---]		
Incertus 1	scr PR	PR 1158 scr[---		
Incertus 2	scr EM	EM 1178 scr.		
Incertus 3	scr PR	PR 3738 scrib[it---		
Incertus 4	scr PR	PR 974 scr.		
Part II Members of teams				
Name	**Reason**	**Signatures**	**Supporter**	**Other possible texts**
[---]lius		PR 7934 [---]lius adstitit		
Onesimus		PR 222 s[---]sit [---]sius dealbatore Onesimo		GR 17 times

Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
Florus, Fructus, Infantio, Sabinus	Messenio	SCR Cerrinius Vatia	Hic et ubique	A, C, E, F, G, H
Secundus, Vesbinus, Victor		SCR Suettius Certus		A, C, E, F, G, H, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980
		SCR EM incertus		E, G, H, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980
		SCR Paquius Proculus, Vettius Caprarius Felix		A, E, H
		SCR EM Alleius Nigidius Maius		E, H
	Fustius	SCR Popidius Secundus		E, H
		SCR Postumius Proculus		A, E, H
Teams	**Other supporters**	**Candidates/ Organizers**	**Other elements**	**Bibliography**
				E
[--]sius, Onesimus				A, B, C, E, G

Name	Reason	Signatures	Supporter	Other possible texts
Vesbinus		EM 1190 scr. Secundus dealbante Vic(tor) e adstante Vesbino (red) em(p)tore [--	636 Menecrates et Vesbinus rog. scrib. Ascaules	
Victor		EM 1190 scr. Secundus dealbante Vic(tor) e adstante Vesbino (red) em(p)tore [--		Person? 558 Numisius Iucundus com Secundo et Victore rog., 818 Africanus rog. cum Victore. OP 652, 653, 674, 7855; GR 14 times
Part III Not from Pompeii?				
Name	**Reason**	**Signatures**	**Supporter**	**Other possible texts**
Ataude	nom + scr EM	EM 9968b scr. Ataude dealbante Dione		
Prim[---]	nom? + scr EM	EM 9971b scr. Prim[---]		Same as Claudius Primu[s] in 10981? (see above)
?Incertus 5	scr EM	EM 9968d scr. corrado ub(ique)		
Dion		EM 9968b scr. Ataude dealbante Dione		

Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
Secundus, Vesbinus, Victor	Menecrates	ROG Vettius Caprasius Felix		A, B, C, E, G
Secundus, Vesbinus, Victor				A, B, C, E, F, G
Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
Ataude, Dion		SCR EM Celer?		E, G, H
		SCR EM incertus		E, G, H, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980
		SCR EM incertus		E, H, Solin 1973, 265, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980, 79–80
Ataude, Dion		SCR EM Celer?		E

Part IV Probably not painters				
Name	**Reason**	**Signatures**	**Supporter**	**Other possible texts**
Asciola	nom + scr OP (invective?)	OP 7497 scribit Asciola cum Gemino		
Geminus	nom + scr OP (invective?)	OP 7497 scribit Asciola cum Gemino		
Livius Severus, L.	nom + scr OP (signature)	OP 2993a L. Livius Severus scribit		
Melicertes	nom + scr OP 2 (greeting, signature?)	OP 2993n Melicertes scribit, 7186 Certimeles scribis		GR 8023
Incertus 6	scr OP	OP 7149 scri(b)it [		
Part V Not painters				
Name	**Reason**	**Signatures**	**Supporter**	**Other possible texts**
Astylus	Connection to workshop I 7,16?		7525 Astylus cup[it], 9831 Astylus rog., 10940 Astylus rog. Recommendations 7464 Astyle dormis, 7794 Astyle dormis	Role? 423 Astylus sum, 10941 Astylus. OP 7243, 7248b
Cunicl[--]	Misread greeting in EM 9983a Cunicl(us) Lucceio sal(utem)			

Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
Asciola, Geminus				
Asciola, Geminus				
				A, B, C, E, G
			Inverted name	A, B, C, E, G

Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
				D, E, F, G, H
		Cumius?		G, Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980

Name	Reason	Signatures	Supporter	Other possible texts
Gafio	Nom inside a Q in a PR - more likely supporter			Role? 9961 Gafio
Iarinus	Connection to workshop I 7,16?		223 Iarinus rog.	Person? Role? PR 124 Iarinus[---], 821 Iarin[---], 1092 C. Iun. Iarinus, 7837 Earinus rogat. OP 7243; GR 10 times
Issus	nom + scr PR, OP (signature), but not a name? (ipse?)	PR 234 scr. Issus; OP 225 scripsit Issus		
Istmus	Charcoal text 2994 scripsit Istmus, not painted			
Tychicus	Connection to workshop I 7,16?			

ABBREVIATIONS: EM = edictum munerorum, announcement for gladiatorial games; GR = graffito, scratched text; NOM = nominative case; OP = other painted text; PR = programmatum recentum, electoral notice; ROG = rogator, supporter; SCR = scripsit, includes signature

SOURCES: A = CIL IV,2 p. 775; B = De Marchi 1916; C = Magaldi 1929-1930; D = Della Corte 1965; E = Franklin 1978; F = Mouritsen 1988; G = Chiavia 2002; H = Baratta 2016

Teams	Other supporters	Candidates/ Organizers	Other elements	Bibliography
		Q. Fabricius		H
				D, E, F (against), G
		SCR Cerrinius Vatia		A, B, C, F, G, H, Väänänen 1937
				E, G
				D, E, H

Table 1: List of Pompeian painters and evidence related to them. Part I includes the probable painters. Part II lists the members of teams mentioned. Part III features the painters from the area outside the Nucerian Gate who might not be from Pompeii. Part IV lists persons signing only other texts than electoral notices and edicta. Part V lists names that have been regarded as painters previously, but the evidence does not support the interpretation.