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***FASCINUM:***  
**THE APOTROPAIC PHALLUS OF CAMPANIA**  
**IN THE ANCIENT & MODERN IMAGINATION**

**Volume II of Two**

Kathryn Emily van de Wiel  
BA (Hons) MA (Hons)

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Classics and Ancient History

Department of Classics and Ancient History  
The University of Warwick

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**Figure 1:** (Above) Phallus plaque on external wall of a building at Pompeii IX.5.1.



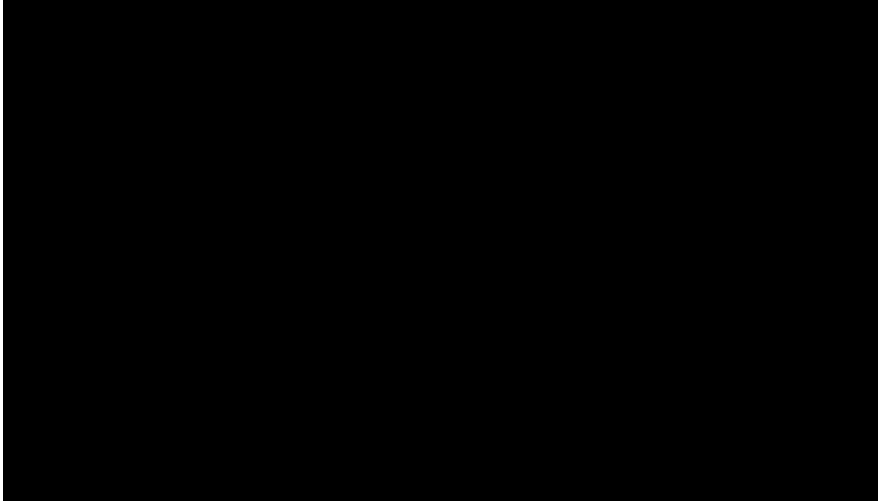
**Figure 2:** (Right) Terracotta lamp in shape of a satyr/Silenus with an oversized phallus. MANN Inv.116661.

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*All three photos – author's own.*







**Figure 4:**

Giant phallus drawn in a dry lake bed in Bellarine, Australia.  
<https://www.iflscience.com/space/colossal-drawing-of-a-penis-that-can-be-seen-from-space-proves-humanity-will-never-change/>  
Accessed: 25<sup>th</sup> March 2019.



**Figure 5:**

The Cerne Abbas Giant, Dorset, UK.  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cerne\\_Abbas\\_Giant#/media/File:The\\_Cerne\\_Abbas\\_Giant\\_-\\_012.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cerne_Abbas_Giant#/media/File:The_Cerne_Abbas_Giant_-_012.jpg)  
Accessed: 25th March 2019.



**Figures 6a, b & c: (Left)**  
An array of reproduction-type souvenirs in the form of phalluses from the site giftshops at Pompeii and Herculaneum.

**Figs 6d & e: (Below)**  
Phallic 'statuettes' sold by the unofficial street vendors which flank the entrances to Pompeii, and phallus-shaped bottles of limoncello available for purchase at Naples and Sorrento.

*All five photos – author's own.*



THE  
LAST DAYS  
OF  
POMPEII.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "PELHAM,"  
"EUGENE ARAM," "ENGLAND, AND THE ENGLISH,"  
&c. &c.

"Such is Vesuvius! and these things take place in it every year. But all eruptions which have happened since would be trifling, even if all summed into one, compared to what occurred at the period we refer to. \* \* \* \* \*

"Day was turned into night, and night into darkness—an inexpressible quantity of dust and ashes was poured out, deluging land, sea, and air, and burying two entire cities, Herculaneum and Pompeii, while the people were sitting in the theatre!"  
DION CASSIUS, lib. lxvi.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET;

SUCCESSOR TO HENRY COLBURN.

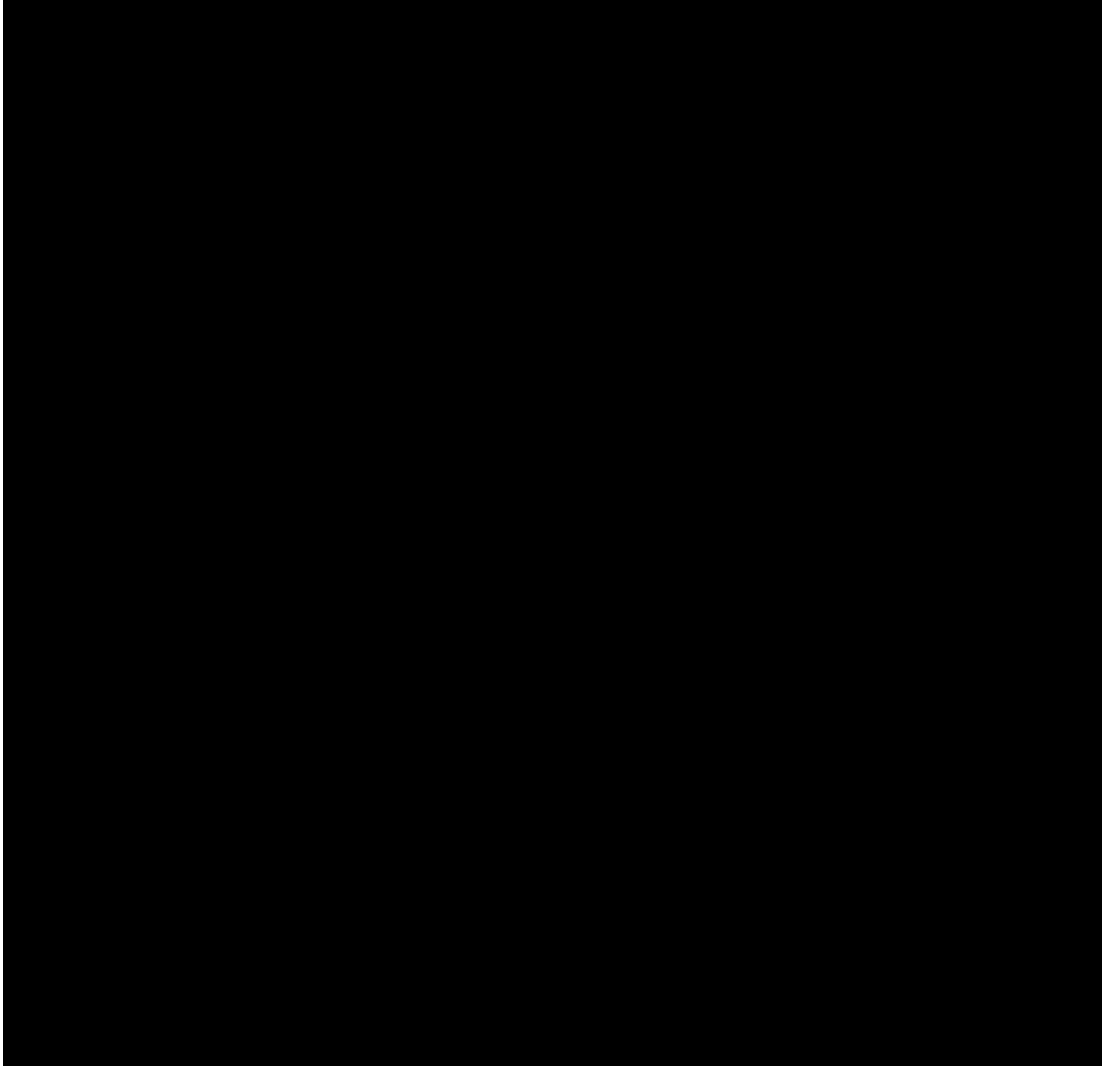
1834.

**Figure 7:**

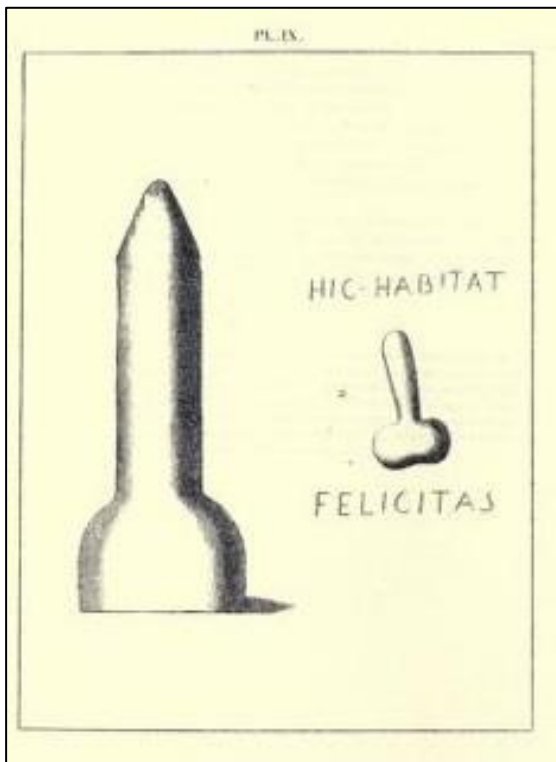
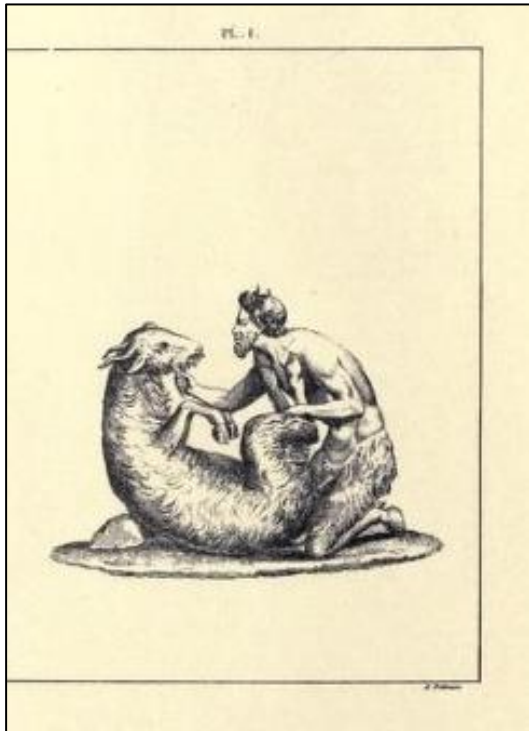
Title page of Bulwer Lytton's first edition (1834) of *The Last Days of Pompeii*.

<https://archive.org/details/lastdaysofpompei01lyttuoft/page/n6>

Accessed: 25th March 2019.



**Figure 8:**  
Floorplan of British Museum exhibition 'The Warren Cup: Sex and Society in  
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<https://www.britishmuseum.org/pdf/Warren%20cup%20final%20online.pdf>  
Accessed: 25th March 2019.

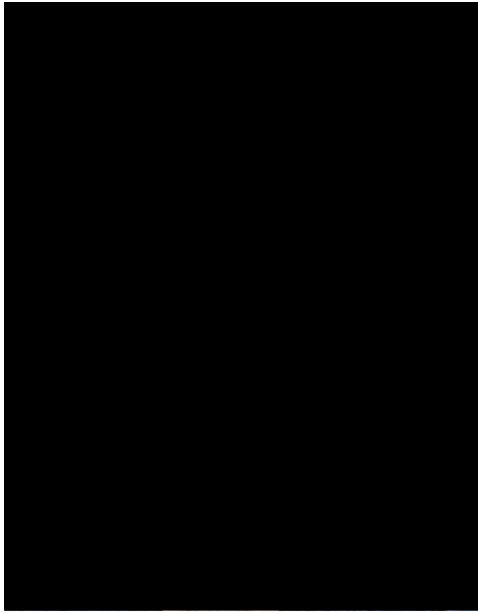


**Figure 9: (Top Left)**  
Infamous marble sculpture of Pan having sex with a goat, MANN Inv.27709  
Famin (1836) Plate I.

**Figure 10: (Top Right)**  
Tintinnabulum of a gladiator, possibly MANN Inv.27853  
Famin (1836) Plate XXII.

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Phallic sculpture, alongside HIC HABITAT FELICITAS plaque from House of Pansa, Pompeii. MANN Inv.s.n. & .27741  
Famin (1836) Plate IX.

All from -  
<https://archive.org/details/museeroyaldenapl00famiiala>  
Accessed: 25th March 2019.



**Figure 12:**

Still from Mary Beard's television documentary 'Pompeii: Life and Death in a Roman Town', broadcast on broadcast on BBC2 on 14th December 2010.

<https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/tv/features/queen-of-the-underworld-mary-beard-is-bringing-the-ancient-city-of-pompeii-to-life-in-a-bbc-2154808.html>  
Accessed: 25th March 2019.



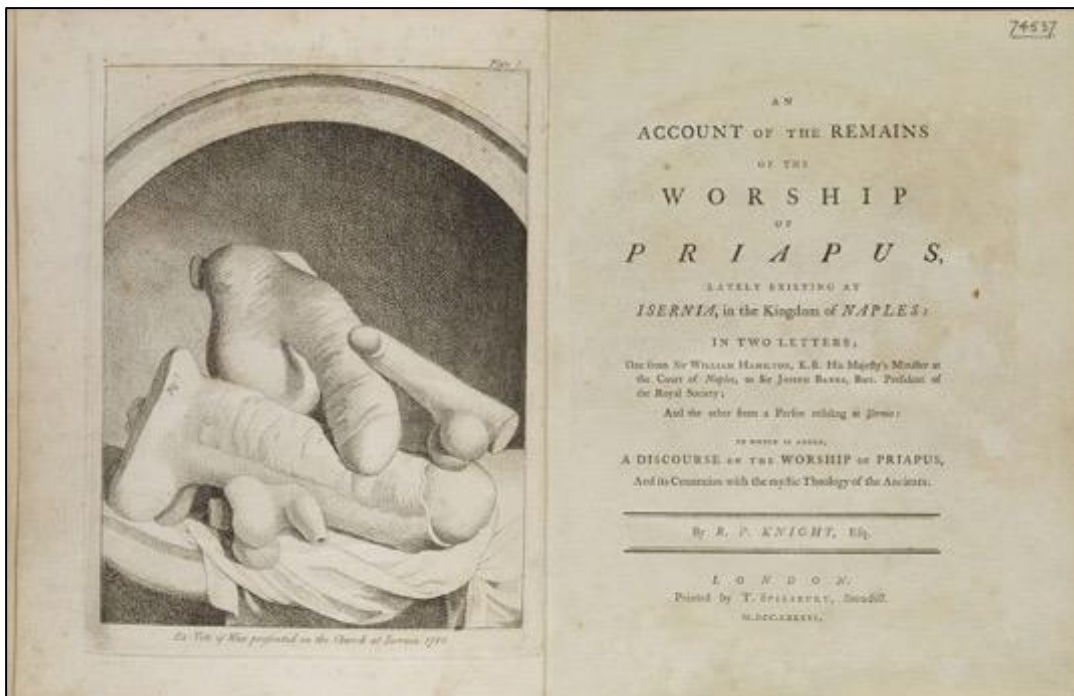
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Some Guatemalan 'mushroom stones'.

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Psilocybe\\_Mushrooms\\_statues.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Psilocybe_Mushrooms_statues.jpg)  
Accessed: 25th March 2019.



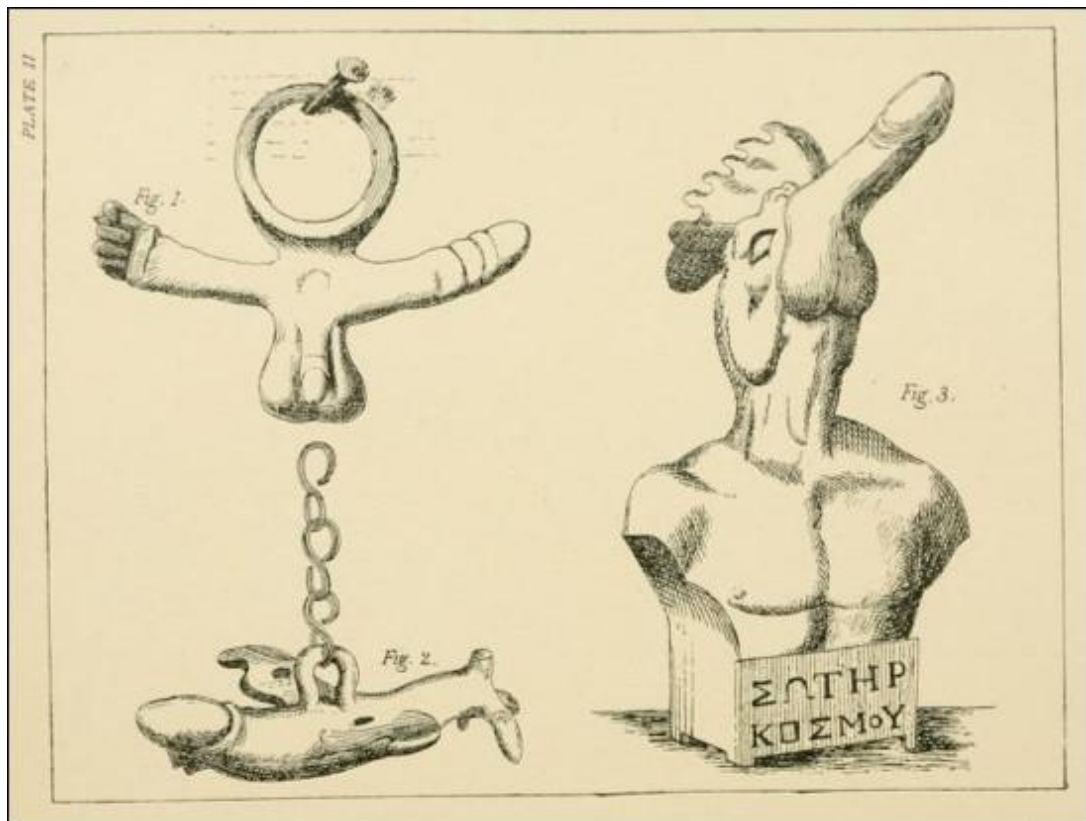
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 Via Daily Mail Historical Archive.



**Figure 15:**  
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**Figure 16:**  
Portrait of Richard Payne Knight (1751-1824) by Sir Thomas Lawrence.  
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“Many small images of this kind have been found among the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii, attached to the bracelets, which the chaste and pious matrons of antiquity wore round their necks and arms” (bottom left of plate).  
<https://archive.org/details/discourseonworsh00knig/page/n285>  
Accessed: 25th March 2019.



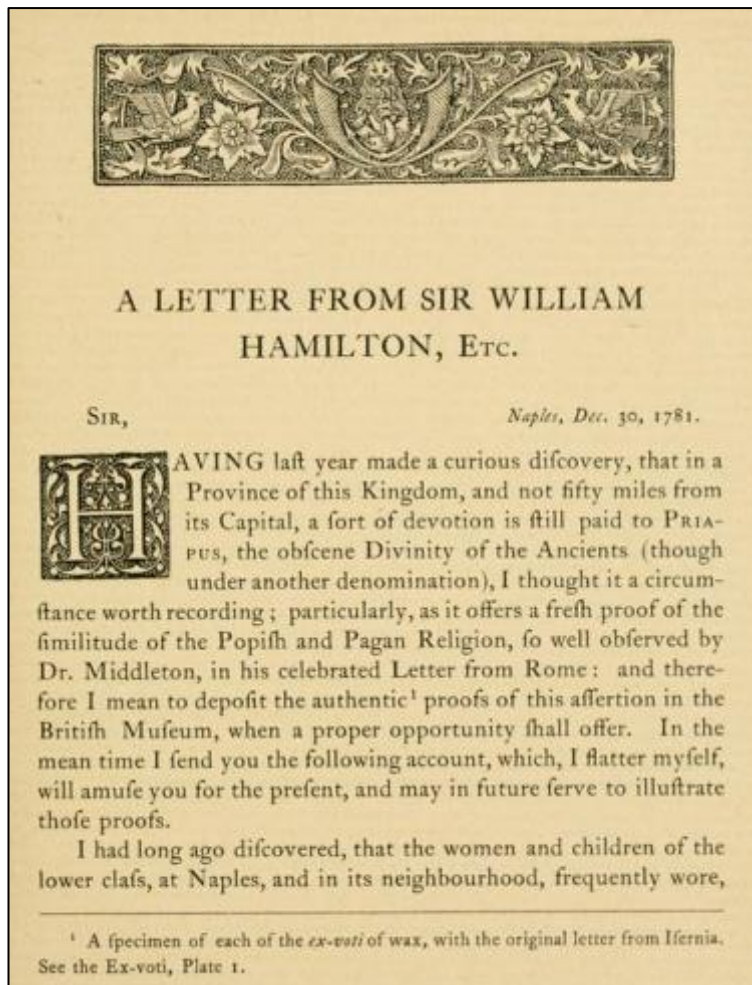


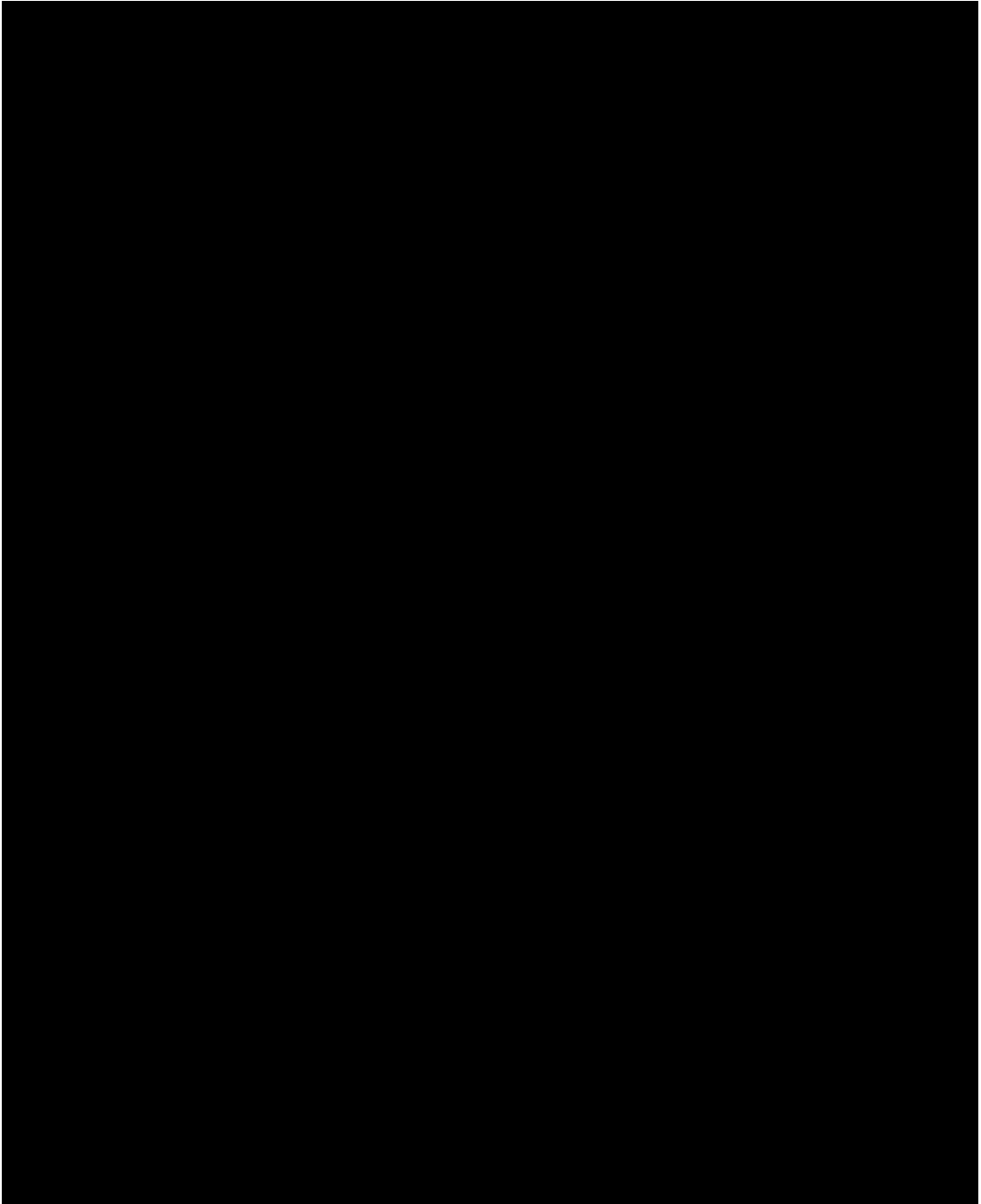
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Accessed: 25th March 2019.

**Figure 19:**

Sir William Hamilton's letter, published at the front of the 1894 edition of Payne Knight's *Discourse*.  
<https://archive.org/details/discourseonworsh00knig/page/n25>  
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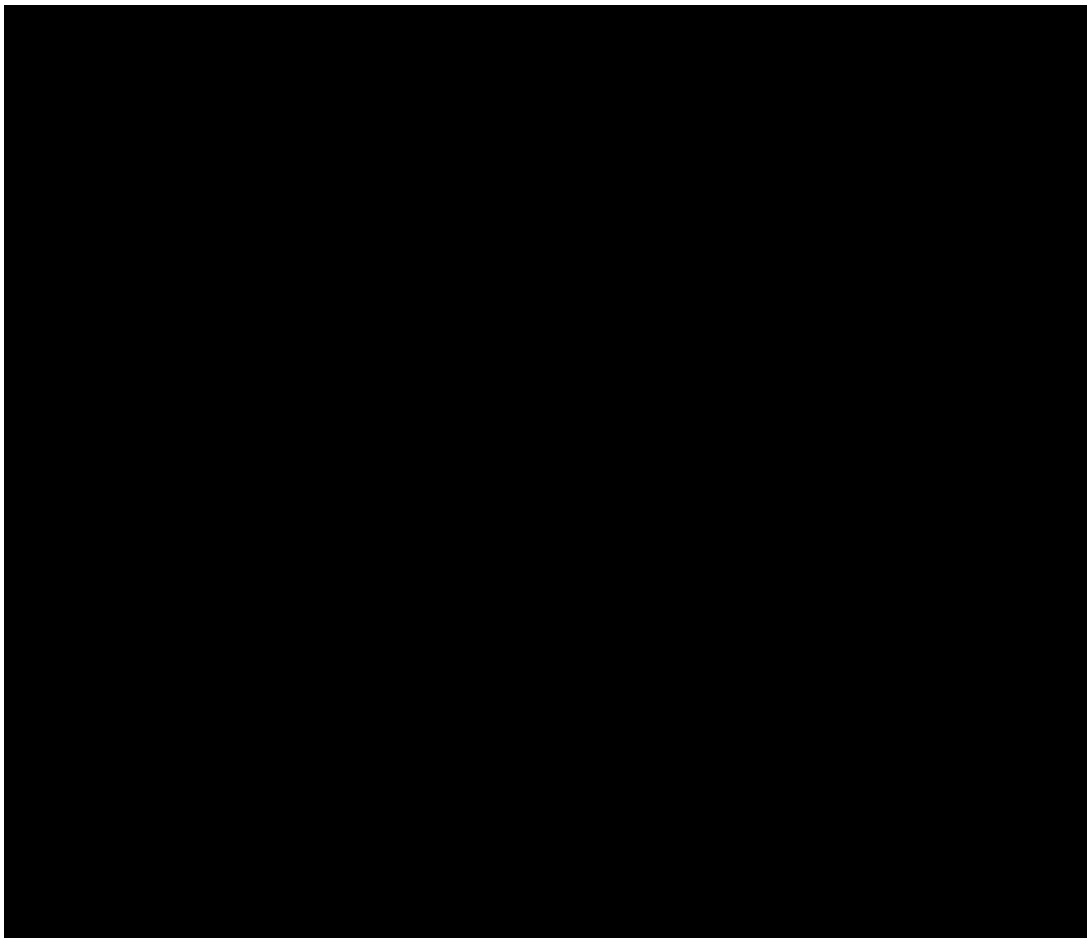


**Figure 20:**

‘Charles Townley and Friends in His Library at Park Street, Westminster’ by Johann Zoffany; the Baron D’Hancarville is in the centre, seated at the desk.

*<https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/charles-townley-and-friends-in-his-library-at-park-street-westminster-151327>*

*Accessed: 25th March 2019.*



**Figure 21:**

'Presentation of the Mahometan Credentials, or the Final Resource of French Atheists', a 1793 political cartoon by James Gillray.

*<https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitZoom/mw63259/Presentation-of-the-Mahometan-credentials---or---the-final-resource-of-French-atheists>*

*Accessed: 25th March 2019.*



**Figure 22:**  
An example of the lingam and yoni.  
<https://www.thoughtco.com/what-is-shiva-linga-1770455>  
Accessed: 25th March 2019.

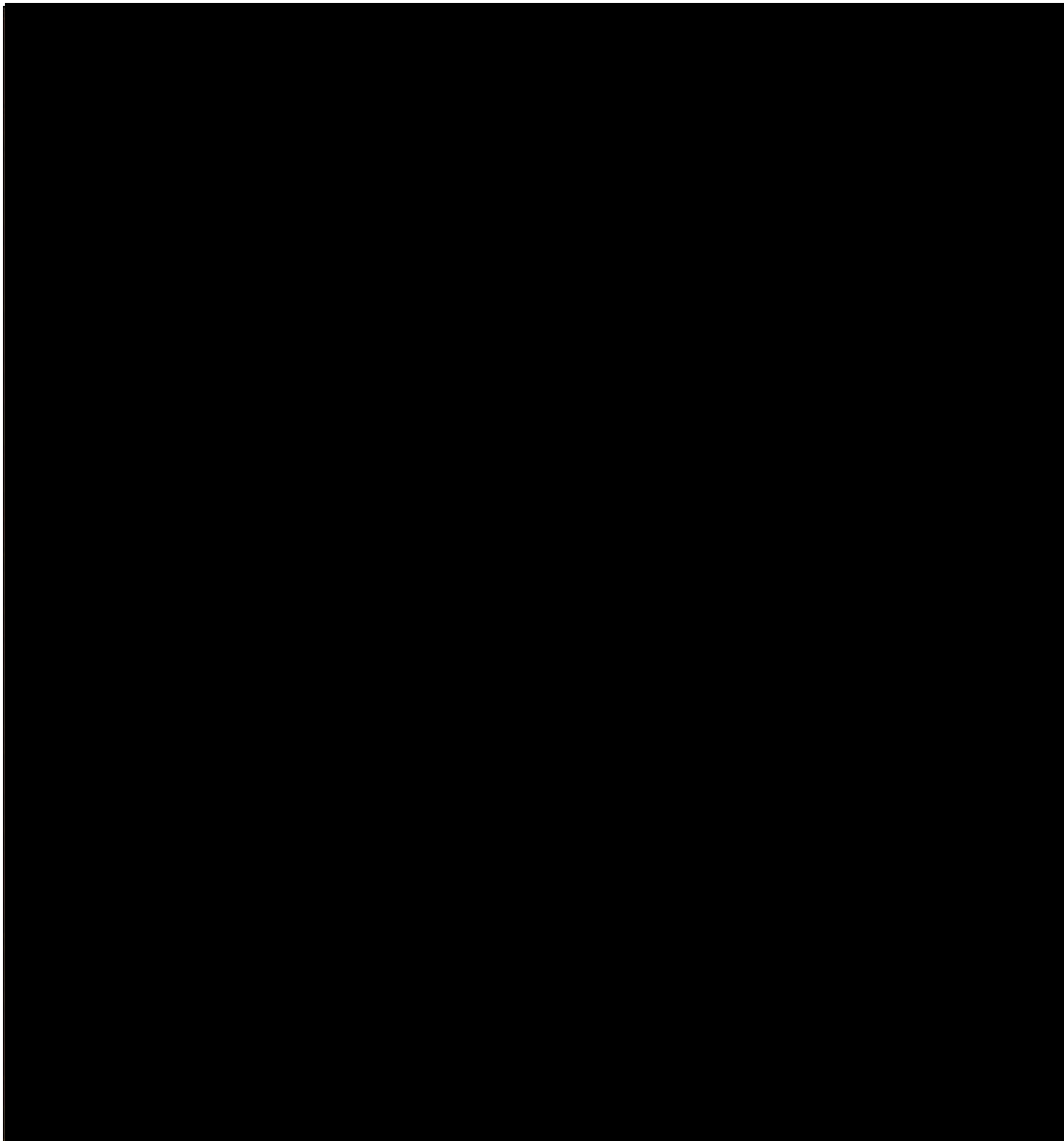


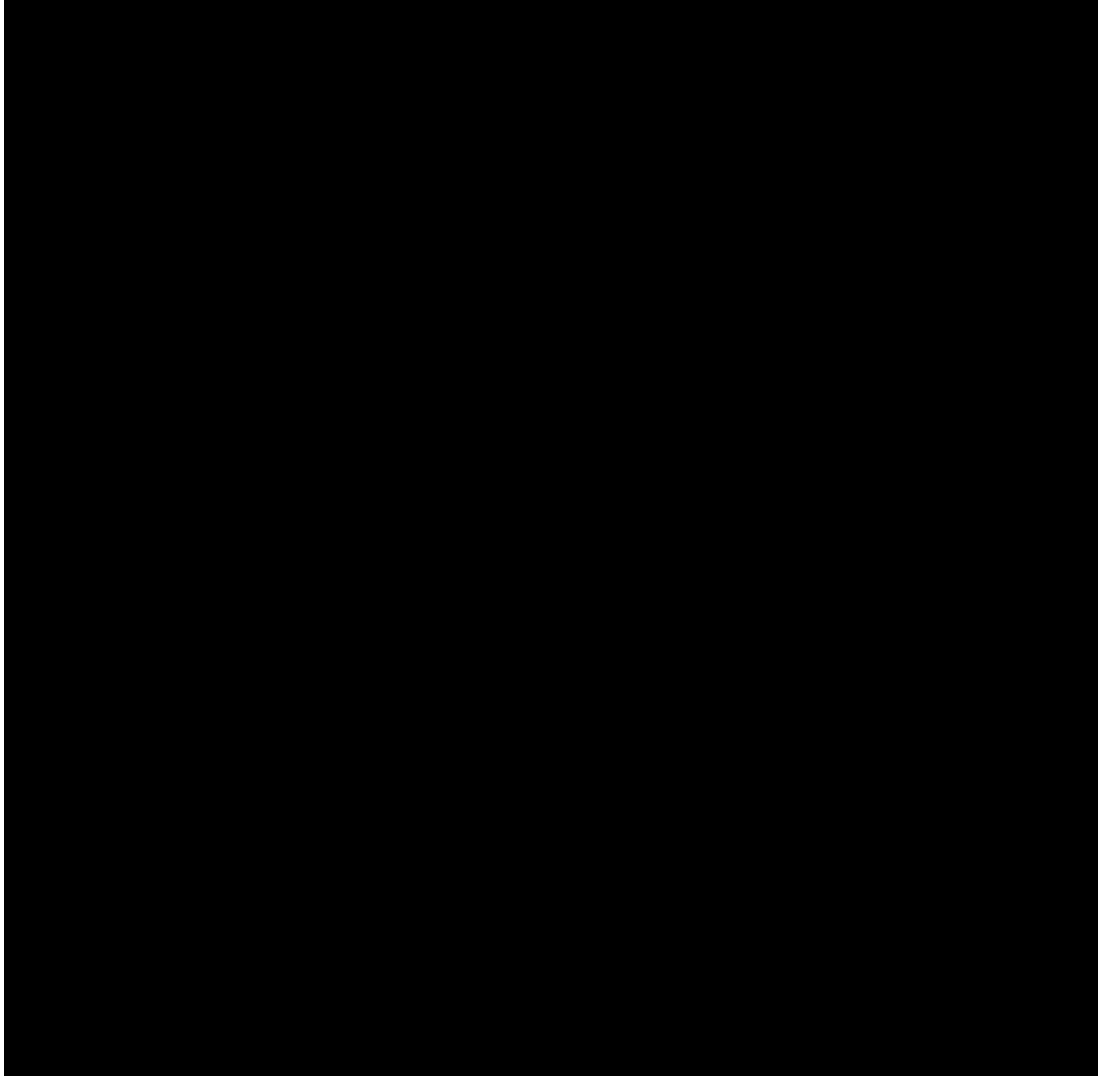
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J. M. W. Turner's painting of the Golden Bough episode recounted in Virgil's *Aeneid*, which Frazer used as a jumping off point for, and introduction to, the *Golden Bough*.  
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**Figure 24:**

Front-cover of one of the many treatises on phallism/phallicism  
which were published in the nineteenth century (this one anonymous).

*Bodleian Library official Instagram account, @bodleianlibs, posted 8<sup>th</sup> November 2018.*





**Figure 25:**

Plate from volume six of *Le antichità di Ercolano esposte, De Bronzi*, showing the small bronze figurine with the much-debated hand gesture.

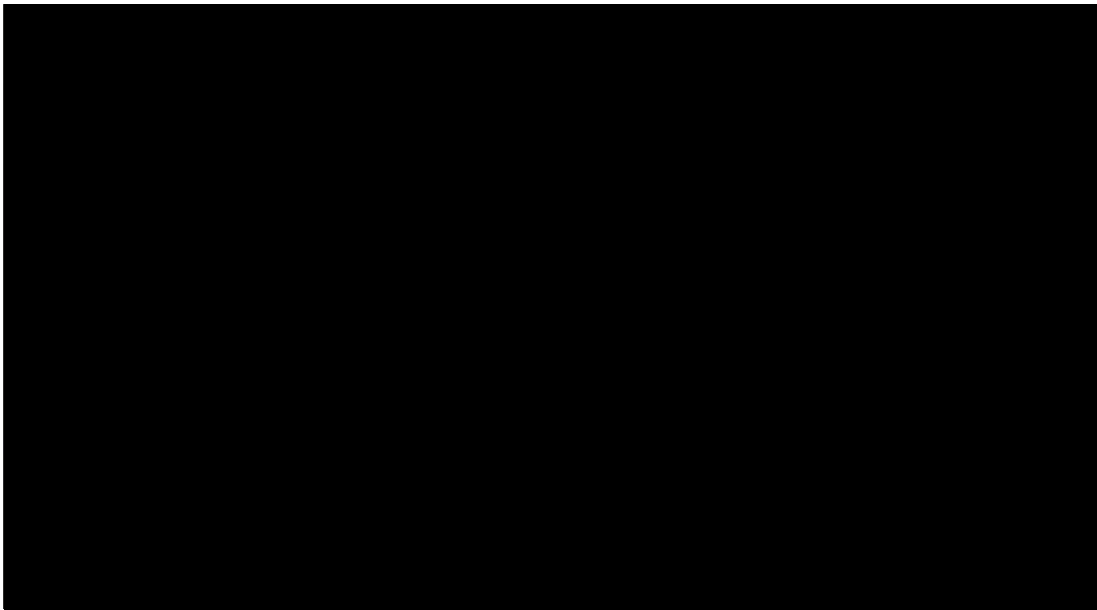
*Le antichità di Ercolano esposte*, volume six, Naples 1771, Plate 383.

<https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/ercolano1771bd6/0399/image>

Accessed: 25th March 2019.



**Figure 26:**  
An example of Capodimonte Porcelain  
three figures of Pulcinella from the  
*commedia dell'arte*.  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capodimonte\\_porcelain#/media/File:Jar\\_MET\\_DP16833\\_1\\_\(cropped\).jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capodimonte_porcelain#/media/File:Jar_MET_DP16833_1_(cropped).jpg)  
Accessed: 25th March 2019.



**Figure 27:**  
A fan, dated 1779-1790, bought as a Grand Tour souvenir from  
Naples and depicting scenes of classical mythology which evoke the  
local scenery. Victoria & Albert Museum Inv. T.88-1956.  
<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O78925/fan-unknown/>  
Accessed: 25th March 2019.



**Figure 28:**

*Presepe* held at the Monastery of Santa Chiara, Naples, made in the eighteenth century during the reign of the Bourbon King Ferdinand VI.

*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 29:**

Plate XLI in Hamilton's 1776 *Campi Phlegraei*, excavations at the Temple of Isis, Pompeii, by Pietro Fabris.

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Campi\\_Phlegraei\\_\(Sir\\_William\\_Hamilton,\\_1776\)#/media/File:The\\_discovery\\_of\\_the\\_temple\\_of\\_Isis\\_at\\_Pompeii\\_buried\\_under\\_Wellcome\\_V0025285.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Campi_Phlegraei_(Sir_William_Hamilton,_1776)#/media/File:The_discovery_of_the_temple_of_Isis_at_Pompeii_buried_under_Wellcome_V0025285.jpg)

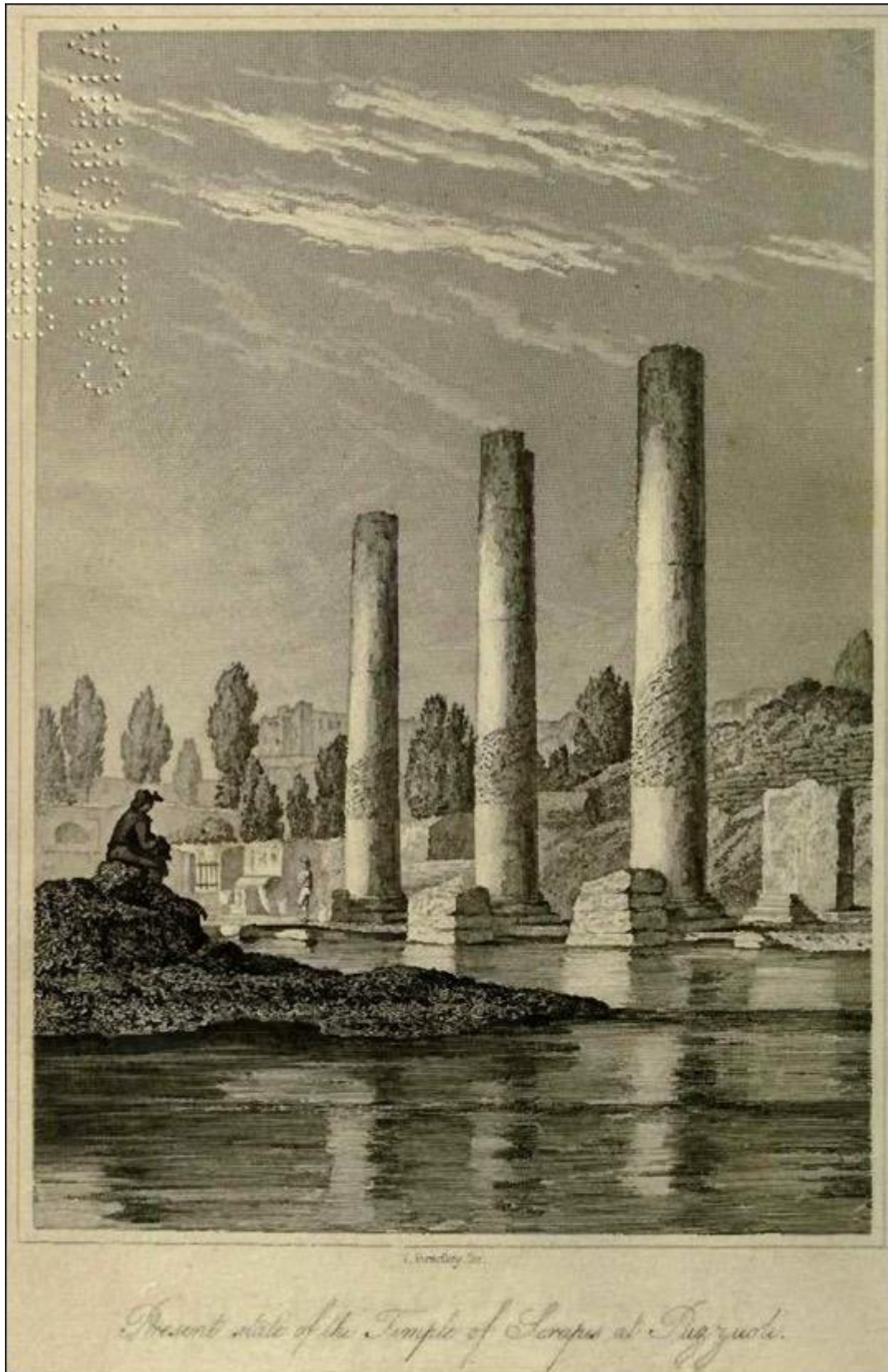
*Accessed: 25th March 2019.*



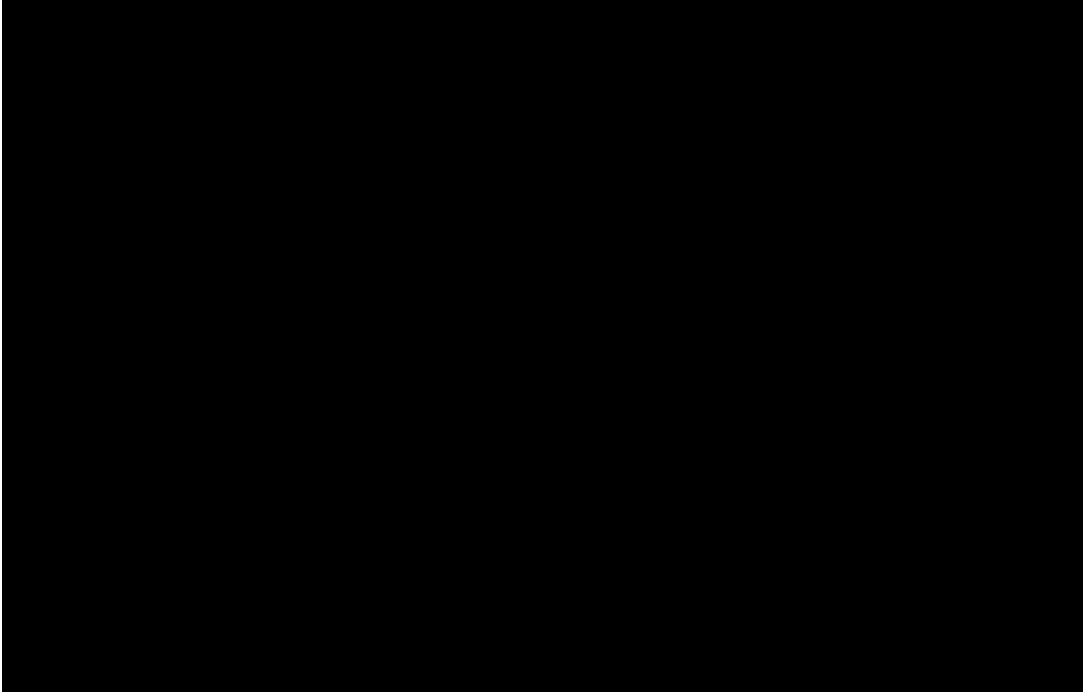


**Figure 30:**

Plate from Hamilton's 1776 *Campi Phlegraei*, view over the bay at Pozzuoli.  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Campi\\_Phlegraei\\_\(Sir\\_William\\_Hamilton,\\_1776\)#/media/File:William\\_Hamilton\\_-\\_Campi\\_Phlegraei,\\_Pozzuoli.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Campi_Phlegraei_(Sir_William_Hamilton,_1776)#/media/File:William_Hamilton_-_Campi_Phlegraei,_Pozzuoli.jpg)  
Accessed: 25th March 2019.



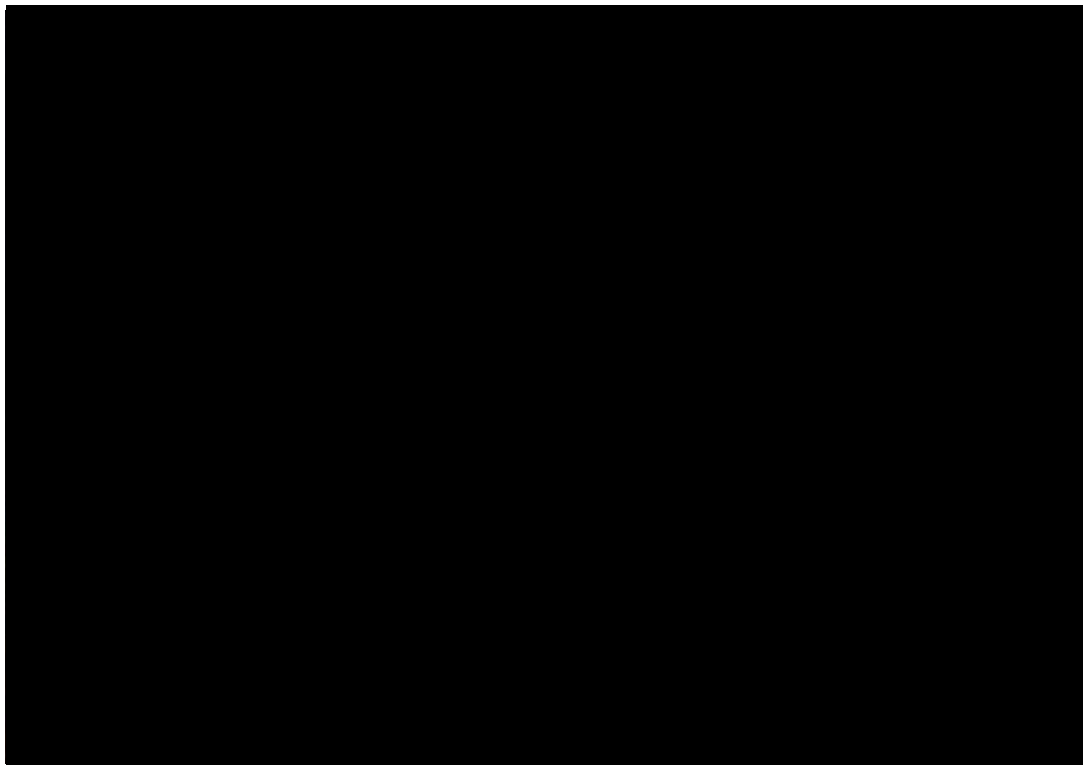
**Figure 31:**  
Frontispiece to Charles Lyell's 1830 *Principles of Geology*.  
[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/9e/Charles\\_Lyell\\_-\\_Pillars\\_of\\_Pozzuoli.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/9e/Charles_Lyell_-_Pillars_of_Pozzuoli.jpg) Accessed: 25th March 2019.



**Figure 32:**

The Temple of Hera at Paestum by Pietro Fabris, 1770s.

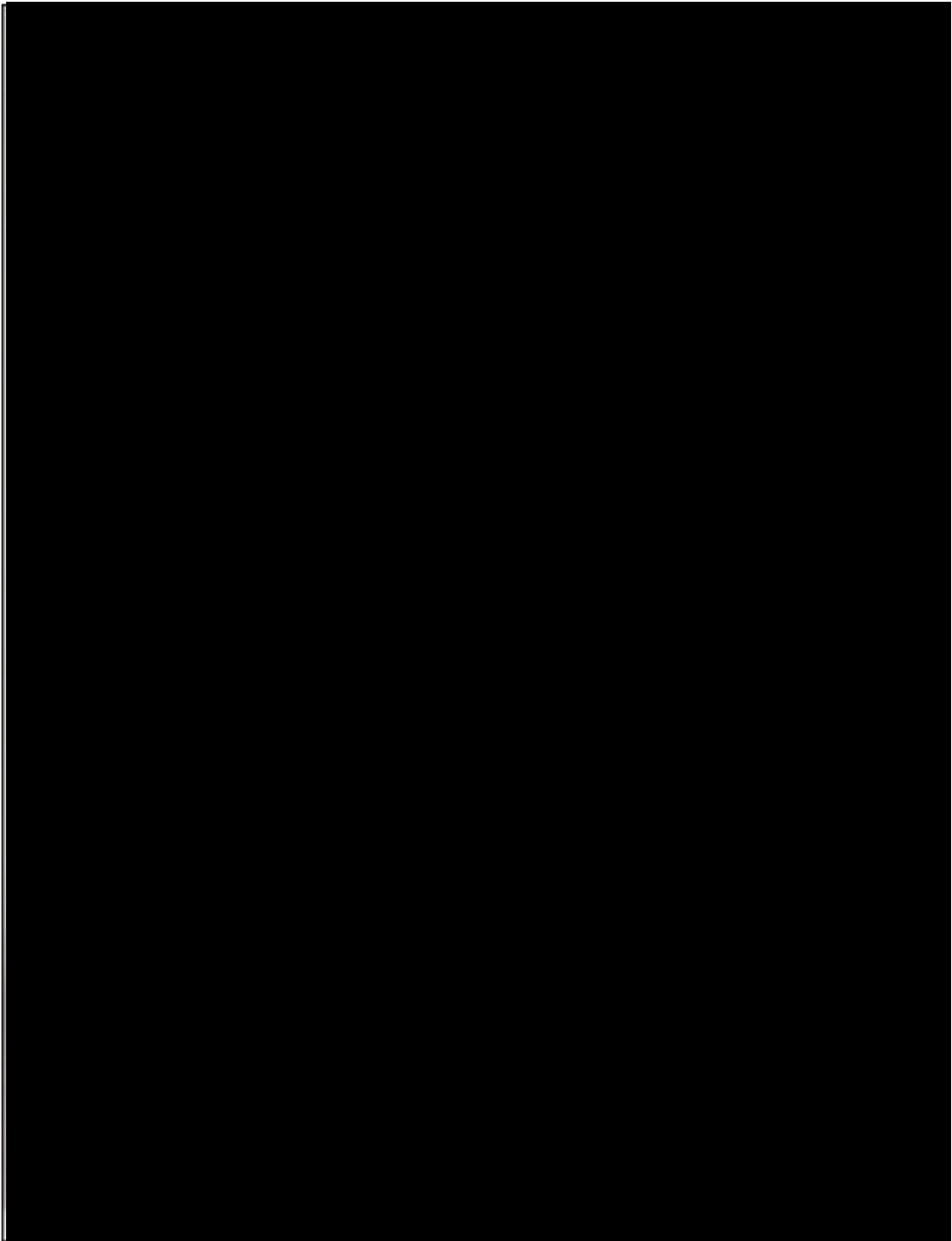
[https://www.comptonverney.org.uk/cv\\_collections/the-temple-of-hera-at-paestum/](https://www.comptonverney.org.uk/cv_collections/the-temple-of-hera-at-paestum/)  
Accessed: 25th March 2019.



**Figure 33:**

Naples from the West, with Peasants Gaming, by Pietro Fabris, approximately 1760.

[https://www.comptonverney.org.uk/cv\\_collections/naples-from-the-west-with-peasants-gaming/](https://www.comptonverney.org.uk/cv_collections/naples-from-the-west-with-peasants-gaming/) Accessed: 25th March 2019.

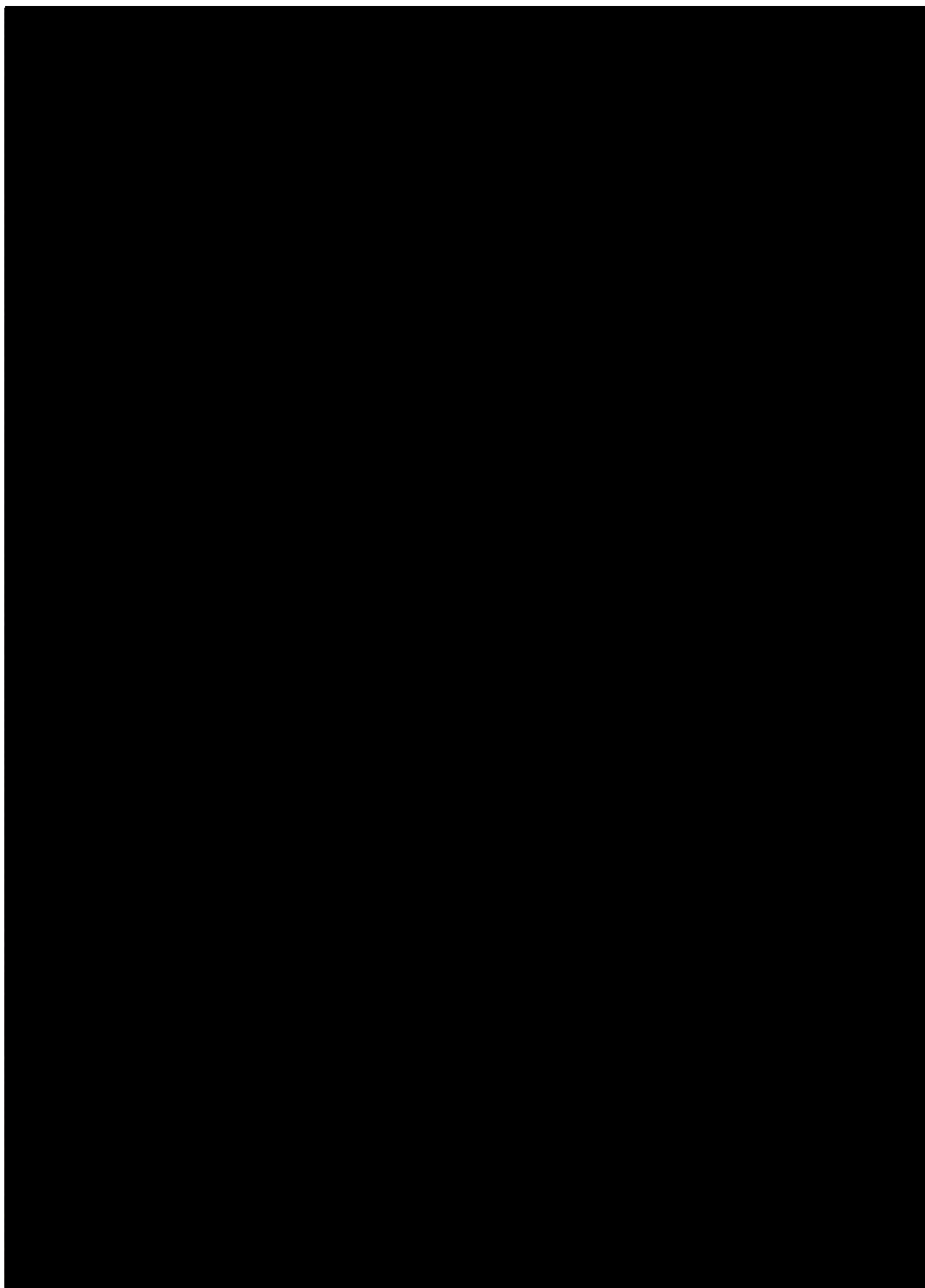


**Figure 34:**

Coral, silver, gilt-copper and enamel nativity group, Italy, 1650-1700.

*<https://www.comptonverney.org.uk/collections/trapani-nativity-group/>*

*Accessed: 25th March 2019.*



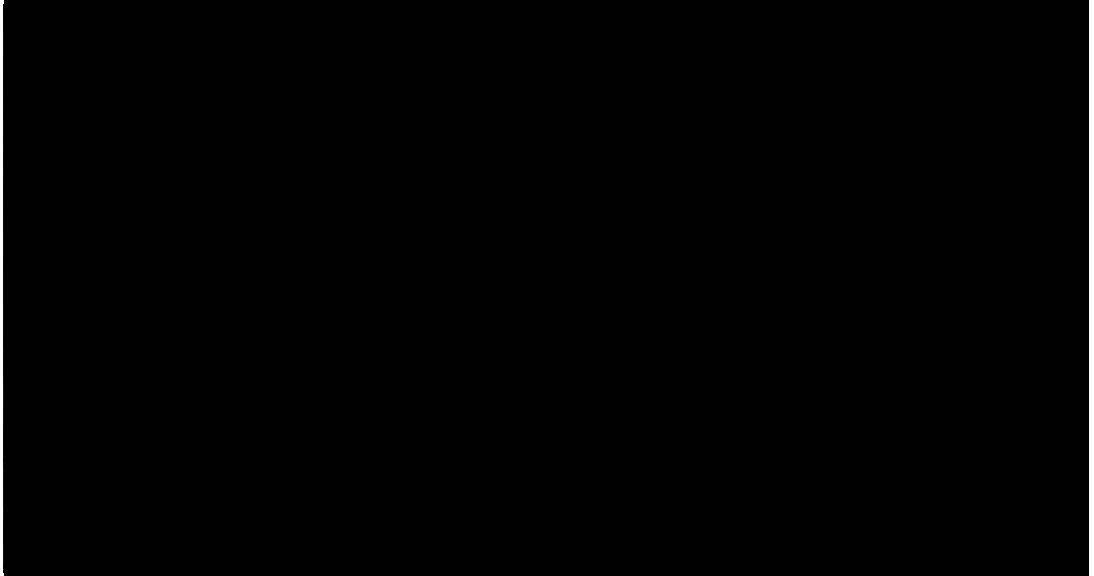
**Figure 35:**

Frontispiece to the catalogue of the Duchess of Portland's collection.

British Museum, Inv. D,3.351.

*[https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=3581304&partId=1&subject=16580&page=7](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3581304&partId=1&subject=16580&page=7)*

*Accessed: 25th March 2019.*

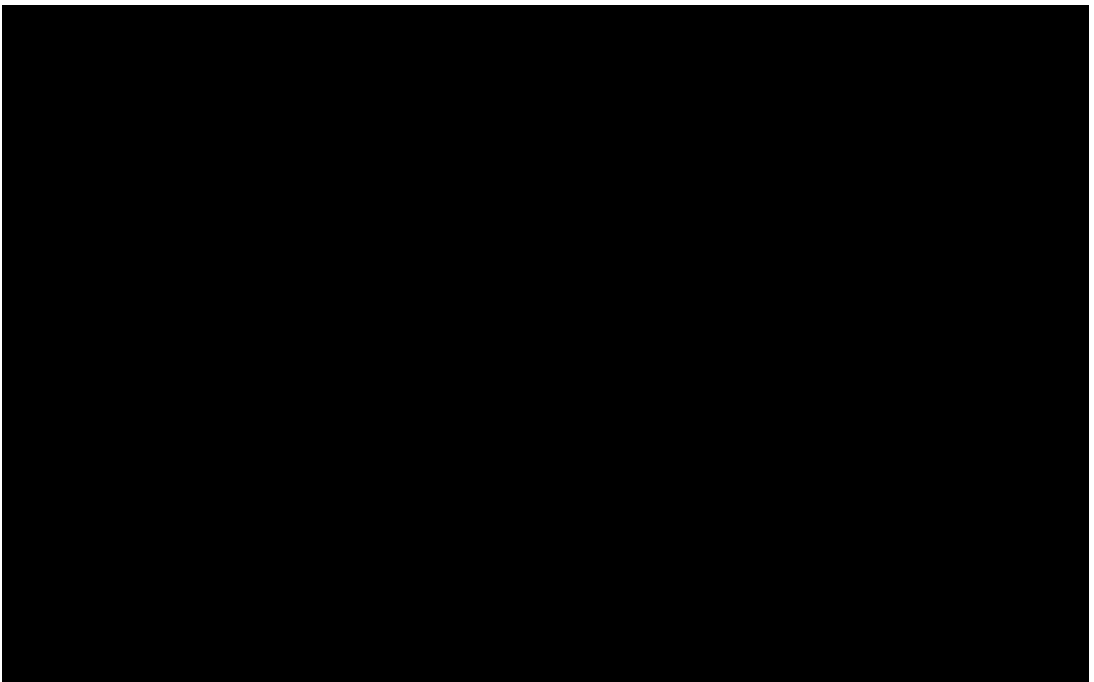


**Figure 36:**

Plate detailing volcanic minerals from Solfatara, by Pietro Fabris for  
Hamilton's 1776 Campi Phlegraei.

*<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/yddehyd23>*

*Accessed: 25th March 2019.*



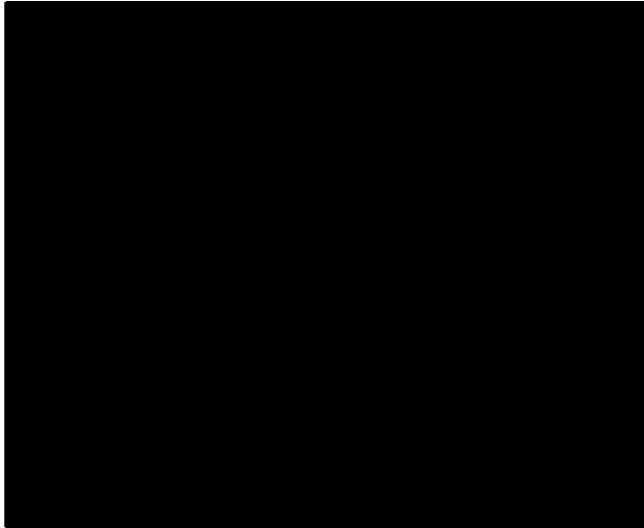
**Figure 37:**

Nineteenth-century mano in fica pendants from Italy.

Science Museum Invs. A665908 & A665892.

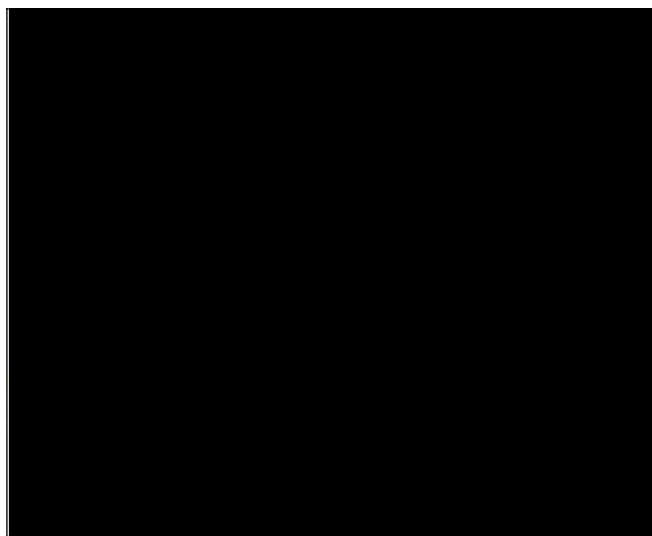
*<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/rwafsw2n>*

*Accessed: 25th March 2019.*



**Figure 38:**  
Nineteenth-century evil eye  
amulets from France.  
Science Museum  
Invs. A132526 & A666110.  
<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/eme3ysym> Accessed: 25th March  
2019.

**Figure 39:**  
Ancient *mano in fica* and phallus pendants,  
bronze, from the *Gabinetto Segreto*.  
MANN Invs.27815 & 27819.  
*Photo – author’s own.*



**Figure 40:**  
Nineteenth-century coral *mano  
cornuta* pendant from Italy. Pitt  
Rivers Museum Inv. 1985.52.2.  
<http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/amulets/index.php/protection-2/index.html>  
Accessed: 25th March 2019.



**Figure 41:**

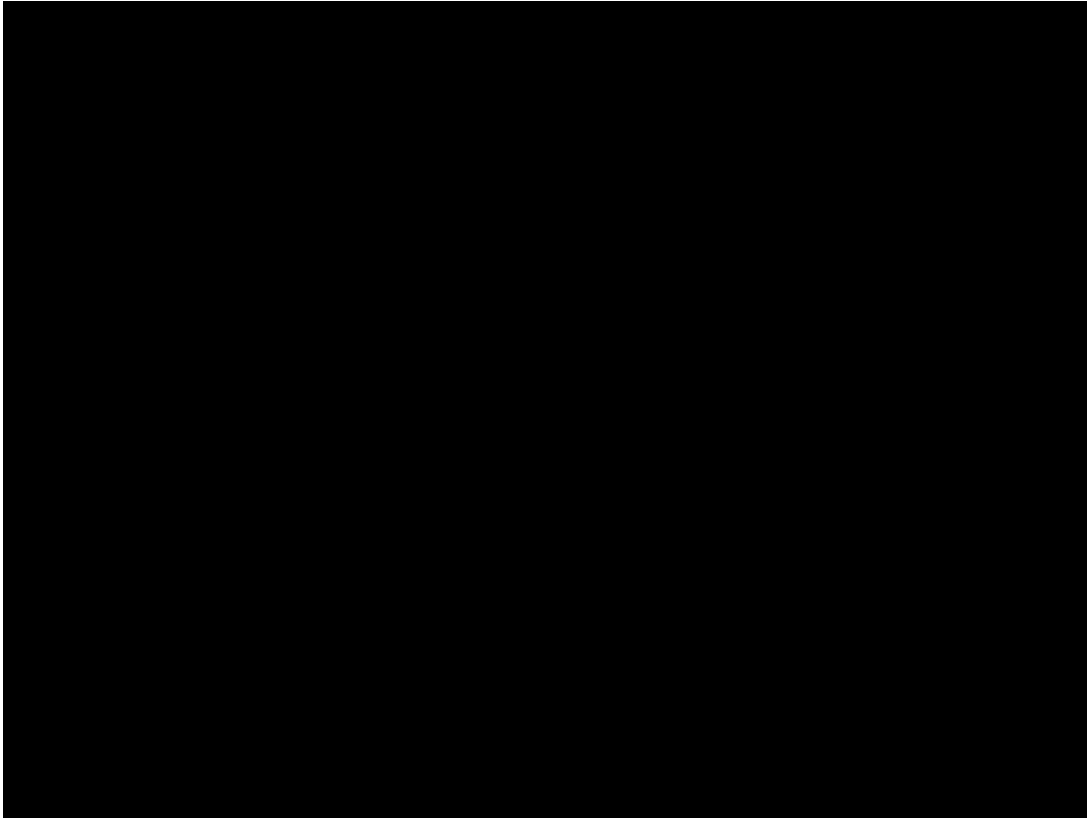
The objects considered “*amuleti principi*” referred to by De Jorio, according to Kendon. Volume six of *Le antichità di Ercolano esposte*, De Bronzi, Plate 407. <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/ercolano1771bd6/0423/image> Accessed: 25th March 2019.



**Figure 42:**

Phallic and coral amulets of the sort which can be purchased today from the many jewellery boutiques which line the streets of Naples' historic quarter. Photo – author's own.





**Figure 43:**

Remaining Isernia wax phallic votives, deposited in the British Museum by Sir William Hamilton. British Museum Inv. WITT.319  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=41299&partId=1&searchText=isernia&page=1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=41299&partId=1&searchText=isernia&page=1)  
Accessed: 25th March 2019.



**Figure 44:**

Anne Vallayer-Coster, 'Still-Life with Tuft of Marine Plants, Shells and Corals', 1769.

<https://www.wikiart.org/en/anne-vallayer-coster/still-life-with-tuft-of-marine-plants-shells-and-corals-1769>

Accessed: 25th March 2019.

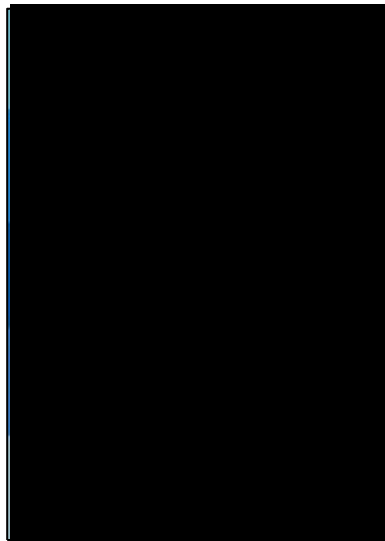


**Figure 45:**

An example of a votive uterus from the sanctuary at Nemi.  
Nottingham City Museums & Galleries.  
<https://nemitonottingham.wordpress.com/2013/06/18/1053/>  
Accessed: 25th March 2019.

**Figure 46:**

A 2013 reprint of Gautier's *Arria Marcella*.  
<https://www.amazon.com/Arria-Marcella-nouvelles-fantastiques-French-ebook/dp/B00EW0UYB4>  
Accessed: 25th March 2019.



**Figure 47:**

A cast reproduction of the imagined Gradiva relief,  
from the Freud Museum, London (from an original  
in the Vatican Museum), 1908. Inv. 3713.  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gradiva\\_\(novel\)#/media/File:Gradiva\\_Freud\\_Museum\\_London.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gradiva_(novel)#/media/File:Gradiva_Freud_Museum_London.jpg)  
Accessed: 25th March 2019.



**Figure 48:**

Floorplan of the 1913 exhibition.

Wellcome Library Inv.:b20457388

*<https://wellcomecollection.org/works?query=L0034818&wellcomeImagesUrl=/indexplus/image/L0034818.html>*

*Accessed: 25th March 2019.*



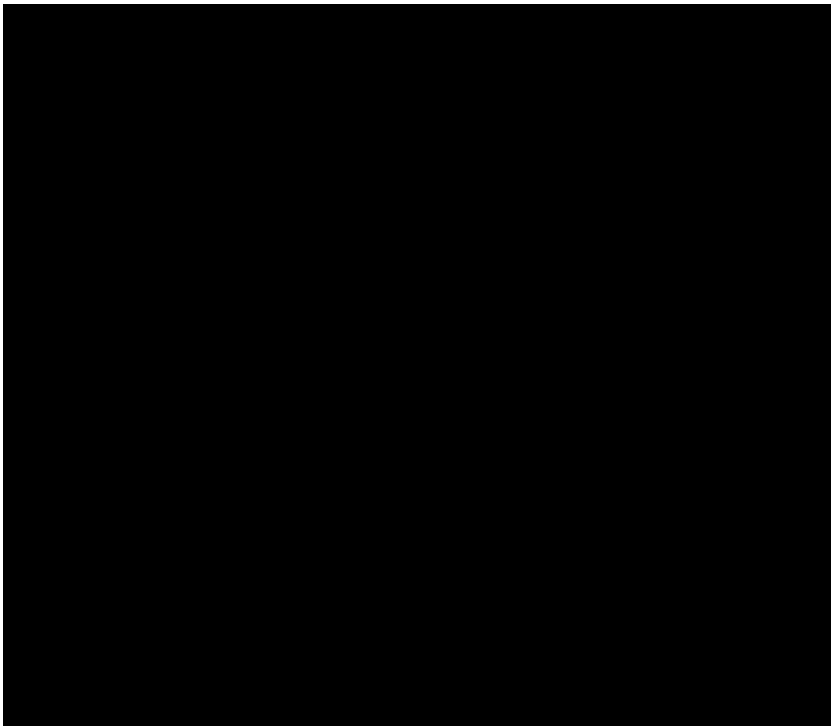
**Figure 49:**

Blue glass beads believed to prevent against bronchitis, collected by Edward Lovett from Greenwich, London during the nineteenth century.

Science Museum London, Inv.: A630908

<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/erus7h2v>

*Accessed: 25th March 2019.*



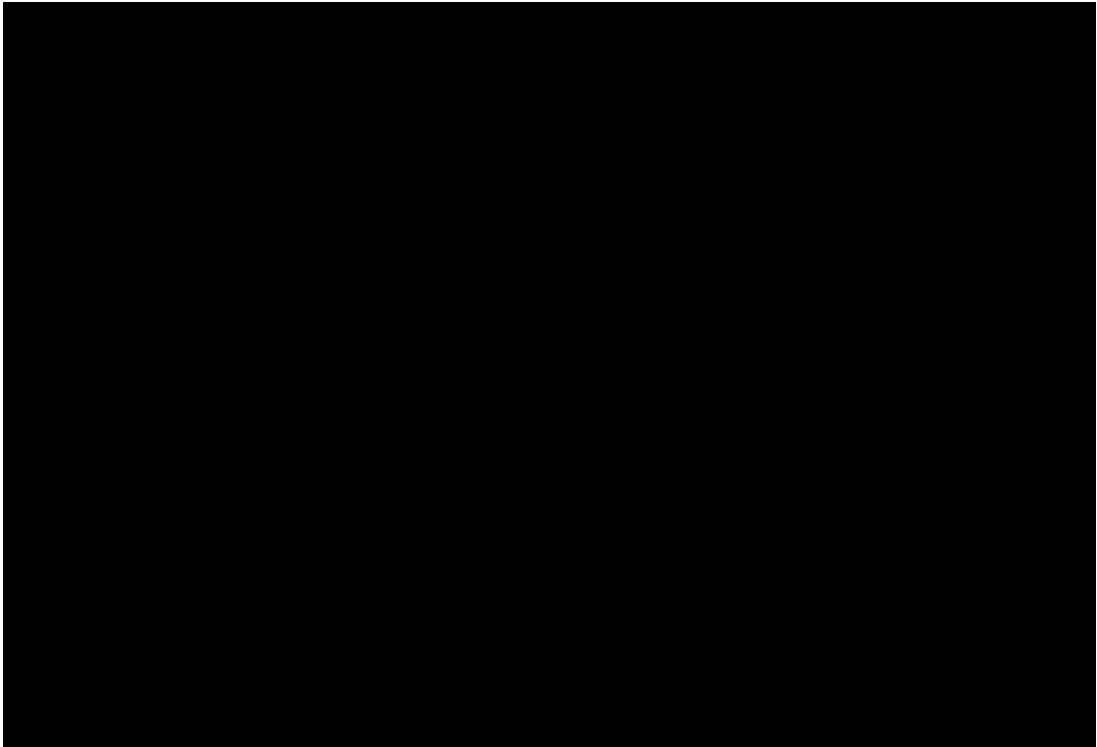
**Figure 50:**

A brooch containing human hair, Europe, 1701-1900.

Science Museum, London.

<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/ahuh2rn9>

*Accessed: 25th March 2019.*



**Figure 51:**

“Lump of clay stuck with pins and glass, used in sympathetic magic.”  
From Norfolk, England. Acquired by the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1893.

Pitt Rivers Museum Inv.: 1893.81.3.

*<http://objects.prm.ox.ac.uk/pages/PRMUID110721.html>*

*Accessed: 25th March 2019.*

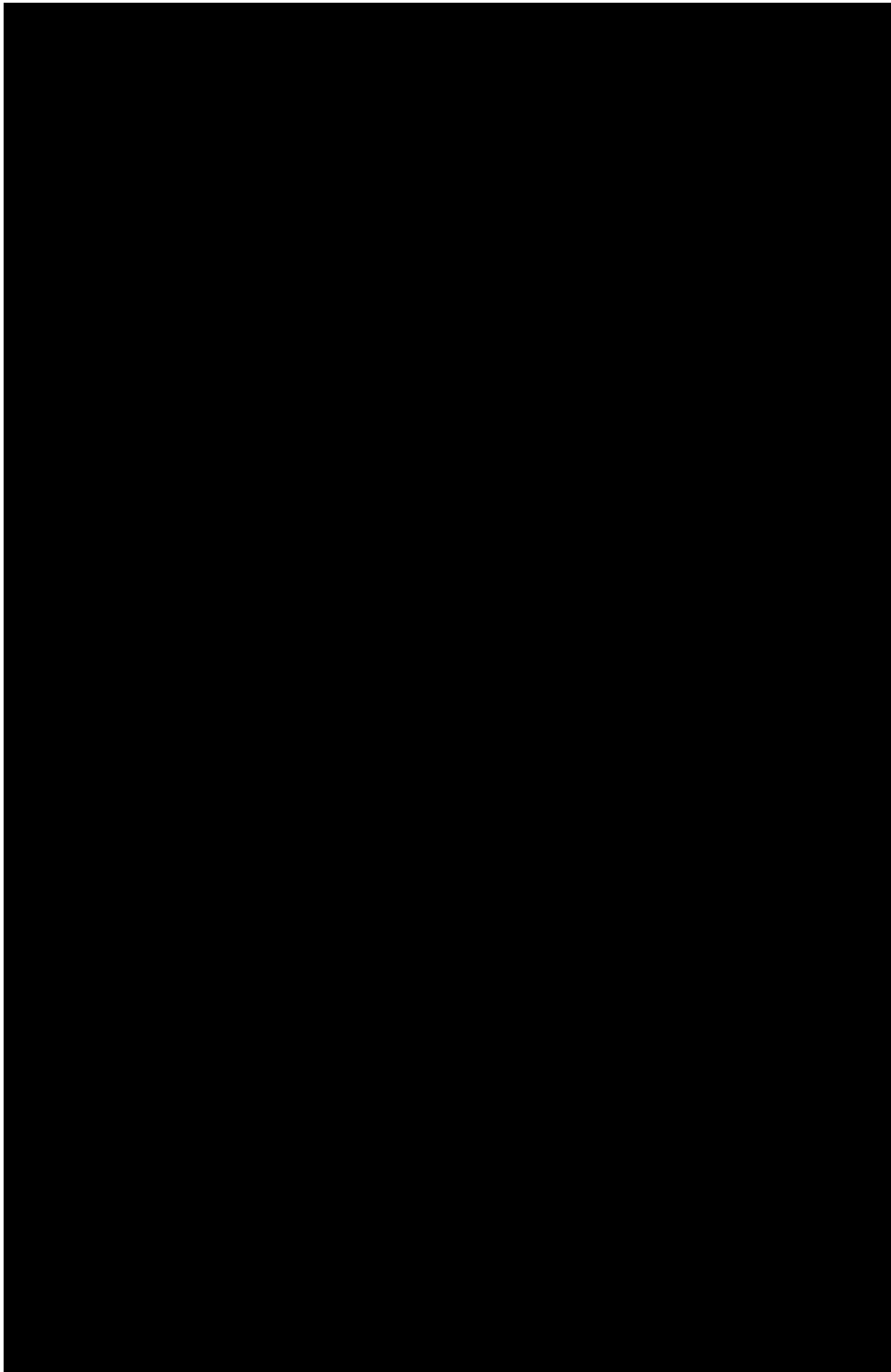


**Figure 52:**  
HIC HABITAT FELICITAS plaque from above the oven at the House of  
Pansa, Pompeii VI.6.1. MANN Inv.27741.  
*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 53:**  
Phallic plaque from Pompeii VI.17.3-4.  
*Photos – author's own.*



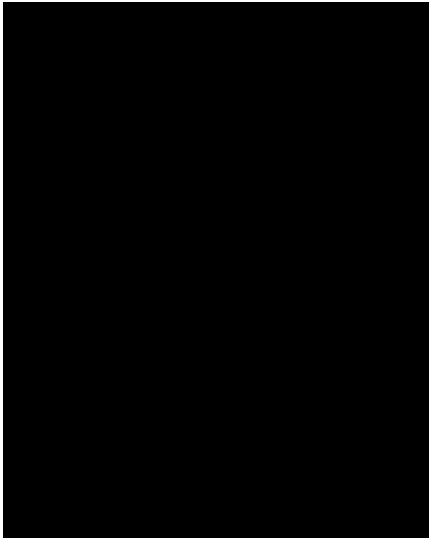


**Figure 54:**

Plate 37 from *Pompeiana: The topography, edifices, and ornaments of Pompeii* by Sir William Gell and John P. Gandy (1817-1819), showing the *HIC HABITAT FELICITAS* plaque in its original context.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=gri.ark:/13960/t11n8b17x;view=1up;seq=310>

Accessed: 25th March 2019.



**Figure 55:**

Dr Conyers Middleton (1683–1750) by John  
Giles Eccardt, 1746.

National Portrait Gallery, London.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e->

[1003525?rskey=IBHiat&result=1](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1003525?rskey=IBHiat&result=1)

Accessed: 25th March 2019.

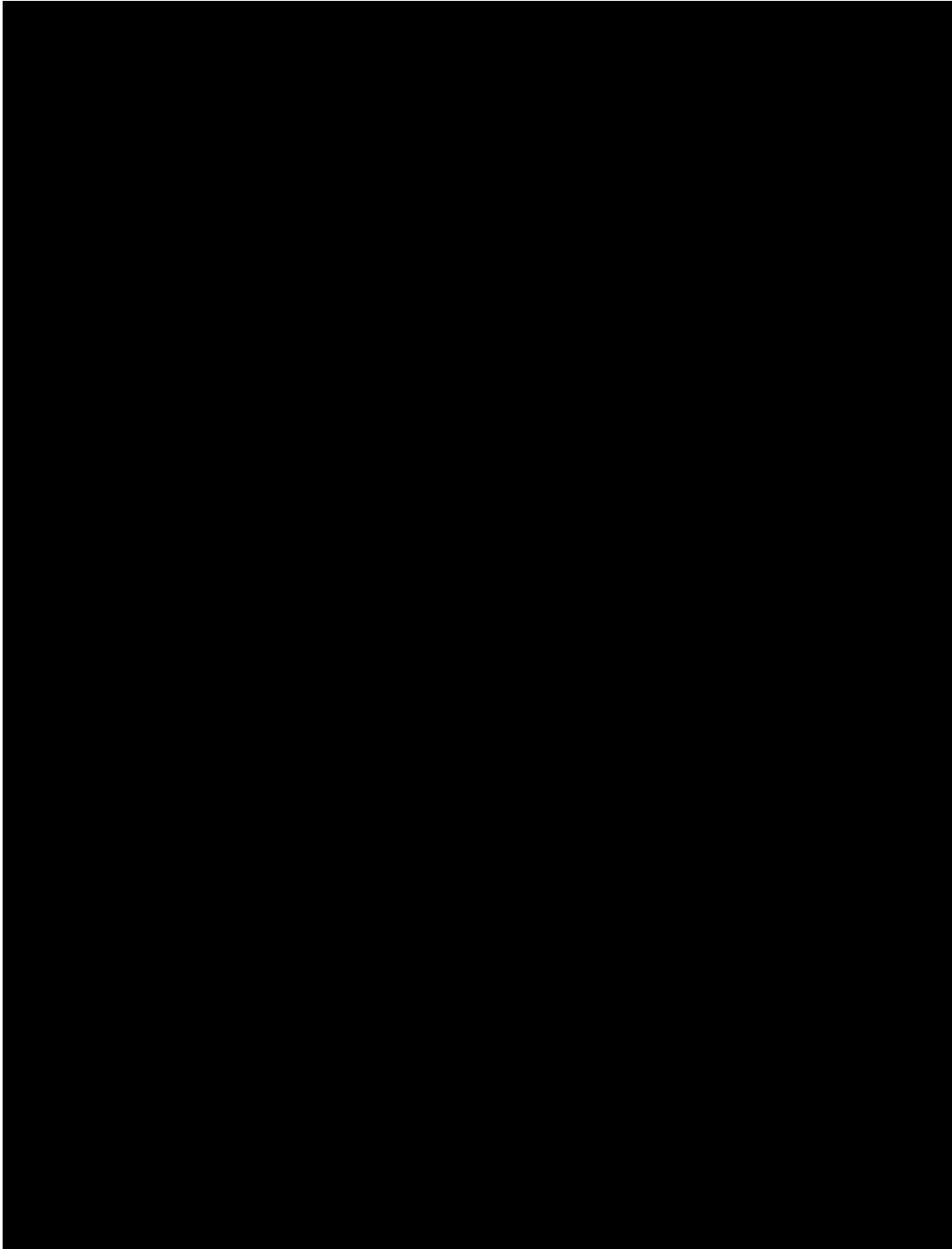


**Figure 56:**

Plate XLI, 'Phallic Sacrifice' in *Gemme antiche figurate* by Domenico de' Rossi  
and Paolo Alessandro Maffei, 1707.

<https://archive.org/details/gemmeantichefigu03maff/page/n95>

Accessed: 25th March 2019.



**Figure 57:**

Plate VI from Millingen's 'Some observations on an Antique Bas-relief, on which the Evil-Eye, or *Fascinum*, is represented' (1818) *Archæologia* Volume XIX, pp.70-4.



**Figure 58:**

The artefact depicted on Plate XCIV of volume six of *Le antichità di Ercolano esposte, De Bronzi*, which the academicians felt the need to justify reproducing in print and discussing openly.  
<https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/ercolano1771bd6/0399/image>  
Accessed: 25th March 2019.



**Figure 59:**

The Evil Eye mosaic from the House of the Evil Eye at Antioch.  
Hatay Arkeoloji Müzesi, Antakya, Inv.-Nr. 1024.

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Antiochia\\_-\\_House\\_of\\_the\\_Evil\\_Eye.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Antiochia_-_House_of_the_Evil_Eye.jpg)

Accessed: 26<sup>th</sup> March 2019.



**Figure 60:**

An example of a jutting out, sculptural protuberance phallus on an external wall in Pompeii, IX.5.13.

*Photo – author's own.*

**Figure 61: DISTRIBUTION MAP**

Distribution Map of all the different formal phallus installations – *not* including graffiti - which can be found in the streets of Pompeii (including those which are no longer *in situ*).





**Figure 62:**  
A marble face inserted into the external wall of a property in Pompeii, I.4.25.  
*Photo – author’s own.*





**Figure 63:**

A terracotta face inserted into the external wall of a property on the Via dell'Abbondanza, Pompeii.

*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 64:**

Possible remains of a jut-out phallic plaque from the House of the Loom, Herculaneum  
Ins. V.3-4.

*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 65:**

A jut-out phallus, now in the *Gabinetto Segreto*, which strongly recalls the remains of the street plaque outside the House of the Loom, Herculaneum Ins. V.3-4.

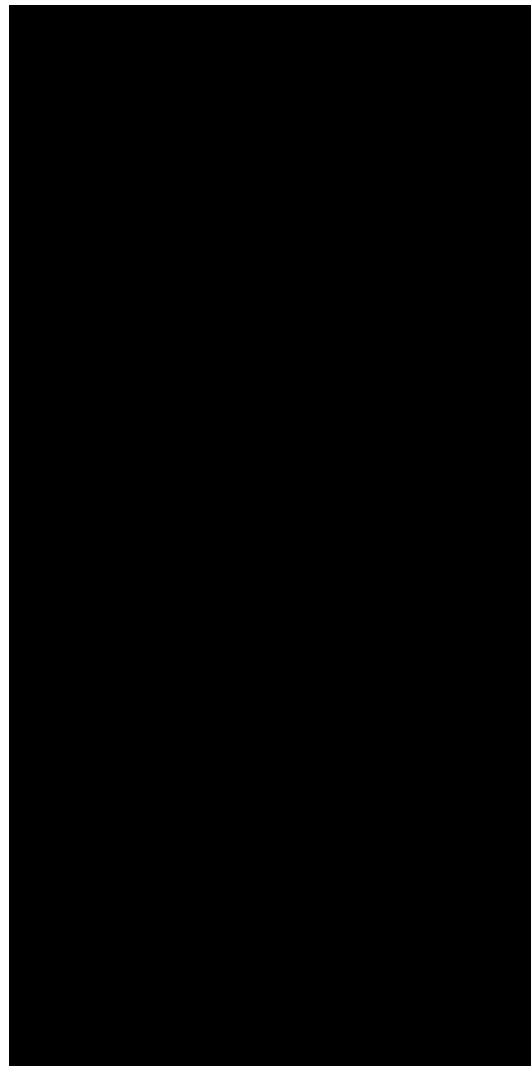
MANN Inv.: s. n.

*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 66: (Left)**  
*Tintinnabulum* showing a dwarf riding a phallus, or with a phallus so large it has overwhelmed its body.

MANN Inv.: 27844  
*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 67: (Right)**  
*Tintinnabulum* showing a gladiator fighting his own phallus, which has transformed into a animal.

MANN Inv.: 27853



**Figure 68: (Left)**  
*Tintinnabulum* comprised of a phallus  
 being ridden by a phallus, with its own  
 phallus, a phallus for a 'tail'.  
 MANN Inv.: 27835  
 Photo – author's own.



**Figure 69: (Right)**  
 Phallus-bird plaque, Pompeii III.4.3.  
 Photo – author's own.



**Figure 70: (Left)**  
*Tintinnabulum* comprised of a phallus with  
 phallus for a tail and phalluses for feet.  
 MANN Inv.: 27837  
 Photo – author's own.



**Figure 71: (Right)**  
 Phallus plaque, showing a phallus with its own  
 phallus, and a phallic tail, Pompeii VII.2.32.  
 Photo – author's own.



**Figure 72:**  
Bronze dancing dwarf figurine lamp.  
MANN Inv.: 27870  
*Photo – author's own.*

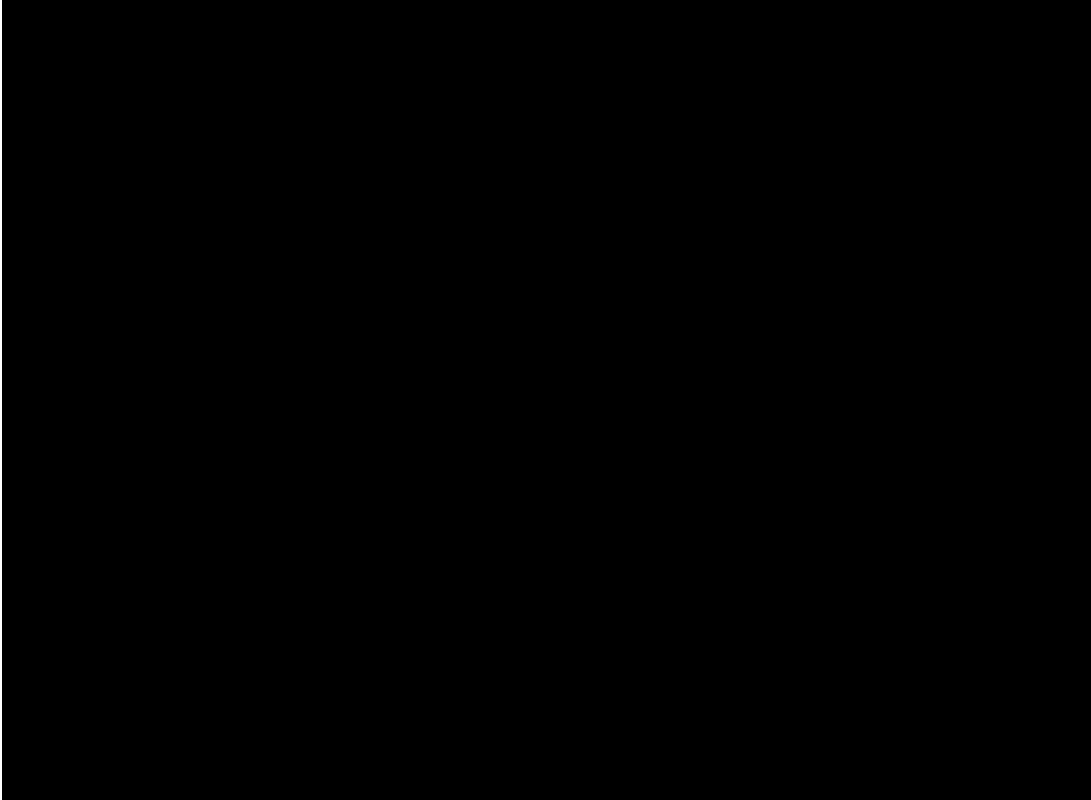


**Figure 73:**  
Terracotta lamps in the form of satyr-like figures.  
MANN Invs.:27868, 27869 & 116661.  
*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 74:**  
The Priapus painting from the vestibule of the House of the Vettii, VI.15.1.  
*Photo – author's own.*



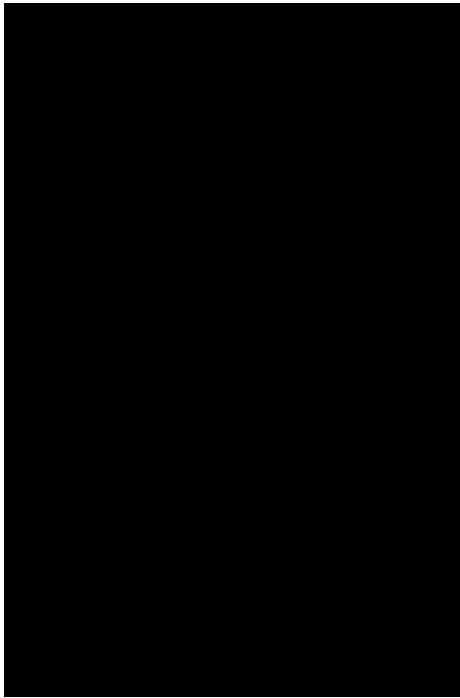


**Figure 75:**

The recently-discovered Priapus painting from the vestibule of a house on the Via del Vesuvio.

*<http://www.arte.it/notizie/napoli/a-pompei-riemerge-un-affresco-di-priapo-14857>*

*Accessed: 26th March 2019.*

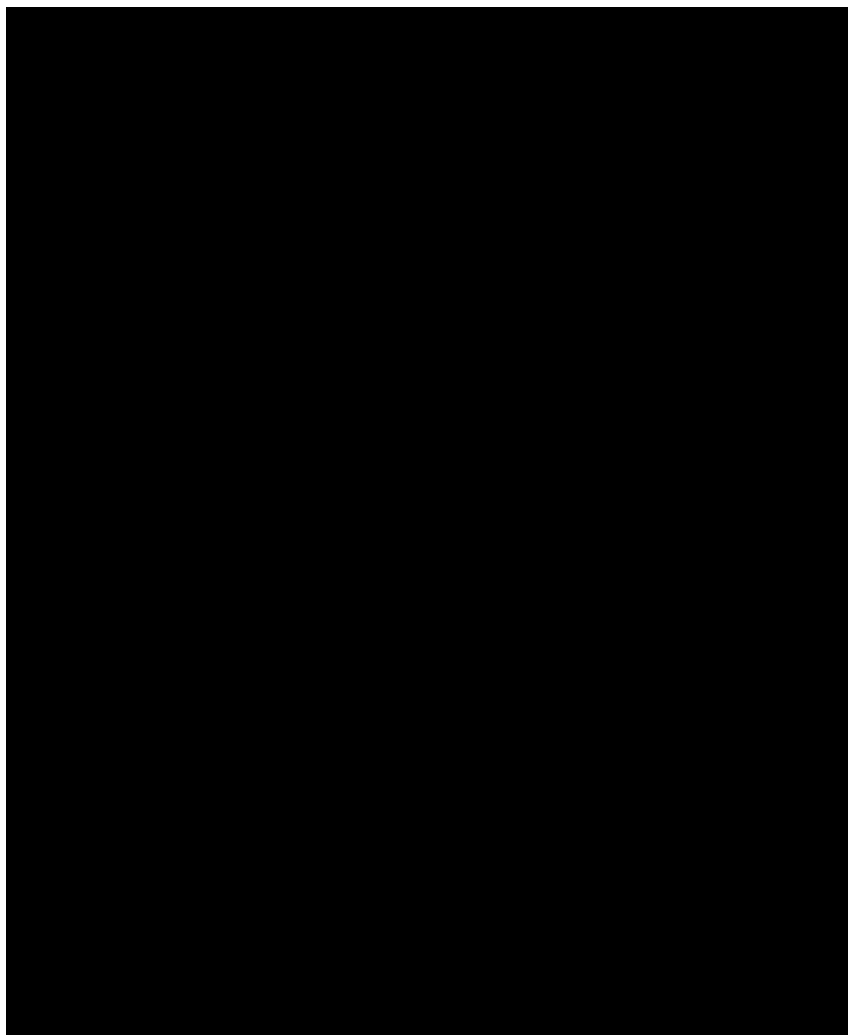


**Figure 76:**

The marble fountain-statue of Priapus from the House of the Vettii. VI.15.1.

*<https://sites.google.com/site/ad79eruption/pompeii/region-vi/reg-vi-ins-15/house-of-the-vettii>*

*Accessed: 26th March 2019.*



**Figure 77:**

Adaptation of Clarke (2007) Plate 22 (pages 188-9).



**Figure 78:**

A phallic plaque also featuring a dice cup, Pompeii VI.14.28.

*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 79:**

The ithyphallic aethiops mosaic from the bath suite at the House of Menander, I.10.4.  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pompeii\\_-\\_House\\_of\\_Menander\\_-\\_Caldarium\\_-\\_Mosaic\\_1.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pompeii_-_House_of_Menander_-_Caldarium_-_Mosaic_1.jpg)  
Accessed: 26th March 2019.



**Figure 80:**

A phallus in the decorative scheme of the women's baths at Herculaneum, VI.8.

*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 81:**

Some terracotta figurines of old men with oversized phalluses.

*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 82:**  
Bronze 'dumb waiter' figurine.  
*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 83:**  
Herm of Caecilius Iucundus.  
*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 84:**  
A phallic *tintinnabulum* with a more anatomical style.  
MANN Inv. 27845  
*Photo – author’s own.*



**Figure 85:**

Two phalluses on the hood of the oven in the bakery at Herculaneum, Ins. Or.II.8.

*Photo – author's own.*





**Figure 86:**  
Plaque with phallus swelling out of its frame, Pompeii VI.5.16.  
*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 87:**

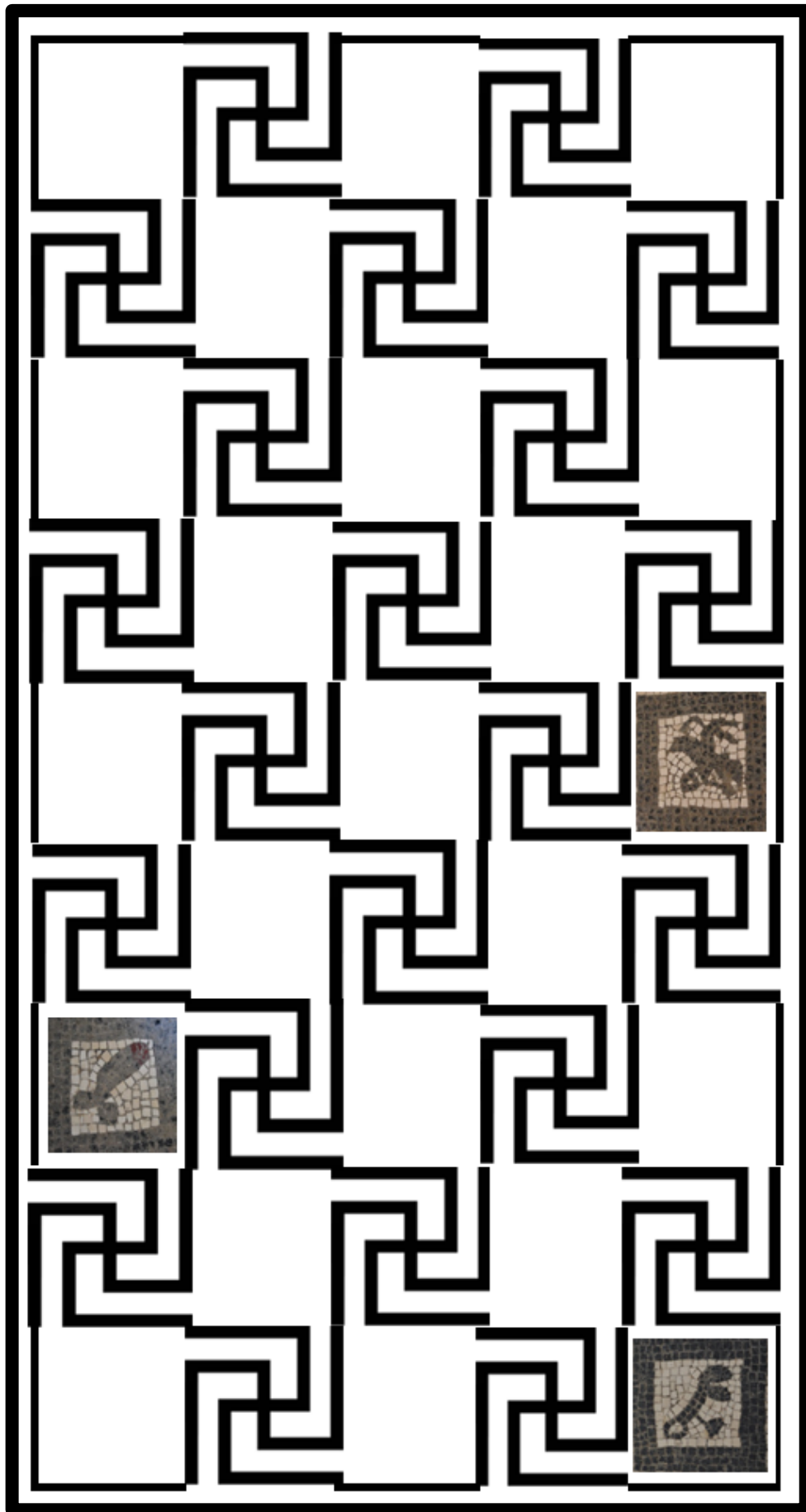
Design of mosaic on floor of tepidarium, Women's Baths, Herculaneum, VI.8.

*Photo – author's own.*

**Figure 88: (Overleaf)**

Diagram illustrating the location of the phalluses in the mosaic design of the Women's Baths, Herculaneum, VI.8.

*Author's own.*





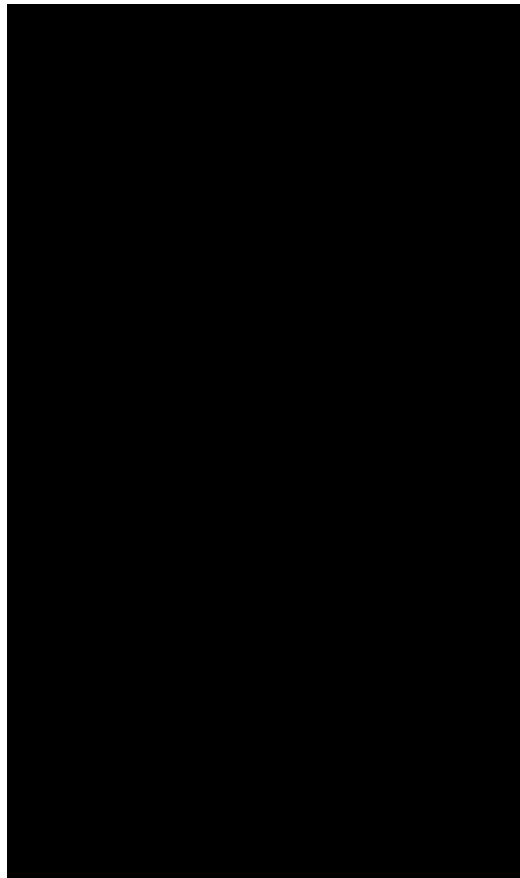
**Figures 89 & 90:**  
Two phallic *tintinnabula* in the mosaic design of the Women's Baths at  
Herculaneum, VI.8.  
*Photos – author's own.*



**Figure 91:**  
Fresco of ithyphallic Mercury from outside the House of Chaste Lovers,  
Pompeii IX.12.6.  
MANN Inv.: s.n.  
*Photos – author's own.*



**Figure 92:**  
Bronze figurine of Mercury (what  
remains of a *tintinnabulum*).  
MANN Inv.: 27854  
*Photos – author’s own.*



**Figure 93:**  
A Greek black-figured neck-amphora showing a sacrifice to a “terminal figure”.  
British Museum Inv.: 1856,1226.220  
[https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=459436&partId=1&searchText=1856%2C1226.220&page=3](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=459436&partId=1&searchText=1856%2C1226.220&page=3)  
*Accessed: 26th March 2019.*



**Figure 94:**  
A plaque from outside the Bakery of Modestus, Pompeii VII.1.36.  
*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 95:**  
A plaque showing two figures carrying an amphora, Pompeii VII.4.16.  
*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 96:**  
Plaque showing a phallus alongside builder's tools, from outside the workshop  
of Livius Firmus, Pompeii IX.1.5.  
*Photo – author's own.*

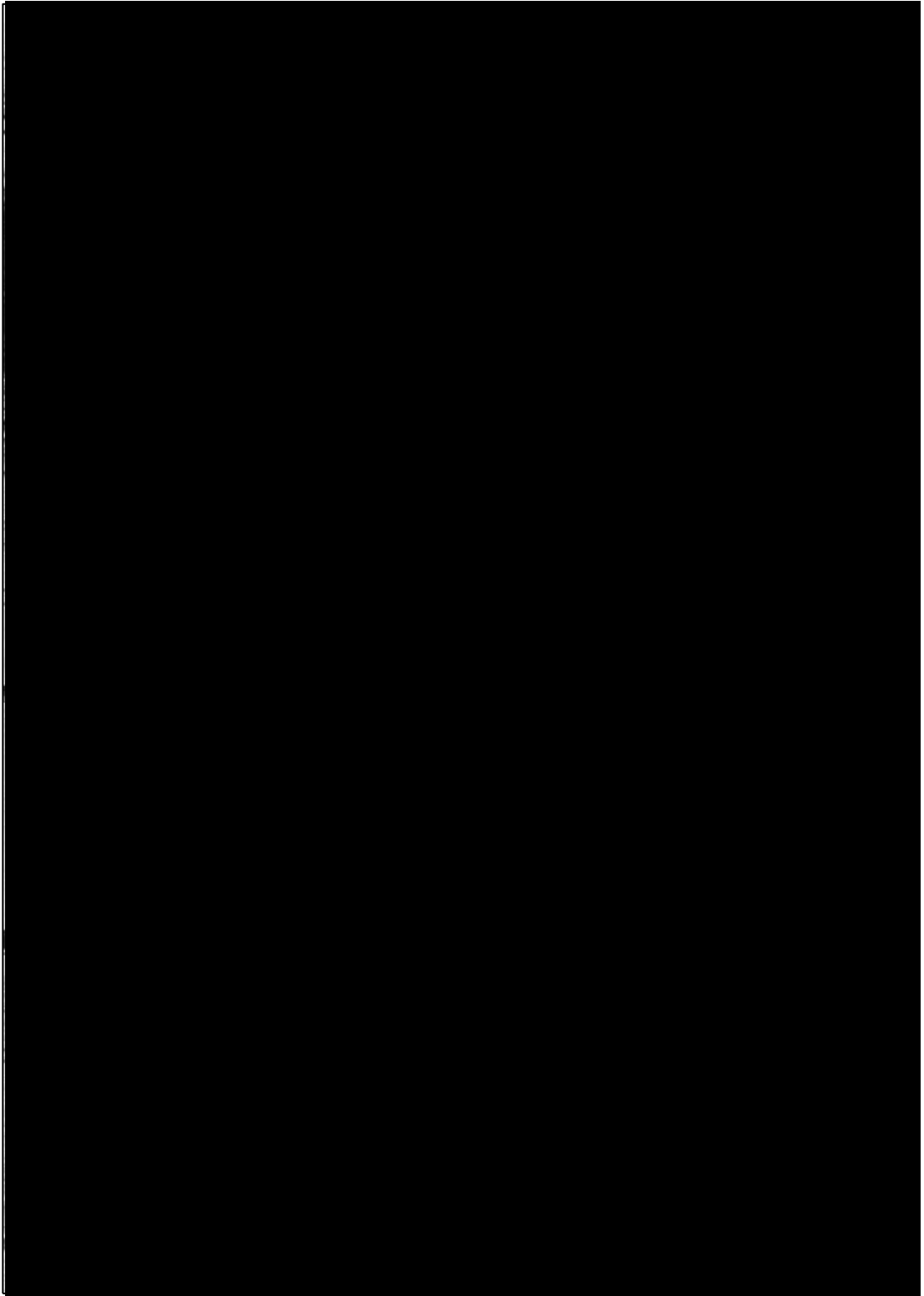


**Figure 97:**  
Plaque showing a phallus alongside builder's tools.  
Pompeii Antiquarium 2254, from Pompeii VII.15.1/2.  
[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b8/Firmenschild\\_des\\_Mau  
rers\\_Diogenes\\_Pompeji.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b8/Firmenschild_des_Mau_rers_Diogenes_Pompeji.jpg)  
*Accessed: 26th March 2019.*





**Figure 98:**  
Stucco phallus design on front of a furnace, Pompeii IX.7.2.  
*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 99:**  
Photo of the furnace and building frontage from 1911, Pompeii IX.7.2.  
*Clarke (2007) Plate 27, page 71.*



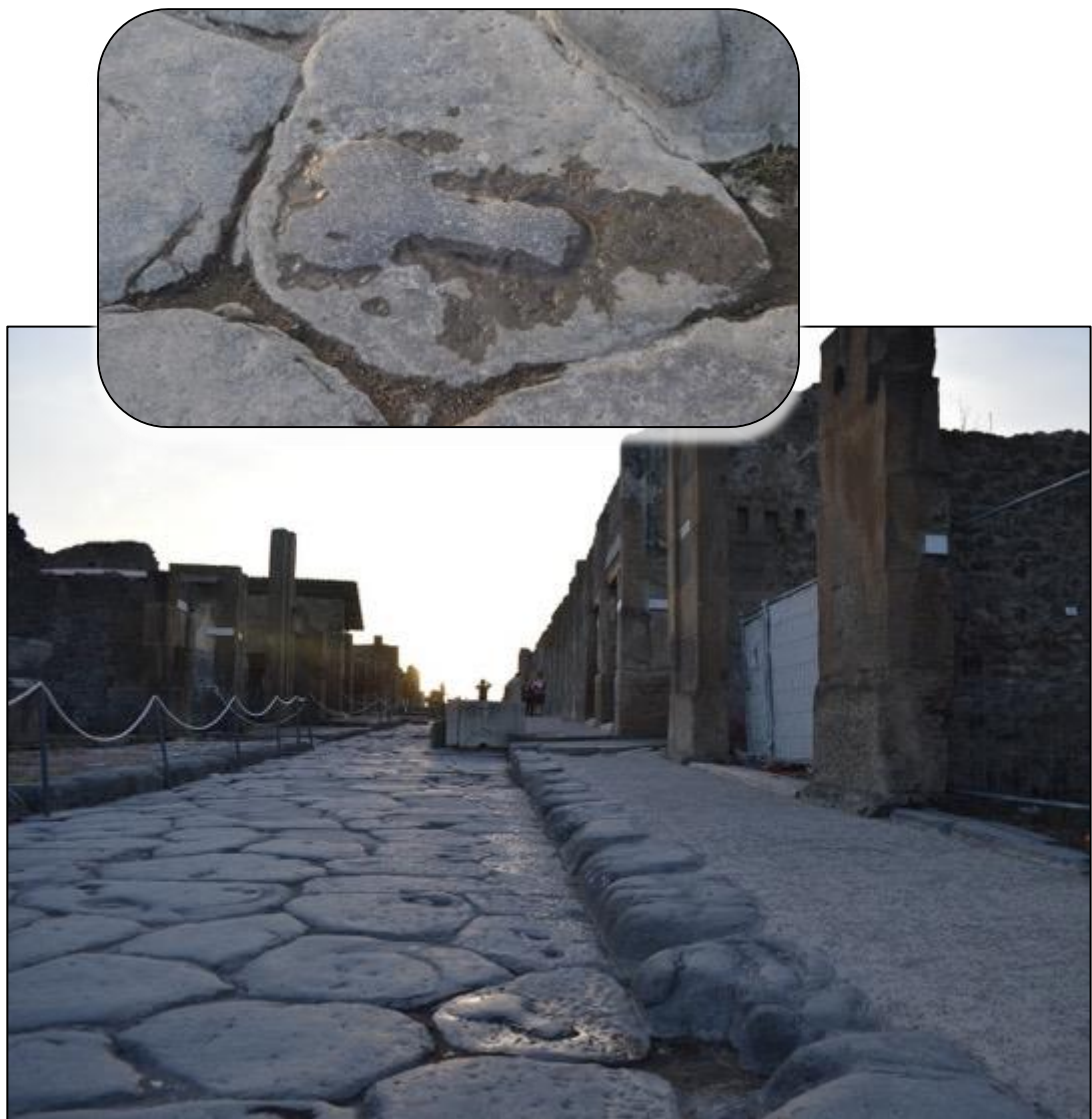
**Figure 100:**  
Tufa plaque (original location unknown).  
MANN Inv.: s. n.  
*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 101:**  
*Lares Compitales* street shrine with phallus on arcade pillar, Pompeii IX.2.1.  
*Photo – author’s own.*



**Figure 102:**  
Phallus and accompanying plaque from external wall of the House of the  
Centenary, Pompeii IX.5.  
MANN Inv.113415  
*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 103:**  
Phallus on a paving slab on the Via dell'Abbondanza, Pompeii VII.13.3.  
*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 104:**  
Graffito of a man with an oversized, ejaculating phallus from the main entrance corridor to the large theatre, Pompeii VIII.7.20.  
*Photo – author’s own.*



**Figure 105:**  
Fresco of a double-phallus Priapus from the *lupanar*, Pompeii VII.12.18.  
*Photo – author’s own (replica – original now in Gabinetto Segreto).*



**Figure 106:**  
Phallus on a tufa block, Pompeii VII.13.14.  
*Photo – author's own.*





**Figure 107:**  
Phallus plaque from a building opposite the Stabian Baths, Pompeii IX.1.13/14.  
*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 108:**

Frieze from the House of the Pygmies, Room I, north wall, west end of property,  
Pompeii IX.5.9.

<https://pompeiiinpictures.com/pompeiiinpictures/R8/8%2005%2024%20p5.htm>

*Accessed: 26th March 2019.*



**Figure 109:**  
Fresco of Fortuna crowning a donkey whilst it penetrates a lion,  
from Pompeii VII.6.34-5.  
MANN Inv. 27683  
*Photo – author's own.*



**Figure 110:**  
A winged phallic *tintinnabulum*.  
MANN Inv.27831  
*Photo – author's own.*