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Author: Mol, Eva Martine
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Egypt in material and mind

The use and perception of Aegyptiaca in Roman domestic contexts of Pompeii

Proefschrift

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Eva Martine Mol
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te Meppel

Promotor: Prof.Dr. R.A.H. Corbey

Begeleider en Co-promotor: Dr. Miguel John Versluys

Faculteit der Archeologie, Universiteit Leiden

Klassieke en Mediterrane Archeologie

CONTENTS

ENGLISH SUMMARY

This dissertation was written within the NWO VIDI project '*Cultural innovation in a globalising society, Egypt in the Roman world*', (Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University) directed by dr. Miguel John Versluys. The general aim of this project is devoted to the understanding of the different contexts in which Egypt as style, imagery, object, and text, was integrated in the Roman world. It thereby wishes to give Egypt its proper place within the process of Roman cultural innovation through carefully studying its material and textual remains in the context in which they were created and appropriated. Studies on the Roman perception of Egypt, concerning both textual and archaeological sources, generally approach Egypt from fixated and normative concepts. For example, Aegyptiaca have traditionally been interpreted within a framework of oriental cults or Egyptomania. The research project, in contrast, demonstrates that the dichotomy Rome versus Egypt should be approached with care. Besides the present thesis, three other PhD-dissertations are written within the scope of the project: Marike van Aerde, examining the role of Egyptian material culture in Augustan Rome, Sander Müskens, focusing on the material analysis of stone Aegyptiaca in Rome, and Maaike Leemreize, studying the Roman literary perceptions of Egypt.

The purpose of this particular dissertation is to obtain a better image of the use, perception, and integration of Egyptian artefacts in domestic contexts, using Pompeii (1st century BC – 1st century AD) as a case study. The houses of Pompeii yielded many objects that scholars nowadays would call Egyptian or Egyptianised artefacts and are subsumed under the denominator of Aegyptiaca. For the case of Pompeii, Aegyptiaca form a heterogeneous group of both imported and locally produced objects spread throughout the town, consisting of statuettes, imported sculptures, furniture, jewellery, or wall paintings. The most predominant interpretations drawn about the use of these objects have mainly been done on the basis of two accounts: they were interpreted as religious artefacts and explained in the context of the cults of Isis, or they were interpreted as exoticum. The interpretations have been drawn mostly without any contextual analysis or any theoretical underpinnings, and more problematic: the collecting and interpretation of artefacts have been based on modern scholarly perceptions of what Egypt entails, while we as scholars recognise something 'Egyptian' on different grounds than the people of Pompeii once did. The category Aegyptiaca in

itself should be seriously questioned and the way Romans categorised should be scrutinised. The aim of this thesis therefore is to analyse the perception of these objects from a bottom up perspective, avoiding the *a priori* cultural labelling of Egyptian artefacts, but starting instead from the object itself with its main goal to contextualise and to give the finds meaning from within their original use-contexts. For this, methods derived from recent developments in object agency and relationality are used.

NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

Het proefschrift dat voor u ligt is geschreven als deel van het NWO VIDI project '*Cultural innovation in a globalising society, Egypt in the Roman world*', onder leiding van dr. Miguel John Versluys (Faculteit der Archeologie, Universiteit Leiden), een project dat als primair doel beoogt te achterhalen hoe Egypte als stijl, beeld, object en concept geïntegreerd is in Rome. Vanuit archeologisch, filologisch en archeometrisch perspectief streeft *Egypt in the Roman World* ernaar beter inzicht te krijgen in de Romeinse cultuur door middel van onderzoek naar de incorporatie van Egypte. Waarbij veel studies naar de Romeinse perceptie van Egypte deze laatste voornamelijk vanuit conventionele en van boven opgelegde concepten benaderen, zoals vanuit het kader van oriëntaalse religies of dat van exotisme en Egyptomanie, probeert het VIDI-project te laten zien dat Egypte in Rome juist een intrinsiek deel uitmaakte van wat wij 'Romeins' noemen. Naast dit proefschrift zijn er nog 3 andere PhD-onderzoeken betrokken bij het project: Marike van Aerde, die de rol van Egyptische materiële cultuur uit Augusteïsch Rome bestudeert, Sander Müskens, die zich richt op de analyse en interpretatie van Egyptische stenen sculpturen uit Rome en Maaike Leemreize, die de Romeinse perceptie van Egypte onderzoekt door middel van een literaire receptiestudie.

Het doel van het huidige dissertatie-onderzoek is om een beter inzicht te verkrijgen in het gebruik, de perceptie en de integratie van Egyptische materiële cultuur in Romeinse huiscontexten, waarbij het de archeologische site Pompeii (tussen de 1e eeuw voor en 1e eeuw na Chr.) als casus gebruikt. Binnen de huizen van Pompeii is een grote verscheidenheid aan objecten aangetroffen, die wetenschappers samenvatten en samenvoegen onder de noemer Aegyptiaca, hierbij zowel wijzend op geïmporteerde Egyptische objecten alsook objecten die lokaal geproduceerd zijn maar een Egyptische stijl of onderwerp uitbeelden. De interpretatie en functie van deze artefacten is voornamelijk gestoeld op twee aannames: Aegyptiaca als religieus artefact of als exoticum. Deze uitspraken zijn gedaan zonder contextueel onderzoek en zonder enige theoretische onderbouwing, maar kwalijker voor het huidig onderzoek is dat deze interpretatie en collectie van de artefacten zijn gebaseerd op een moderne voorstelling van wat Egypte betekent, en er geen rekening is gehouden met Romeinse perceptie. De validiteit van de categorie Aegyptiaca moet daarom serieus ter discussie gesteld worden en de manieren waarop Romeinen dit wel konden categoriseren moet worden achterhaald. Dit onderzoek stelt zich daarom als voornaamste doel de

perceptie van deze objecten te onderzoeken vanuit een 'bottom-up' benadering die een *a priori* categorisering van Egyptische artefact vermijdt, en zich in plaats daarvan richt op een relationele en holistische bestudering van objecten en concepten. De benadering gaat hierbij uit van recente ontwikkelingen op het gebied van object agency theoriën en onderzoek naar relationale ontologie en netwerken.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Eva Martine Mol (25 november 1984, Meppel) grew up in Staphorst and went to High School at RSG Stad and Esch in Meppel. In 2003 she started at Leiden University, obtaining her Bachelor in Archaeology in 2006 and a ResearchMaster degree in Classical and Mediterranean Archaeology in 2009. Her thesis, *Hidden Complexities of the Frankish Castle, Social Aspects of Space in the Configurational Architecture of Frankish Castles in the Holy Land, 1099-1291,* was awarded with the 'Leidse Scriptieprijs', for the best Master dissertation written at the University of Leiden in the year 2009. It was subsequently published as a monograph in 2012 within the Archaeological Studies Leiden University Press series.

In april 2010 Eva commenced as a PhD-student in the NWO VIDI project *Cultural Innovation in a Globalising Society, Egypt in the Roman World*, under the directions of dr. Miguel John Versluys at Leiden University.

During this period Eva published several articles, reviews, and a book chapter on the workings of Egypt in the Roman world and on the influence of objects and architecture on Roman rituals and religious experience. She has been a regular researcher at the Dutch Institute in Rome where she, besides working on her thesis, developed and organised a Master-Course 'Egypt in Rome' together with the KNIR-staff, which was given in 2011 and 2012. The results of the course were published as a special edition of the Dutch magazine *Roma Aeterna,* where Eva acted as guest editor in chief. She has also been a research fellow at the Dutch-Flemish Institute in Cairo from May-July 2013 and at the Dutch Institute in Instanbul in September 2014. During her PhD, Eva has been involved in several archaeological projects in Italy.

Currently, Eva is employed at the Free University Amsterdam, Leiden University and the University of Amsterdam as a university lecturer.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

travel appears to be possible, and I was able to get stuck in the Romantic Era those weeks, feeling like a true 18th century Grand tourist experiencing an educational rite the passage. It was here that I finally came face to face with the remains of ancient Egypt for the first time, and the visit was vital to my research because of the realisation of two things: the enormous difference that exists between ancient Egypt and ancient Rome in environment, style, objects, and ideas, and the complete impossibility to imagine what Egypt is 'really' like without actually having travelled there.

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION, STUDYING AEGYPTIACA IN ROMAN DOMESTIC CONTEXTS

Fig. 1.1) Reconstruction of the Iseum Campense in Rome, made by Guido Trabacchi and Giuseppe Gatteschi (1918-1940). Gattischi 1924, picture from the Archive of the American Academy in Rome.

This dissertation investigates how objects that scholars call Egyptian or Egyptianised artefacts, were integrated, used, and perceived in the Roman world in the period between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. From the perspective of objects, it will attempt to study what people classified and perceived as Egyptian and how this influenced use; it therefore also focuses on the pivotal role that objects and object-(cultural)styles themselves play within the process of perception. When the term Egypt is used therefore, it generally does not refer to the physical country that was Egypt, but to Egypt as an association, as a classification, and as a material and cultural influence on the Roman world through the workings of objects. In order to achieve this, it will use the domestic contexts of Pompeii as a case study.

To introduce the central concern of this thesis we will first briefly regard the illustration in figure 1.1 above. This picture shows an image of the reconstruction of the so-called Iseum Campense in Rome. It was constructed by Guido Trabacchi (architect) on the occasion of the project *Restauri della Roma Imperiale* under the direction of Giuseppe Gatteschi.[1] The Iseum Campense, most probably built in the 2nd half of the 1st century AD in the Campus Martius area in the city of Rome, was a sanctuary dedicated to the goddess Isis. The picture above shows a temple that conspicuously resembles those of Egypt, of which remains nowadays can still be seen in places like Philae, Dendera, Esna, Edfu, or Kom Ombo in Egypt.[2] Those temples emphatically represent Egyptian sanctuaries as constructed during the heyday of the Late Period and especially during the Ptolemaic Empire. In their original state these sanctuaries were characterised by enclosed halls, open courts, and massive entrance pylons lavishly decorated with Egyptian iconography, obelisks flanking the entrance, and statues of animals that were aligned along a path leading to the court used for festivals and ritual processions. However, the Iseum Campense is a temple in Rome, and architecture such as figure 1.1 shows, has never been found on the Italian peninsula in this particular Egyptian manner. All the Roman temples dedicated to Isis which ground plans could be recovered throughout the Roman world, show sanctuaries that look completely different from this reconstruction.[3] They show distinctive Roman designs with rectangular platforms, porticoes, cellas (often raised by a flight of stairs), tympanums, and Graeco-Roman styled columns. The discrepancy that can be observed between the actual temples belonging to the Roman Isis and the reconstruction that was conceptualised by Trabacchi therefore raises a number of questions. Because if there are no such structures known from the Roman world, why then was the temple of the Iseum Campense reconstructed like this? It seems that Egypt as a concept was so closely connected to Isis and was accompanied by such a strong visual image, that a Roman temple of Isis in Rome could be reconstructed as an Egyptian one.

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[1] See Gatteschi 1924. The publication is composed of photographs of Roman architecture paired with reconstructive architectural drawings of Imperial Rome. It consists of 346 photographic prints that may be dated from the end of the 19th century to the 1930s.

[2] The temple of Horus in Edfu was built between 237 BC and 57 BC, into the reign of Cleopatra VII. Of all the temple remains in Egypt, the Temple of Horus at Edfu is the most completely preserved; the temple of Isis in Philae was dedicated to Isis and was first built by Nectanebo I (380-362 BC), with important additions done by the Ptolemies, especially Ptolemy Philadelphus, Ptolemy Epiphanes, and Ptolemy Philometor. See Manning 2009.

[3] For an overview on the design of Roman temples dedicated to Isis, see Kleibl 2009.

This latter observation illustrates a fundamental problem which will be guiding the present research. Our modern conceptions and projections seem to have significantly influenced and could even literally re-shape objects of the past. It furthermore shows how influential material culture can be in the understanding and recreating of the world and of the past. Because Egypt in present society is such a strong visual concept it affects the interpretation for past contexts, an observation which denotes serious consequences for the study of Egyptian artefacts in the Roman world.

Approaching this problem therefore requires a well preserved context in which the use and perception of these objects can be analysed, for which Pompeii has been selected to serve as a case study. Pompeii presents an equally famous Roman site in Italy to Rome, however, not for its grandeur of representing the capital of an Empire, but for the unique preservation of the remains of everyday life in an 'ordinary Roman town'. Pompeii has no extremely large and elaborate bath complexes, sanctuaries, or palaces, no high quality and impressive objects made of precious materials and it does not possess pyramids or massive obelisks imported from Egypt. Pompeii, however, just like Rome, also yielded many objects that scholars nowadays would call Egyptian or Egyptianised. In the case of Pompeii these form a large and heterogeneous group of objects spread throughout the town, consisting of objects such as small statuettes of the deities Isis, Harpocrates and Anubis, of blue-glazed figurines of Bes, of a bronze table support decorated with an Egyptian-styled sphinx, of small pieces of jewellery, of numerous wall paintings showing Egyptian deities, pharaohs or sphinxes. The dataset of Egyptian artefacts from Pompeii just described is often referred to as *Aegyptiaca*. In general this term has been used by scholars to denote the complete range of objects connected to Egypt in terms of provenance, style and content, divided under those objects that were imported from Egypt (Egyptian), and locally produced objects meant to look Egyptian (Egyptianising).[4] This means a scholarly division was made between the real Egyptian artefacts and artefacts that were copies or imitations of Egyptian objects. Moreover, this division has often been used as distinction in quality, in which Egyptian artefacts were 'real' and of religious importance, while copies would merely be an example of Roman cultural demise and a taste for exotic display in non-cultic settings. Egyptian

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[4] For a detailed discussion on the terminology and historiography concerning Aegyptiaca Romana, see part 2.2 and 2.3.

material culture was seen as a cultural achievement of extraordinary proportions, just as Greek art was, and Rome would have proved this both by trying to imitate it and by failing in their attempt to do so. Although this view has been questioned in recent approaches to Aegyptiaca Romana (discussed in detail in the next chapter) whether the Romans ever conceptually employed such a distinction has remained underexposed thus far. To get a better grip on this separation from a Roman perspective asks for a more thorough regard of the perception and contextualisation of this category of artefacts.

The distinction made between Egyptian and Egyptianising artefacts and whether it actually mattered to a Roman audience aside, the category Aegyptiaca presents more problems regarding its interpretation. The most predominant interpretations made by scholars for the group of objects called Aegyptiaca have mainly been on the basis of two accounts. Firstly, the objects were interpreted as religious artefacts, and explained in the context of the cults of Isis.[5] Secondly, Egyptian and Egyptian-looking objects were interpreted as *exoticum*, being acquired for their exotic and foreign features, of which the taste for it increased especially after the annexation of Egypt by Augustus in 30 BC. The assumed rise in popularity following this historical event scholars usually call 'Egyptomania', named after a seemingly comparable process of renewed interest of Europeans in ancient Egypt during the 19th century as a result of Napoleon's campaigns to Egypt (1798–1801).[6] However, there are several problems with these interpretations, first of all, if it is not known what 'Egyptian' entailed for a Roman, or whether this understanding was related to a fixed category of objects, it is difficult to contextualise a concept such as Egyptomania. Secondly, what is problematic of both lines of thought, the Isis cult and exoticism alike, is that they have been made a priori using a top-down explanatory framework which was imposed on the past, without conducting a proper contextual analysis or a critical investigation of the actual uses of the objects in different contexts.

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[5] For the Aegyptiaca of Pompeii this was mainly done in Victor Tran tam Tinh's *Essai sur le culte d'Isis en Pompei* (1964), which will be discussed in chapter 2.

[6] The Egyptomania view has been the dominant explanation for the appearance of Aegyptiaca in various publications, such as de Vos, *L'egittomania in Pitture e Mosaici* (1980), but it has been used as a explanatory framework as well in more general works on the Roman world such as, for instance, in John Clarke's *Houses in Roman Italy* (1991) or *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (2008) by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill. Both these lines of interpretation and the complications for the field of Aegyptiaca will be discussed in chapter 2 of this book.

More difficult even, thirdly, is how both these interpretations uncritically use the label Egyptian for these objects without any attempt of examining whether this was the case from a Roman point of view. They seem to be a reflection of the scholar on what they believe Egypt and Egyptian entailed rather than that it reflects the thought of the Roman viewer. In this respect it can be observed, regarding the reconstruction of figure 1.1 once again, that although the size and the objects that are found in Pompeii are different, the category of Aegyptiaca from Pompeii equally suffered from modern projections as the Iseum Campense did. What exactly, for example, do we have to consider as Aegyptiaca from a Pompeian perspective? In order to study the integration of Egyptian artefacts, some basic conceptions that we today consider evident need to be asked again. Did the people know that a pyramid was Egyptian? Or hieroglyphs? Was this always the case in every situation? Was Isis considered an Egyptian or a Roman goddess? And concerning the use of such artefacts, were these regarded as exotic materialisations of the magical and alien country of Egypt? Or did such objects blend in with the rest of the hundreds of thousands of objects that were used, admired, venerated, discarded, and ignored in the houses of Pompeii?

Now that the key problems have been identified, that of *a priori* categorisation and cultural labelling of Egyptian artefacts based on modern conceptions of Egypt, the aim of the project becomes to study the different layers of perception of Egyptian artefacts through a bottom-up approach, through contextualisation, and by acknowledging the agency of material culture in its own right. The next step is that a solution needs to be found which is able to critically investigate the use of the objects, avoiding as much as possible the preconceptions that the modern concept of Egypt affords. When arguing top-down with a (modern) concept of Egypt in mind, thinking about a temple of Isis in Rome naturally turns into a picture such as figure 1.1. However, when starting not with this concept of Egypt, but with a terracotta vase decorated with the head of Isis (one of the finds from Pompeii), then the associative process will be quite different. Only from a bottom-up perspective it is possible to assess the meaning of these objects, how they might have functioned in their religious lives or as decorative objects, and whether they were conceptually connected to the classification Egyptian. Therefore, it is through the study of the way Aegyptiaca were handled in Pompeii that we can make an attempt to unravel what exactly

these objects meant for a Roman audience, whether they amalgamated or whether they were singled out in everyday use. This means that it is attempted to investigate the pre-interpretative level of object experience. By broadening the scope materially and contextually, this thesis wants to shed a new light on Aegyptiaca. Moreover, when this can be accomplished, it is possible to say something meaningful about Pompeian society. About how the society used objects and regarded Egyptian material culture, and how the integration process of artefacts functioned.

First, however, some steps should be taken in order to be able to arrive at a level in which the objects can be studied bottom-up. Firstly, by trying to carefully analyse how modern preconceptions of Egypt have been shaped and how they affected the study of Roman Aegyptiaca. This will be done in chapter 2 by charting the appropriation of Egyptian objects outside Egypt in a diachronic perspective and by studying how these were received by scholars. Egyptian objects found outside Egypt from the Bronze Age to the modern period will be used to study the way they were classified and interpreted by scholars and on what accounts these interpretations were made. This will elucidate what objects scholars usually deem Egyptian and how it relates to the interpretations of Aegyptiaca from Pompeii. This undertaking will also involve a reception study of the development of the modern concept of Egypt, in order to see where our current ideas of Egypt are derived from. When a clearer picture on scholarly preconceptions is obtained, and when a better understanding of how projections such as those made in figure 1.1 came about, it becomes possible to study their perception for a Roman case.

Secondly, a method should be developed that is able to avoid the label Egyptian but starts from the object and has at its primary aim to contextualise the finds in their original use-context. The design of this method will be attempted in chapter three, with the aid of recent approaches in archaeology focusing on concepts such as materiality and networks. The first concept contributes to the current undertaking because it offers a larger role to the object in people's lives, moving beyond artefacts as symbols, but instead seeing them as a constitutive power, not only affecting but co-creating how people behave and think. Networks, or relationality, are able to lift the objects out of their restraining *a priori* classes because the focus now becomes placed on their relations, which is a clear addition because it avoids categorisation. It was furthermore decided – due to the scope of the research

that examines perception – that the objects which were gathered as Aegyptiaca for the dataset, were selected on the basis of scholarly perception, meaning the database consists of objects that scholars deemed Egyptian or Egyptianised artefacts. It is important to stipulate this, as it was argued above that there might be a difference between what scholars think is Egyptian and what the Pompeians thought was Egyptian, and as this is one of the research questions it is necessary to start with the preconception of the scholar.[7] By commencing with our own perception of what Aegyptiaca are, and then contextually analyse the objects, I believe it becomes possible to separate more accurately our preconceptions from those that were held in the past, and more complexity can subsequently be allowed in the interpretation. The aim of the method is to deconstruct the label Egyptian for several categories of objects that are currently interpreted as such. However, while such an analysis can aid in pulling the artefacts out of their previous bounded categories, it does not solve yet how they were used. Therefore, in the second part of chapter 3, another method will be put forward, called place-making. This method is designed to analyse the artefacts in their house contexts. Place-making combines the material aspects of the house in relation to psychological aspects, how people move about in a house, how they interact and how this becomes affected by the spatial and material aspects present. The focus is put on studying their meaning from a holistic perspective of the house and all other artefacts found there.

After this brief outline of Chapter 2 and 3 in which the new approach for rethinking Aegyptiaca is proposed, it becomes clear that the issues of use and perception have to be dealt with on different levels. The two ways of contextualising Aegyptiaca, deconstruction and place-making form the basis of their rethinking and will be executed in two different analytical chapters (subsequently Chapter 4 and 5). The first contextualisation, attempted in chapter 4, will study all artefacts from Pompeian houses that were considered Egyptian by present-day scholars and their contextual and material associations. This approach will make an inquiry in how and where objects, material, or styles that were linked to Egypt, were applied,

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[7] All the objects gathered from previous research, museum catalogues, and from the collections of the *Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli*, were put in a Microsoft Access database, with attached information about their find location, material, size, iconographical specificities etc. In order to obtain a wider picture of the number, the appearance, and the distribution of certain objects, both artefacts without a clear find context and those found outside domestic contexts were also included in the database.

integrated, and with what other artefacts they were conceptually associated. Because a network approach is taken up as a method, the artefacts do not necessarily need to be labelled as Egyptian beforehand, as the relationships they have with other artefacts and contexts are considered most important, and because they will be compared with all other material and visual objects from Pompeii. How, for instance, were Isis figurines employed in domestic contexts in relation to other deities, such as for instance Venus? When the table support in the form of a sphinx is not compared to other Egyptian artefacts, but to other types of table supports, might it give us better clues on how it was conceptualised? How did Egyptian styled and Greek styled sphinxes relate to each other, and did they function in similar cognitive frameworks? Through scrutinising such relations from a material culture perspective it will be attempted to gain access to the concepts and associations that the Romans applied when using such objects.[8] Through this type of relational contextualisation of Aegyptiaca, an effort is made to understand what people thought of these objects and whether that thought was (still) connected to Egypt. Furthermore, the approach is able to bring a deeper understanding of the role of Egyptian artefacts in Pompeii, and how they related to the use of other artefacts with different cultural labels, such as Greek or Roman. Through comparing all objects that were used in a certain context (not only those deemed Egyptian) in Pompeii, more can be learned about the different ways that Egyptian artefacts could integrate in the Roman world.

As chapter 4 is aimed to give a clearer view on the perception of Egyptian material culture and its relation to concepts of Egypt, chapter 5 will treat the second level of contextualisation, which takes place on the level of its use-context through the before mentioned method of place-making. This means that the houses in which Aegyptiaca were found shall be analysed in detail in order to observe how they were socially, visually, materially, and spatially employed in a house. While chapter 4 attempted to deconstruct the label Egypt, the second level of analysis wants to build up the argument again by looking at how exactly these objects were used when they become socially and spatially contextualized and when they are compared to all the other material, objects, and cultural styles that were present in the social unit of the house. A stone slab containing hieroglyphs imported from Egypt was found in a house where it was re-used as a threshold. How did this object

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[8] For a detailed account of how this thesis deals with the notion of concepts see part 3.4.

function within the social context of the house? Why was it re-used as a threshold? What was its role regarding social and religious issues and if it did, how might its 'Egyptianness' have played a part in it even when it was not necessarily a conscious perception? The use of such objects can become clearer when their function in the house is elucidated through a holistic approach. The threshold forms an example in which the cognitive association with Egypt might not have been present by its users, or at least this could not be verified. The two houses that were selected to function as a case study for place-making, however, seem to show examples of houses in which a conscious concept was present, though they were employed in very different ways. The Casa degli Amorini Dorati (VI 16, 7-35), treated in the first case study, possessed an elaborate shrine in its peristyle completely devoted to Isis, a shrine which also contained an alabaster statuette of Horus in an Egyptian style and a green-glazed faience imitation lamp displaying Isis, Anubis, and Harpocrates, all gods that originated from Egypt. The Casa di Octavius Quartio (II 2,2), discussed in the second case study, did not possess any shrines, but displayed green-glazed statuettes of a pharaoh and the Egyptian deity Bes in its garden, and a marble sphinx in an Egyptian style next to a water feature. Such observations for the two houses without examining the rest of the contents of the house, the remaining decorations, other shrines, and the exact spaces and locations in which the artefacts were displayed, can be considered meaningless. However, this is the way how Egyptian or Egyptian-looking artefacts are usually approached. They are collected from all the houses of Pompeii and heaped up as one big pile of Egyptian 'stuff', after which they were monolithically interpreted as either exotic or religious. The contribution this thesis wants to make in chapter 5 therefore, is to show that when 'Egyptian' artefacts are analysed as part of a household, their function and their use within the social dynamics of the house can become clearer and consequently they will move beyond being just an exotic or religious artefact.

Contextualisation, both on a broader artefactual level and on a use-level, emerges as the key concept for a better understanding of Aegyptiaca. Because of its level of conservation and the large amount of Egyptian objects with a clear find context, Pompeii can be considered an ideal case study to investigate the perception and use of Egyptian artefacts and discuss their problems. A detailed contextual analysis of the function of Aegyptiaca in Roman houses that takes account of all objects that made up a household

can become established taking Pompeian houses as a case study. The strength of a site like Pompeii furthermore lies exactly in the fact that through its unique preservation it is able to show the material complexity of the Roman world. The two facts combined, the level of preservation and its complexity, makes the site the ideal playground to ask new questions about how Romans dealt with Egyptian artefacts, and how these objects were able to influence people and human thinking about material culture, both in the past as well as in the present.

Besides these levels of investigation, however, through its particular scope, aims and methods, this research might also contribute to a broader debate on the use and perception of objects in scientific research. Because by focusing on the cognitive relation of Egypt with certain objects, what is also studied is the extent of people's awareness of objects in their everyday life in relation to that within scholarly interpretation. Returning to the main problem of categorisation and labelling of Aegyptiaca it can be questioned for instance, whether cultural labels such as Egyptian were always present within the use and perception of objects. For example when the terracotta vase displaying the head of Isis from the example above is handled by its users in a domestic setting, 'Egyptian' might not be the first association, 'Isis' might not even be the first association. It might simply be associated with its function as a pourer of water and not even be contemplated upon at all. This counts of course, for many more archaeological classifications than Egyptian and shows that the problem is more complex than finding out whether something is perceived as Egyptian or not. The context in which things can 'become' Egyptian in the human mind is also of concern, together with the influence that Egyptian artefacts had when they were not consciously regarded Egyptian. Can we find a way to study this level of dealing with material culture? For this latter issue it is important to regard the unreflective aspect of object perception, and to acknowledge that because objects are often not important to reflect upon consciously in the daily lives of people, they possess agency. On a larger level therefore this thesis will deal with the development of a strategy, using Egyptian objects as a tool, that approaches objects, object perception, and object agency, from the level of everyday non-reflective use.

Within this larger level of object perception, the issue of projection that was discussed through the example of the Iseum Campense reconstruction is

also significant. Returning to figure 1.1 once more, the influence of the concept of Egypt and its visual image that becomes imposed on the past reveals an issue that goes beyond cultural labelling, but refers to the agency of style and objects on human thinking. Because if the issue is deliberated further, where does the problem of projection derive from, how does it affect the study of Aegyptiaca and how does it affect the study of material culture in general? It shows that projection is a natural and unconscious response to situations, and that both the normal observer and the scholar understand situations by projecting their own sense of reality onto it. The human being is in essence a projecting animal that shapes its own reality; this is a more efficient way of coping with everyday life. However, more important is that the issue illustrates that perceiver and the world are separate entities. It shows how much these projections and ideas are shaped in accordance to what can be seen in the world, influenced by the things and visual images which surround people. The ideas that we have about reality are derived from the world, as the Iseum Campense drawing shows, from the visual image that Egyptian temples provided for. For scholars it is both a truism and continuous hardship that we ourselves are part of the world we try to understand, but it is not something that needs to be denied nor something that is in need of artificial boundaries in order to solve it. The fact that a strict dividing line between us and the world cannot be drawn should be a starting point instead. The most important theoretical guiding principle of this research therefore, is that matter and meaning are not separate elements. They are inextricably fused together, shape each other, change each other, and understanding parts of its dynamics can be of importance to better comprehend culture and the past. Matter, as argued by Barad, is simultaneously a matter of substance and of significance.[9] Therefore, the picture of the Iseum and the objects that are called Aegyptiaca bring to the surface a much larger issue important for this research and in archaeological research in general, that of the relation between objects, classifications, and concepts within perception. The reconstruction of the Iseum is an example of the power the visual environment has to influence the thinking and that objects (in this case temples from Egypt) are able to affect and change concepts as well. Throughout all the levels of the different chapters of the dissertation, this agency, tension, and dialectic will be deliberated. Furthermore, because Egypt is such a strong visual concept, for modern people, but maybe also for Romans as was argued before, it can be

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[9] See Barad 2007, 3.

considered an excellent tool to study the relationship between meaning and material. By bringing in this debate in conjunction with the archaeological aims, the dataset serves as a good example to show how the material which surrounds us influence the way we think.

To conclude this introduction, the research aims to deconstruct the cultural label Egyptian within the context of object-use and instead move to artefact perception. The interpretation of objects should go beyond cultural containers such as Roman, Greek, or Egyptian, but has to be viable in the context of the people that used these objects. This means, that Pompeii serves as an experimental study on how objects are used, and how we might study these on a cognitive level. Its model can therefore not serve as a blueprint for the entire Roman world, and although objects from Campania, Rome, and beyond will be used to serve as a background for the objects that are analysed, their analysis will not result in 'the Roman perception of Egypt'. What is hoped to be achieved through the close study of Pompeian objects, however, is to add a level of complexity to the study of Aegyptiaca and the study of archaeological objects that can also be taken into consideration studying 'foreign' objects within the wider study of the Roman world. Because it is possible to obtain insights in the integration process of Aegyptiaca, these understandings might be applied to other categorisations and different contexts as well. Trying to study Egyptian artefacts as a Roman phenomenon implies studying Aegyptiaca as part of a broad material framework no longer isolated in any respect from the multicultural visual language that was engaged by the Roman Empire and its spheres of influence. It should also employ a view that is disassociated from the aprioristic religious interpretation which has often dominated the study of Egyptian material culture in the Roman world. Pursuing this also means that it is attempted to critically approach ourselves as scholars and how our own perception of Egypt influenced the way we executed research and shaped our categories accordingly. The picture of Egypt, and Egyptian objects in the Roman world, are more complex than just being Egyptian, and that more cultural and social processes are involved giving these objects meaning. In order to reveal such processes, however, Egyptian objects make a very suitable tool and it is argued therefore that something important can be learned about Roman society, by studying this complex but fascinating collection of objects.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS AND VISUAL RECEPTION HISTORY OF AEGYPTIACA: FROM *ARTEFACTION* TO PERCEPTION

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a historiographical analysis of studies focusing on Egyptian artefacts in the Roman world and a reception history of Aegyptiaca. How did scholars interpret Aegyptiaca and on which foundations were the interpretations and classifications based? The purpose of this chapter is to obtain a clearer view on what has previously been done on the subject and how thoughts on Egyptian artefacts have developed through time. This will not only lead to a refinement of the scope, but also to a historiographical framework in which the research issues can be positioned. In addition to a brief overview of Egyptian finds attested outside Egypt during the pre-Roman period and their problems with regards to interpretation and classification, previous studies dedicated to Aegyptiaca in Roman Pompeii and Rome will be discussed. Although the present thesis describes the way in which Aegyptiaca functioned in Pompeii (historiographically, research on Pompeii has always been intimately linked to the capital of the Roman Empire), examples from Rome shall also be included in this chapter. First a brief diachronic overview of the appearance of Egyptian artefacts in contexts outside Egypt will be presented in order to illustrate the variety of objects and dealings with Egyptian artefacts as well as the difficulty that arises when interpreting such artefacts and how it can benefit the present inquiry. An overview of the study and the reception of Aegyptiaca artefacts will follow.

2.2 Historical context: tracing Egypt outside Egypt

2.2.1 Aegyptiaca outside Egypt: mapping issues in interpretation and classifications of exotic objects

By way of an introduction to the historical context of Aegyptiaca, the distribution of Egyptian objects outside Egypt will now be briefly charted while focusing on issues of interpretation concerning culturally defined objects. Egyptian objects (as imports or in the form of locally produced artefacts with an Egyptian style) can be found in a large number of contexts outside Egypt and are geographically and chronologically widespread. It is therefore valuable to demonstrate the variety of the cultural biography of Egyptian material culture outside Egypt. Due to the scope of this dissertation it cannot be an inclusive overview. It is believed however that, by discussing the history of appearances of Egyptian artefacts on the Italian peninsula and their reception among scholars, a broader framework can be created in order to contextualise the dataset and its studies. Moreover, by illustrating the interpretations and classifications scholars applied when interpreting Egyptian artefacts from pre-Roman contexts, it becomes possible to create a deeper understanding of the problem regarding the present case study. The reason for this is that Egyptian artefacts and Egyptian styled objects outside Egypt can be attested as early as the Bronze Age, as for instance, close to Egypt, in Kerma.[10] But also in the Bronze Age Aegean, Syria (especially Byblos in Dynasty XII) and the Mittanian State. Even in Egypt itself earlier styles and objects have been observed that were re-used in later dynasties.[11] For example Mycenae in the Late Bronze Age has yielded a multitude of imported objects from Egypt and as well as the Levant (Syro-Palestinia, Cyprus), Mesopotamia, and Anatolia; which in this

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[10] E.g., the finds of Egyptian objects in Nubian Burials of the Classic Kerma Period as published in Minor 2012.

[11] In the Aegean, for instance, Egyptian objects are found on Crete and Thera; however, also on the mainland of Greece these objects were frequently attested (Brown 1975; Crowley 1989; see Lambrou-Phillipson 1990 for a specified catalogue of Egyptian and Egyptianising artefacts found in Greece). In Palestine, scarabs were imported from Egypt but were also locally produced in unparalleled quantities during the Middle Bronze Age. Interestingly, while this period mainly counts locally produced scarabs, the following period (19th Dynasty) witnessed an increase in imported scarabs from Egypt (Ben-Tor 2011, 29-30). During the reign of Ramses II, too, an intensification of Egyptian cultural influence, not only in the Palestine region, but also in Southern Canaan could be witnessed. It is argued that 'Egyptianisation' reflects the adoption of Egyptian culture by local elites and an influx of Egyptians in these regions (Weinstein 1975, 1-16; 1981, 18-22; Killebrew 2004, 309-43). For more information on the Egyptian influence in Byblos, see Smith 1969, 277-81. On the re-use of pharaonic material and objects during later periods in Egypt, see Ashton 2001, 16-9; Savvopoulos 2010, 84.

period are commonly referred to by scholars as *Orientalia*.[12] Looking more closely at the choices made for Egyptian ware in Mycenae, it can be observed that, although faience objects in this case are the most frequently attested material, no particular object dominated the dataset.[13] The objects furthermore are mainly found in funerary contexts. They represent small items (e.g., beads, seals, and scarabs) and now and again objects made of ivory or glass.[14] Minoan Crete holds another example of importing and local re-interpreting of Egyptian artefacts. For instance, the Egyptian Middle Kingdom statuette of User found in the northwestern area of the Central Court at Knossos testify of this.[15] All the contexts include a very specific adaptation and adoption of artefacts from abroad. The objects vary, as does the interpretation and the reason why they ended up in their specific contexts. Scholars have proposed three explanations as to why particular objects were imported and for the specific appropriation of eastern motifs in the Late Bronze Age Aegean: artistic usefulness, novelty appeal, and compatibility of symbolism.[16] It is interesting to observe that the objects and the contexts differ greatly with respect to what is attested in Rome and Pompeii in the Roman period. It can therefore be argued that studying such dissimilarities is significant in order to learn more about the use of objects as well as the ideas behind the choices for certain objects or material. However, while these Bronze Age contexts seem to comprise of a rather uncomplicated case with respect to Egyptian artefacts and their utilisation and appreciation, it is difficult to establish the nature of *Orientalia* from an emic perspective; the circumstances of appropriation may have been much more complex. The issue of establishing what is (perceived as) foreign and how this is historiographically dealt with becomes much clearer when considering examples from later periods. To establish this, three cases from pre-Roman contexts were selected: (1) the Archaic period and the issue of Oriental artefacts, (2) the Punic world and the classification of Phoenician style, and (3) the Hellenistic period and Aegyptiaca. Each will be discussed in order to clarify the intricacies met when interpreting exotic artefacts.

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[12] On the problem with the terms Orientalising and Orientalia, see Purcell 2006, 21-30.

[13] See Cline 1995, 91.

[14] It is suggested that the imports of Aegyptiaca to Mycenae were mainly remnants from principal trade in for example wine, oil, grain and textiles, Cline 1995, 92.

[15] See Gilla and Padgham 2005, 42-59. Such finds in Nubia, the Levant, and Anatolia are interpreted as part of an elite gift exchange system, dedications in sanctuaries, the movement of specialised Egyptian workers, portable funerary statues and looting. Minoans made choices not only regarding the Egyptian goods but also which elements of such goods they applied to their individual Egyptianising objects Phillips 2006, 297-9; Phillips 1991.

[16] See Lambrou-Phillipsen 1990, 171; Phillips 1991; 2006.

The Archaic period and Orientalising objects

During the period following the Bronze Age a disruption in cultural contact and the influx of Egyptian objects could be witnessed. From the 10th to the 9th century BC onwards, one can slowly and in small amounts observe Aegyptiaca again outside Egypt on, for example, the Greek mainland (e.g., at Lefkandi and Fortetsa).[17] Following the Dark Ages i.e., the Archaic period from *c.*800 BC on, the influence of Egyptian artefacts starts to become more common as imports at the Isis grave at Eleusis, Eleutherna, Kommos indicate.[18] During the Late Geometric Period (760-700 BC) a substantial number of imports could be attested, which were subsequently distributed further afield. This was caused by an increase in cultural connectivity and by intensified east-west relations between Neo-Assyria, Egypt, and the Aegean. And not only in the Aegean, but also in Euboea, Campania and northern Greece an increase in the number of Aegyptiaca can be witnessed. In the Neo-Assyrian Kingdom imports from Egypt are frequently attested, pointing to economic relations between the two empires. In addition to gold, which was their main interest, the Assyrians seem to have been attracted to other Egyptian luxury items, which were imported to the benefit of the Empire's ruling class. Especially linen became a popular export product.[19] The Egyptian objects imported from Egypt during this period in the Aegean consisted mainly of scarabs and faience figurines in the shape of Egyptian divinities and symbols, as well as faience vases.[20] The influence of the presence of these objects in the Aegean was significant, as it inspired the incorporation of Egyptian techniques and forms to create local products. For instance imported Egyptian faience beads in the area seemingly stimulated the production of Archaic Greek faiences. At the end of the 8th up to the 6th century BC this subsequently resulted in a Greek Orientalising genre of art.[21] This was not only attributable to Egyptian artefacts; the Archaic period experienced a general intensification in the presence and production of

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[17] See Niemeier 2001, 11-32.

[18] See Höbl 1985.

[19] According to Elat (1978), it is due to Egypt's geographic isolation that the Assyrian kings could not base their economic relations with Egypt solely on tribute and booty, as they did with other lands under their domination. The need to import goods (e.g., gold, fine linen garments, minerals, papyrus, etc.) made them, in turn, dependent upon the cooperation of Arab tribes in southern Philistia and northern Sinai, and upon Philistine cities trading with Egypt by sea or land routes, see Elat 1978, 34.

[20] See Helck 1979, 77-80, 105, 124, 128.

[21] See Helck 1979, 172-82.

oriental and orientalised artefacts, which also occur in Italic contexts.[22] Precisely the denomination Oriental, which serves to characterise the intensification of goods and to classify a visual defined category of non-Greek objects, is relevant to the present case study. The term 'Oriental' when applied to the Greek world has recently been carefully deconstructed in Ann Gunther's *Greek Art and the Orient* (2012). In it the categories Greek and Oriental are questioned and the emphasis is shifted to modes of contact and cultural transfers within a broader regional setting. Furthermore, Greek encounters with the Near East and Egypt are placed in the context of Neo-Assyria and it is attempted to provide both a social and a cultural embedding for the application of Oriental styles as meaningful in transfer, ownership, and display.[23] Because if Greek culture shared that widely and deeply with its Oriental neighbours, can we continue to classify objects as 'exotica' or 'novelties', when imported and transformed into a Greek idiom?[24] This very relevant issue, as discussed below, also counts towards the Egyptian artefacts on the Italian peninsula.

This example demonstrates problems that also occur within interpretation of Aegyptiaca in Roman contexts. For instance, between the 8th and 6th century BC, it has become notably difficult to separate Egyptian imports from locally produced Oriental wares, or from imported Oriental wares from outside Egypt. When interpreting objects from Italic and Etruscan contexts dated to the Orientalising period, 'Egyptian' turns into a difficult term, as the objects frequently display a generic 'Eastern' style which could rather be classified as Phoenician or Phoenician-inspired work than Egyptian. A well known example of such an item is the Bocchoris vase (fig. 2.1), found in a tomb at the Etruscan site of Tarquinia, which is an imported faience vase displaying the cartouche of the pharaoh Bocchoris (*c.*720-715 BC).[25] Although the item was clearly imported, and judging by its detail and material a very precious

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[22] Surprisingly little has been published on Aegyptiaca dating from this period. However, for a description and analysis of Aegyptiaca with regard to Sardinia, Malta, Turkey and Greece, see Hölbl 1985; 1986; 1980; 1978. For a general overview on the Orientalising period in Etruria, see Riva 2006.

[23] Gunther 2012. Although historiographically the studies on Orientalia during the 8th and 7th period and on Aegyptiaca from the Roman period are comparable, information can be acquired by comparing its appropriation strategies. The study of Aegyptiaca in the Roman period and Orientalia are separate disciplines. An increase of cultural contact lead to a larger transference and exchange of cultural goods, followed by an 'internationalisation of art'. In the course of history such 'hubs' can be observed. Of relevance is the information it provides us on the perception and use of objects, and even more interesting, on their contexts.

[24] See Gunter 2012, 3.

[25] A similar vase was found on Motya (Sicily), see Turfa 1986, 66-7; Höbl 1981.

item in this context, it cannot be established with certainty whether the vase was derived from Phoenicia or from Egypt. The same holds for the example of the Egyptianising material in the so-called 'Isis Tomb', at Polledrara cemetery in Etruscan Vulci.[26]

Fig. 2.1) The 8th-century Bocchoris vase. Currently on display in the Museo Etrusco, Tarquinia. From Momigliano 1989, 54, no 15.

Because of the increased connectivity witnessed during the Orientalising period, style can no longer be considered a leading argument in order to establish the provenance of an artefact. As to Egyptian artefacts, this can be well demonstrated by means of the numerous objects spread throughout the entire Mediterranean produced in Greek factories located at Naukratis (*Kom*

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[26] The grave was named after Isis because of the find of a hammered bronze statue, which was thought to portray her, which was found together with objects of an Egyptian character (e.g., alabaster bottles, four engraved ostrich eggs, faience flaks with hieroglyphs, Egyptian-styled terracotta figurines), see Haynes 1977, 20-3. However, the statue is more likely to represent a native fertility goddess or priestess. Ostrich eggs were also attested at the Bocchoris grave, and in other Etruscan graves (e.g., Cerveteri, Populonia, and Vetulonia), see Martelli, 1984, 172; Haynes 1977, 17-29.

Ge'if) in Egypt.[27] This Greek colony was founded in the 7th century BC and traded and produced Greek as well as Egyptian goods.[28] Not only linen, papyrus, and grain were traded through Naukratis, but also luxury items (e.g., ebony, ivory, minerals, beads, scarabs). They can be found all around the Mediterranean area as well as within Italic contexts (Etruria, Latium, Sicily, and Campania) as the sites of Palestrina and Satricum for instance testify of.[29] Naukratis caused 'Greeks' to now become responsible for the production and distribution of Aegyptiaca in the role of *"Egypt's external traders."*[30] The example of the scarabs from Naukratis is indeed telling and illustrates well the complexities of material culture, people, and cultural labels. These objects were traded and manufactured by the Greeks; Naukratis even had its own scarab producing factory. Moreover, these scarabs are said to be created especially to allude to a foreign taste. For this phenomenon scholars have in fact adopted the term 'Egyptianising' as opposed to 'Egyptian', implying that although made in Egypt, they are not considered to be genuine Egyptian.[31] However, whether this was perceived as such by the foreign non-Egyptian audience that acquired the objects remains a legitimate question. As with the example of the Bocchoris vase, it remains unclear whether the manufacturers of the scarabs (albeit obviously especially produced for a Greek market) were Greek, Egyptian, or Phoenician.[32]

The Punic world and Phoenician objects

Comparable difficulties in the interpretation of style, provenance, and perception can be observed when considering artefacts disseminated through Punic networks. The label 'Phoenician' in fact comprises an analogous case to 'Egyptian' worthy of a discussion here. Objects connected

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[27] On the site of Naukratis as a trade centre and its connection to the Mediterranean, see Villing and Schlotzhauer 2006; Möller 2006.

[28] Although it is often assumed that Egyptians, Phoenicians and Cypriots also traded at Naukratis, Möller believes it was a pure Greek settlement with only few Egyptians. Nonetheless, a large quantity of Egyptian material and objects could be attested to this site, see Möller 2006, 203.

[29] Scandone 1971; Gnade et al. 2007.

[30] See Möller 2006, 214.

[31] See Gorton 1996, 80.

[32] *"That the Factory was producing for a Greek market seems likely, as apparently Naukratite scarabs have been found on Rhodes and elsewhere in the Aegean. But that does not tell us that the scarab-manufacturers were Greeks. Hogarth argued that they Phoenicians – rather than the Greeks - were experts in producing egyptianising artworks, replete with imperfect hieroglyphics. Gorton has identified a number of Phoenician scarab workshops (e.g. in the Levant, Carthage, Sardinia) producing similar product to those of Naukratis."*, see James 2003, 256; Gorton 1996, 43-62; 132-7.

to the Punic world are likewise said to display Orientalising or Egyptianising styles.[33] The most illustrious items of this category which will serve as an example consists of a category of either silver or bronze bowls depicting fantastic creatures (e.g., sphinxes, griffins, floral motifs, human figures). These bowls were widely distributed throughout the Mediterranean world and also attested in Italian contexts. This group of objects demonstrates an illustrative example of the problematic predicament 'Oriental' in connection with provenance and perception and is therefore of significance to discuss in this context. The style of these bowls is 'Oriental' in the most elusive sense of the word and just as the previous examples it is impossible to ascribe clear cultural influences to them. They are reminiscent of the Assyrian style of Nimrud, Egyptian style, or Cypriot style. Moreover, the metal bowls - numbering approximately ninety in total - are found in Assyria, Cyprus, Crete and Etruria (for instance in Cerveteri and the Bernadini tomb in Praeneste). As to the interpretation of these bowls, an impressive quantity of cultural influences and subsequent labels in order to define the bowls are invariably used: Phoenician, Cypro-Phoenician, Etrurian, North Syrian, Cypriot, and Oriental.[34] However, comparable to Egyptian style as a classification, to stylistically designate the bowls as Phoenician seems to be highly problematic too. When applying 'Egyptian' in the case of the Bocchoris vase and the objects from Naukratis, and when using the name and style of Phoenician to categorise these metal bowls, is a scholarly construction based on a visual defined label which is unrelated to how these objects were perceived by a local population. Again very little can be said with any certainty on the origin, dissemination, or production of the bowls. There are no remains of metalworking on Phoenician sites. Numerous scenarios may explain their shape and distribution. For instance, the bowls could have been produced somewhere in the East from where they were spread out, they could have been manufactured by itinerant craftsmen in various places at various times; they may even have been made by local artisans at the same location the artefacts entered the archaeological record.[35] Vella's argument regarding the Phoenician bowls is therefore not only comparable to Egyptian artefacts outside Egypt, but may also be useful to keep in mind when

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[33] See the Introduction in Riva and Vella 2006.

[34] See Vella 2010, 23. The term Phoenician as a style seems to have been invented after H. Layard's discovery, on January 5, 1849, of a hoard consisting of bronze bowls in the ruins of the palace of the 9th-century BC Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrud, see Riva and Vella, 2006, 4-10.

[35] A fourth scenario is: the bowls were made in one place but then travelled, possibly more than once, as war booty perhaps, or in exchange mechanisms, see Vella 2010, 24-5.

starting to interpret Aegyptiaca for a Roman context, as Vella states: "*Calling the metal bowls "Phoenician" should only serve as shorthand to understand the mobile and mutable world that was the Mediterranean in the Archaic period.*"[36] Aegyptiaca inform about the context they are found in, rather than that they inform about the category of Aegyptiaca. How this will serve the present case study will be discussed in more detail below. However, a look at the predicament Egyptian, Oriental, and Phoenician as interpretative labels in the Archaic and Oriental period not only clearly illustrates the complexities involved but also the need for breaking down the terminology.

The Hellenistic world and Aegyptiaca

The Hellenistic world displayed a variety of Egyptian objects and Egypt-inspired objects outside Egypt. Interestingly the dynamics of distribution as well as the range, number and types of objects, and influences changed significantly in the course of this period. A major player within these new dynamics and networks with regards to Aegyptiaca is of course the Ptolemaic Kingdom in Egypt, which introduced innovative changes to the material culture and life to Egypt as well as to the way in which ideas and material culture were spread, used, and perceived within the wider Mediterranean area.[37] One of the so-called innovations - although their popularity really took off during the Roman period - important to discuss in this context are the Hellenistic cults of Isis and Serapis. They not only became an important Egyptian influence in Roman Italy, their distribution and reception also again poses interesting questions with regard to Egypt as a cultural label. Although it is not justified to say that Ptolemy I (Soter) created the god Serapis in Alexandria, the deity is indeed foremost connected to the Ptolemies, who introduced the Hellenised image of the deity and gave shape to its cult.[38] His Hellenised image and iconography, and with characteristics derived from Osiris and Zeus Serapis united aspects from Greek and Egyptian religion, became a popular cult in both in and outside Egypt.[39] Within the same context, Isis became his consort and eventually one of the

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[36] See Vella 2010, 32.
[37] Moyer 2011;Höbl 2000. On long distance trade networks in the Hellenistic world, see Reger 2003, 336-9.
[38] Sfameni Gasparro 2007, 40-72, Stambaugh 1972, 12-3; Moyer 2011, 145-7; Clerc and Leclant 1994 666-92 and Merkelbach 1995
[39] He was especially revered as a patron of the Ptolemaic dynasty and the city of Alexandria, but his power also extended to fertility. Stambaugh 1972, 1. For the spread of Serapis monuments and objects see Kater-Sibbes 1973

most popular export products of Hellenistic Egypt.[40] In the early Hellenistic period Isis reaches the shores of the Mediterranean world, where her image soon establishes in the form of numerous sanctuaries and a vast growing number of devotees, in both town and country. During the 4th century BC Isis and Serapis cults diffuse from Alexandria to Delos. Next, in the course of the late Hellenistic period, the cults expand further and reach the Italian peninsula via the harbour of Puteoli in Campania where it is suggested that Italic merchants instigated them here.[41] The success of the Isis cult in the Roman Republic, especially during the Empire was huge. Devotees considered Isis as one of the most powerful member of the pantheon. She was known and worshipped as a mother, a sister, a grieving wife, and was linked to the concept of resurrection and rebirth.[42] Isis was equalled to Fortuna or Venus, and was venerated for many capacities, such as being able to help with procreation, childbirth, and other medical matters.[43] As to the site of Pompeii it is assumed that the cult of Isis was instituted during the 2nd half of the 2nd century BC, not long after the cult had reached Puteoli.[44] It became a very popular cult, counting among its initiates not only freedmen and women (as was long assumed), but also members of the local elite.[45] For the first time the Mediterranean witnessed a wide diffusion of Isis and her consorts in a Hellenistic form.[46] Interesting in terms of objects, is that the dissemination of cults once again catered for various dynamics

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[40] For a survey of Egyptian religion in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, see Bommas 2012; Dunand 2000; Pakkanen 1996; Merkelbach 1995; Huss 1994.

[41] Italy was first exposed to the cult of Isis when trading with the Eastern part of the Mediterranean on Delos. This isle maintained economic ties with Southern Italy. Cults were brought from the various regions one traded with and travelled to, see Malaise 1972; Tackacs 1997, 29-30; Bricault 2001. The centre of the cults of Isis and Sarapis after Alexandria was said to be Delos where three successive Serapea were built. Through their contact with the other large international port of Puteoli the cults reached the Italian peninsula where during 2nd century BC the first temples dedicated to Sarapis and Isis were erected. On the dissemination of the Isis cult through the Mediterranean, see Bricault 2013; 2006; 2004, 548-56; 2001. Malaise 2007, 19-39; Solmsen 1980; Dunand 1973. On the Campanian region, see Tran tam Tinh 1964; 1971; 1972.

[42] Malaise 2005; Tran tam Tinh 1964, 10-11; Vittozzi 2013, 45-74.

[43] The most common Greek interpretations of Isis are: Isis-Tyche, Isis-Aphrodite, Isis-Demeter Isis-Hecate, and Isis-Panthea, see Malaise 2000, 1-19. On the various forms of veneration of Isis, see Sfameni Gasparro 1999, 403-14; Tran tam Tinh 1973.

[44] It is not exactly clear when the first sanctuary was built but this must at least have occurred before Pompeii became a Roman colony in 80 BC, see Gasparini 2011, 67-88; Versluys 2002; De Caro 1997, 338-43; Tran tam Tinh 1964, 9; Zevi 2006, 66-76.

[45] See Tran tam Tinh 1964, 31; Takács 1995. An inscription teaches us that a member of the Popidius Celsinus family funds the rebuilding of the temple, which was damaged after the earthquake of 62. This also indicates that, during the 1st century AD, the Isis cult of Isis becomes rather popular, for this shrine is one of the few monuments rebuilt after the above mentioned earthquake. For further reading on the wall paintings, see Moormann 2007 (in Bricault et al.), 137-54; Petersen 2006; Gasaparini (forthcoming 2015).

[46] Bingen 2007; Stambaugh 1972.

concerning Aegyptiaca in the shape of locally produced terracotta statuettes serving within the context of domestic religion. On Delos, for instance, many statuettes were found representing deities which can be traced to an Oriental origin.[47]

With regard to the study of this particular period of Mediterranean history, it is interesting to note that the classification and interpretation is notably different in comparison with the previously discussed periods. Prior to the Hellenistic world, Egypt as a stylistic and material influence was seen by scholars as a part of a larger category of Oriental influxes, while the classification Egyptian and the term Aegyptiaca becomes separated and much more prominently and uncritically employed for the Hellenistic period, in which they seem to function as a culturally bounded categorisation and as an artefact category. Was there less fusion between styles or provenance during this later period allowing scholars to better separate Oriental styles and name them accordingly or is the use less critical because of an increased historical knowledge? Although the way in which *Orientalia* as a broader category were part of Bronze Age and Archaic Mediterranean changes from the Hellenistic period onwards, the manner in which scholars adopted them with regard to the Hellenistic world is notably different too, as cultural categorisations and the way they are interpreted in terms of function and meaning is much more static and solid. The way it becomes employed with respect to the Hellenistic period had a profound effect on the way Aegyptiaca are dealt with in the Roman world, in which Egyptian has become a unilateral and genuine cultural style denomination. Realising that the study of the Hellenistic period may in some fashion have affected this, and in an attempt to return partly (at least in the sense of critically dealing with categorisations) to the way in which Egyptian objects were handled in a pre-Roman context, can perhaps contribute to explaining the Roman context.

Remarks

This overview of testimonies of Aegyptiaca outside Egypt from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period presents an impression of the most common Egyptian finds and find contexts in the Mediterranean as well as the way in which labels were applied in order to interpret and classify these objects. These observations lead to a broader image of the diachronic diversity in appropriations, adoptions, and re-inventions of 'Egypt'. Several relevant

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[47] Barret 2011.

points could be made with regard to the present inquiry: firstly, it is obvious that even before the analysis of the present case study commences, one finds a significant number of highly varied Aegyptiaca or Egyptian influences in the Mediterranean. Secondly, it can be observed that even prior to the Roman period it is notably difficult to distinctly separate provenance, styles, objects, and people in a cultural sense, and thirdly, with regard to the versatility of objects - on a contextual and an artefactual level - all contexts from the overview seem to have incorporated, rejected and adapted very specific motifs, styles, and objects. Studying such decisions more closely, meaning the presence as well as the absence of certain styles, objects, and motifs, can be a useful exercise in order to improve the grip on adoption strategies within societies. Moreover, it can provide a valuable insight in the way in which one cognitively relates to certain styles and artefacts and on which grounds one bases one's choice for certain products.[48] Questions posed in this respect are for example whether objects were mass produced or only distributed on a very small scale. In which contexts were they used and by whom? What is adopted and what rejected? On which basis? To which other non-exotic artefacts can such adoptions be related? How do they transform in a new environment? An attempt to answer these questions with regard to the case study of Roman Pompeii can be considered a fruitful undertaking, because it is able to provide insights into the way Egyptian artefacts were used and reveal the mechanisms behind their integration and choice. Studying Egyptian artefacts in a horizontal manner can thus become a device with which to study specific social and cultural contexts and by looking at the category of so-called exotica i.e., objects that notably differ in style or provenance from their local material culture (for example Egyptianised scarabs or Phoenician metal bowls) in a broader perspective, it has become clear how indefinable they are as a category concerning cultural labels. However, while this issue has been acknowledged with regard to terms such as Phoenician, Oriental, and Orientalia, using the term Aegyptiaca in order to interpret and categorise the finds of the Roman period is still often done unproblematically. Is this justified? Where are those classifications derived from? What exactly is traced? All this will be further explored in 2.5. For the next part it is important to map the presence of

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[48] This cannot be carried out by merely observing the cultural biography of a style. This horizontal approach takes into account that all other styles, motifs, and objects within a certain society should be studied carefully in order to recontruct the way in which integration of Egyptian style works and from where the choice for a specific Egyptian object or motif is derived.

Egyptian artefacts within Roman contexts in more detail to discuss their specific problems with regard to their interpretation.

2.2.2 Aegyptiaca within Roman-Italian contexts

The Aegyptiaca found within Roman contexts on the Italian peninsula are as versatile as the objects from the previous periods described above. They do not continue a tradition of pre-Roman Italian and Etruscan use, nor do they strictly follow the Hellenistic Ptolemaic progressions; instead they develop an innovative and unique way of use. With the Battle of Actium in 31 BC as the final confrontation between Octavian and Marc Anthony and decisive factor in the fall of Republican Rome and following birth of the Roman Empire, the relation between Egypt and Rome as well as Egypt's position in the Mediterranean again changed significantly. Egypt now became a province of the Roman Empire, introducing a new role for the Roman emperor: that of pharaoh of the Province of Egypt.[49]

Although Actium and the subsequent annexation of Egypt can be considered a watershed with regard to the intensity of contact between Egypt and the Italian peninsula, the cultural influence of Egypt goes back much further, as could be seen above. When Rome had matured as a state and as a Hellenistic supremacy in the course of the 3rd and 2nd century BC, its contacts with the Ptolemaic realm mainly consisted of political affiliations and trade. The famous Nile Mosaic of Palestrina predates Augustan Rome, as well as the Nilotic mosaic in the Casa del Fauno, and a marble head of Cleopatra; even the Iseum Campense might predate 31 BC.[50] Although

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[49] To wit as a continuation of the Ptolemaic system, see Ellis 1992, 13-4; Herklotz 2012, 11-21. The conquest of Egypt in 30 BC results in a province being added to the Roman Empire as well as a new role for the emperor: pharaoh of the Province of Egypt. The incoming pharaoh immediately ordered a decree that prohibited any member of the Senate or of the military to enter the province of Egypt without permission, thereby preventing a large scale contact between the two cultures. In addition to the restrained contact, another remarkable development to be witnessed in Egypt after the Roman conquest is the continuity of the indigenous Egyptian traditions. Following the demise of Cleopatra and Marc Anthony and the subsequent fall of the Ptolemaic Kingdom, Egypt needed to restore the ancient order of the world. Here the Pharaoh acted as a middleman between the gods and the people. See Bowman 1986; Lewis 1983; Peacock 2000, 422-45.

[50] It is unclear whether the Iseum Campense was built before Caligula. However, the triumvirate (Mark Antony, Octavian, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus) of 43 BC promised to consecrate a temple dedicated to Isis at the Republic's expenses; we know it was rebuilt in 89 AD by Domitian, while at the time of Vespasian the cult of Isis was a *sacrum publicum*, which had received an officially sanctioned residence in the Campus Martius either towards the end of Gaius' (Caligula's) or at the start of Claudius' reign. Nothing, however, seems to speak against the hypothesis that there might have been a temple/shrine within the Campus Martius prior to Gaius' and Claudius' reigns, see Takács 1995a, 274; Wissowa 1902, 353; Barret 1989, 220-1 . As to numerous other objects, both in Rome and Pompeii, it

Augustus had conquered Egypt and prevailed over the reign of the last Ptolemaic queen Cleopatra, his intention was not to diminish the country to a minority and insignificant part of the Roman Empire. This can be clearly observed when he started to incorporate Egyptian material culture into the city of Rome not long after his victory.[51] In 10 BC, for example, Augustus brought two obelisks from Heliopolis to Rome. One was placed on the spina of the Circus Maximus, the other on the Campus Martius near the *Ara Pacis Augustae* which probably served as a gnomon for a 'horologium' (nowadays interpreted as a meridian).[52] Both obelisks were dedicated to the sun.[53] Not only Augustus' victory, but also his admiration for Alexandria, Egypt's history, its riches, and his ties to the Hellenistic ruler Alexander the Great may have been important reasons for these actions.[54] These historical and religious developments (the Isis cults mentioned in the previous paragraph) resulted in a very specific corpus of what scholars nowadays call Aegyptiaca. They consist of a heterogeneous group of objects, found in a great variety of contexts. In the city of Rome temples and altars dedicated to Isis and Serapis were found on the Campus Martius, the Capitol, the Caelian hill, Aventine, the Quirinal, on the Esquiline, and in the harbours of Ostia and Portus.[55] The most important temple, the Iseum Campense, was (re)built and notably refurbished under Domitian during his renovation of the Campus Martius area. Under his auspices the sanctuary not only witnessed the erection of a multitude of obelisks, imported statues of Egyptian deities and animals came to adorn the sanctuary, too.[56] Obelisks, in addition to those Augustus had placed were abundantly present; more obelisks can nowadays be attested in

remains unclear whether they can be dated before or after Actium. Archeologists date many artefacts on historical grounds to be post 31 BC, because of Egypt's annexation.
[51] See Roccati 1998, 491-6; Curran 2009, 35-40; Heinz 2010, 24-33; VIttozzi 2013.
[52] The obelisk is considered to be erroneously mistaken for a sundial, while in fact it served as a meridian. "...*namely to cast a shadow and thus mark the length of days and nights. A paved area was laid out commensurate with the height of the monolith in such a way that the shadow at noon on the shortest day might extend to the edge of the paving. As the shadow gradually grew shorter and longer again, it was measured by bronze rods fixed in the paving.*", see Heslin 2007, 4. For a reaction hereto, see *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 2011 (no. 24).
[53] Both carried the same inscription on its base: "*Caesar Augustus, imperator, son of a divus, pontifex maximus, imperator 12 times, consul 11 times, with tribunician power 14 times. With Egypt having been brought into the domain of the Roman people [aegypto redacta in potestatem populi Romani], Augustus gave this gift, to the sun*" CIL VI.701-702.
[54] Both Plutarch and Cassius Dio report the speech Octavian delivered in the Alexandrian gymnasium anno 30 BC following the demise of Cleopatra and Antony. In it he said he partially pardonned the Alexandrians and Egyptians because he admired the 'beauty and size' of Alexandria. Source: Plut. Ant. 80.1; Cass. Dio 51.16.4.
[55] See Roullet 1972, 23- 42 especially for the Iseum Campense; The Iseum attested at the Esquiline hill is elaborately dealt with in de Vos 1997, 99-141.
[56] Lembke 1994.

the city of Rome than in the ancient site of Egyptian Karnak.[57] In terms of resources Egypt not only supplied Rome with grain, several kinds of stones (e.g., Aswan granite, *Wadi Hammamat* stone, porphyry from *Mons Porpyritis*) were shipped to Rome in order to create Egyptian and non-Egyptian products on Italian soil. Even pyramids could be found in the city of Rome, for instance, Caius Cestius's renowned tomb still visible today at the Via Ostiensis. Other pyramids are known only by tradition or myth, such as the one at the site of the Church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli on the southern side of Piazza del Popolo, or the one known as the 'Tomb of Romulus', once located between the Vatican and the Mausoleum of Hadrian.[58] Egyptianising elements furthermore became popular in garden decoration. In Rome, the Gardens of Sallust on the Pincian hill not only included an obelisk (a smaller copy of the Flaminio Obelisk from the Circus Maximus), but also imported statues portraying the Egyptian Queen Touya (wife of Pharaoh Seti I), Queen Arsinoe, the baboon headed deity Hapy, and several Ptolemaic kings.[59] The Emperor Hadrian, presumably the most dedicated aficionado of the 'Egyptianising movement', adorned his villa lavishly with Egyptian statues and imagery.[60] Lastly to mention, so-called 'Egyptianising' motifs (e.g., Egyptian deities, pharaohs, sphinxes) were incorporated into Roman wall painting within Augustus' inner circle (for example, the 'black room' in Agrippa Postumus's villa at Boscotrecase which imitates Pharaonic style), as well as in wider domestic contexts, of which the houses of Pompeii outstandingly testify. Egyptian themes were a popular domestic decoration especially in the form of Nilotic imagery, which arise in particular during the 1st century AD.[61]

Interestingly, when the focus is moved from the city of Rome to the Roman town of Pompeii in Campania, a similar variety and number of Egyptian influences can be found. Nevertheless, the objects are very different from that which is attested in Rome. There are no large or imported statues, no obelisks, and no pyramids in Pompeii.[62] This has, of course, for a great deal

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[57] For recent surveys on the obelisks of Rome, see Curran 2009; Vittozzi 2013, 157-68.

[58] Pope Alexander VI dismantled the latter pyramid during the 16th century. The marble was used in the steps of St. Peter's Basilica, see Roullet 1972, 42-3; Ridley 1992, 13-4; Humbert 1994, 16-7; Vout 2003, 177-9.

[59] See Hartswick 2004, 52-7 (obelisk), 130-8 (sculptures).

[60] See Mari 2008, 113-22; Aurigemma 1961, 100-33; Grenier 1989, 975-7.

[61] Versluys 2002. For the paintings in the Villa of Agrippa Postumus, see Pappalardo 2009, 132-5.

[62] The only Italic context in which an obelisk is attested outside Rome at the the so-called Iseum of Benevento. The fact that even this obelisk is dedicated to Domitian again establishes a strong link to an Imperial context.

to do with the difference in size and importance, but also with preservation. Rome is a palimpsest of centuries of occupation, while Pompeii meticulously preserves a very specific point in time, rendering the two sites an interesting complementary comparison. Pompeii yields much more wall paintings and small items than Rome. Briefly charting the diversity (for a full analysis of the artefacts see chapter 4) within Pompeii: we find an abundance of Nilotic scenery within domestic contexts, in all kinds of rooms. Egypt-styled paintings remind of those seen at Boscotrecase. Some objects are obvious imports, such as the greywacke slab with hieroglyphs once belonging to a dedication of the sacred banquet of *Psammetichus* II (594-589 BC) which was re-used as a threshold. There are also objects produced locally but specifically made to look Egyptian, such as a terracotta sphinx statue from the Iseum. Numerous objects linked to Egypt originate from the sanctuary of Isis. Sistra, statues, paintings, busts, and many other artefacts associated with Isis again are found inside houses, such as statuettes and paintings of the Egyptian deities. The contexts in which they are found do not seem to point to any social differentiation between their users. Shops, small houses, and very large villa estates housed objects (such as the obsidian cups with Egyptian iconography found at the Villa San Marco at Stabia) somehow related to Egypt. It is hard to say anything concrete about the people visiting from Egypt (and vice versa) next to objects that we see. Since Actium, a direct trade route existed between Puteoli and Alexandria for the grain trade, and Pompeii and Puteoli were known to be well-connected communities.[63] We know of some local people to be involved with this trade, however, these are mostly in the form of storing the material from Alexandria in Puteoli and in keeping the merchant relations with Rome.[64] People that would have travelled from Pompeii to Alexandria were therefore presumably only few, and either stem from a mercantile or (high) elite background. Egyptians of course could have occasionally visited or passed through Pompeii, but probably not to the extent as would happen in Puteoli or Rome.[65] Objects

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[63] Benefièl 2004 349-67, Terpstra 2013, 21.

[64] Two men from Puteoli for instance, L. Marius Iucundus and C. Novius Eunus are found storing tons of Alexandrian wheat, were almost certainly local grain traders (Terpstra 2013, 21). Known through the find of the so-called Sulpicii archives or Murecine tablets, found in a villa (or hospitium) just outside Pompeii. The tablets consisted of 127 documents concerning business transactions belonging to the banking house of the Sulpicii. See Terpstra 2013, 11-15.

[65] Most graffiti and inscriptions are written in Latin and connected to local Pompeian citizens not to Egyptians, such as for example the two *Isiaci* (self-acclaimed titles probably referring to the fact that they were initiated, not that they were priests), candidates of *aedile* asking for support in the elections. *CIL* IV.6420b and *CIL* IV.1011. However, occasional

from Egypt (and from many other regions in the Mediterranean) however, travelled extensively through these same relations between Puteoli, Egypt, and Pompeii and the presence of connections to Egypt and the formation of knowledge on Egypt would therefore have been largely object-based.

In addition to the differences we come across when comparing Rome with Pompeii, the overview of Egyptian artefacts in Rome indicate the following noteworthy observations concerning the present investigation. First of all, from the onset of the incorporation of Egypt as a province Augustus *allowed* Egyptian material culture to play a role in his Roman reconstruction program. Moreover, with the obelisks, he applied Egypt as a symbolic legitimation of his power.[66] This became such a strong symbol that, within several generations, the connotation of the obelisk to Egypt and Roman domination transformed into a symbol of imperial power. Later it even became an allusion to the Emperor Augustus himself.[67] Furthermore, although some continuation of use and meaning can be witnessed, such as a dedication to the sun, Augustus adapted the obelisks he had brought from Egypt to Rome, substantially altering their significance and function.[68] Regarding the Isis cults, this example shows a mental difference between the concepts of Egypt linked to the history and country, and the concept of Egypt associated with the Isis cult. It can be observed for instance that although Augustus bans the Isis cult from the *pomerium* in 28 BC (recently contested as a direct sign of antipathy towards the cult)[69], he does use Egyptian motifs in order to adorn his own home without any explicit political references, and uses Egyptian obelisks as an instrument to demonstrate his imperial power.[70] A multitude of concepts of Egypt can be seen to be present already in the time of Augustus therefore, and moreover, those concepts did not have a straightforward and uncomplicated relation with Egyptian material culture, which is an essential realisation especially when reviewing the material from Pompeii. In this respect it must be noted that when discussing the historical contexts, attention has to be paid to the difference

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Greek graffiti might point to the presence of Egyptians, see Tran tam Tinh 1964 and Mora 1990.
[66] Iversen 1968; Takács 1995b, 270; Parker 2007, 211-12; Swetnam-Burland 2010, 150; Gregory 2012, 9-30.
[67] As observed with Constantius, Pope Sixtus V, and Mussolini, see Donadoni 1992, 27-36; Curran 2009.
[68] See Swetnam-Burland 2010, 135-53.
[69] See Orlin 2008, 231-53; 2010, 203-4; Malaise 2011, 185-99.
[70] See Takács 1995b, 268.

between the site of Rome and Pompeii apart from their preservation. Albeit interchangeably used within the context of Egyptian influence (for instance de Vos in '*L'egittomania in pitture e mosaici,* treats material of both Rome and Pompeii, but never differentiates between the two sites), Rome and Pompeii in terms of the use and appropriation of Egyptian artefacts were notably different. They knew a different variety of objects (and cultural) influxes, they had a different population, a different sphere of influence, and the physical outlook of Egyptian artefacts took notably different forms indeed.[71] Variations between the two sites become especially clear with regard to Aegyptiaca, for instance when looking at obelisks or pyramids, which are only attested in Rome. Of course as was noted, these were closely linked to the Emperor and his power. However, it is interesting to observe that not even the motif of the obelisk was adopted outside Rome.[72] Investigating relations between specific concepts and objects should be analyse for a specific context, which will add a deeper, more complex layer of understanding to the category of Aegyptiaca. However, before this takes place it is necessary to comprehend the reason why Aegyptiaca in the Roman period are interpreted the way they are by scholars first.

2.3 Traditional Aegyptiaca studies

The most important and influential studies on Aegyptiaca in Italian contexts have been presented by Malaise, Roullet, Tran tam Tinh, and de Vos.[73] The latter two have focused on Pompeii and Campania specifically. As a clear break can be witnessed between recent approaches to Aegyptiaca analysed within a broader cultural context (in the light of developments in Romanisation and globalisation theory) and the more traditional studies that predominantly explained Egyptian artefacts within the context of religion and the Isis cult, it was decided to divide these approaches and discuss them separately. With respect to the earlier approaches to Aegyptiaca Romana, two main lines of thought can be discerned: first, the religious paradigm, the most influential in which Isis played a dominant role in explaining Aegyptiaca in Roman contexts and second, the first opposing force against this religious explanation, to wit the interpretation of Aegyptiaca as exotic artefacts within the framework of so-called Egyptomania.

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[71] De Vos 1981; 1994.

[72] In Rome obelisks occur outside a public imperial context e.g., in the Horti Sallustiani, see Iversen 1961, 53-4; Hartswick 2004, 52-7.

[73] Tran tam Tinh 1964; Malaise 1972; Roullet 1972; de Vos 1981.

2.3.1 Aegyptiaca as a cultic expression and the division between Egyptian and Egyptianising artefacts

The historiography of the study of Aegyptiaca in Roman contexts is closely linked to developments in the field of Roman religion and in particular to studies of the Isis cult. While it was the research field of Roman religion that first became involved with the study Aegyptiaca found in the Roman world, objects connected to Egypt from these contexts were automatically defined as cultic expressions of the goddess Isis. When the Egyptian cults outside Egypt began to become a topic of research at the end of the 19th century, Egyptian material culture was *a priori* associated with religion, without any consideration for alternative explanations.[74] The Egyptological tradition (then also principally focused on religion) and the finds generated from the Iseum in Pompeii, Iseum Campense, and Beneventum, formed an extra stimulus to link Egyptian material culture directly to cult behaviour. Therefore the paintings in houses, Nilotic mosaics, and statues of Egyptian animals were automatically explained as a form of Isis veneration. This link between Egyptian artefacts and the Isis cults was maintained by means of the ÉPRO series (*Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire* romain), later incorporated into the RGRW series (*Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*), which primarily focused on the study of Oriental cults in the Roman world.[75] Through this series, the religious model was developed further by scholars such as Cumont, Vermaseren and Leclant, and matured in Malaise's '*religion égyptienne isiaque*'.[76]

As to the Aegyptiaca of Rome, two volumes are of special importance, both published in 1972: Michel Malaise's *Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en Italie* and Anne Roullet's *The Egyptian and Egyptianising monuments of imperial Rome*. Malaise mapped every object in accordance to the religious explanatory framework as described above for the entire Italian peninsula, while Roullet attempted the same in bringing together Egyptian and Egyptianising monuments, this time restricted to Imperial Rome.[77] The two above-mentioned studies, together with other

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[74] Lafaye 1884.

[75] Although the paradigm was also supported by the fact that the research of Egypt outside Egypt was carried out by Egyptologists whose discipline also has a strong religious focus, see Versluys 2002, 22.

[76] Cumont 1929; Leclant 1984; Malaise 1972; 2005.

[77] Although the title does not explicitly mention that all the objects belong to cultic contexts, the presence of objects from the same interpretative parameters are are explained to be testimonies of the presence of Alexandrian cults in the Roman Empire, see Roullet 1972, xv (Introduction).

works published within the ÉPRO series, have generated such a common sense atmosphere of Aegyptiaca being religious artefacts, that independent voices critical of the interpretation of Aegyptiaca as expressions of cult behaviour hardly had any influence. It is for instance as early as in 1952 noted by Schefold that: *"Gewiss können nicht alle Bewohner der Häuser mit Isissymbolen Anhänger dieser Religion gewesen sein... Diese Symbole meinen nicht eine bestimmte Lehre, sondern allgemeiner Weihe, Unsterblichkeit."*[78] The vast number of publications on Egyptian artefacts in the light of Roman religion and the Isis cults and the influence of ÉPRO-publications have seemed to have overshadowed this nuance.

Egyptian and Egyptianising

In the case of Roullet, the issue concerning the (historiographical) difference between Egyptian and Egyptianising material culture with regard to the Roman period becomes apparent. Here Egyptian refers to the proper religious items imported from Egypt and the Egyptianisation of these objects as local copies.[79] However, a problematic matter is that this distinction between Egyptian and Egyptianising and between copy and import, was not only made as a stylistic classification, but was also meant exist in function and aesthetics. Proposing this distinction as an Roman value is notably risky, because of the already mentioned difference between the way in which a Roman audience reacts to statuary and stye, and the interpretation done by scholars. It puts a claim on authenticity which stems from particular modern ideas about objects.[80] While the sculpture might represent a more Roman style to (art)historians, it could well have been experienced as Egyptian by its contemporary viewers just as much as imports would. In any case, it is argued to be ineffective to *a priori* ascribe different values to genuine imported Egyptian objects in comparison with Egyptianising examples and copies. Again, a bottom-up approach as proposed in this research might give a more nuanced view on this matter, by looking carefully

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[78] See Schefold 1952, 58.

[79] The distinction is made according to a careful stylistic analysis, such as described in the following section: *"The copy gradually showed the marks of Roman realism. If copies of standing figures are considered in profile, it is noticeable that the statue is no longer resting on its spine and heels as in Egyptian representations but actually steps forward and rests on its toes... The statue has, moreover, lost the inner tension which characterizes Egyptian figures..."*, see Roullet 1972, 21.

[80] For a discussion of authenticity as an aesthetic value in literary accounts, see Peirano 2012, 215-42, For a detailed discussion on the historigraphy and application of the dichotomy Egyptian-Egyptianising, see Swetnam-Burland 2007 and Müskens dissertation (forthcoming 2015).

whether this distinction was maintained by Pompeians and in which context and by which form.[81]

Pompeii

As to the site of Pompeii, even prior to Roulette and Malaise, Victor Tran tam Tinh published his *Essai sur le Culte d'Isis a Pompéi* (1964) which still is one of the most influential studies of Aegyptiaca in Pompeii. Being one of the first studies on Isis to explicitly deal with the material culture connected to Egypt, it had a profound impact on the interpretation of Egyptian objects. As a consequence, since Tran tam Tinh's *Essai*, scholars seem to have automatically classified images and objects linked to Egypt within and outside the context of Pompeii as signs of cult activity.[82] The reason of a cult focused interpretation of Aegyptiaca seems to have been closely connected to the discovery of the Isis sanctuary of Pompeii in 1769.[83] Its discovery and excavation of the temple, its central setting in the town, its swift restoration after an earthquake in AD 62, and its remarkable preservation contributed to the idea that Pompeii held a leading position with regard to Isiac worship in Campania.[84] As a result, the Isis cult in Pompeii received much scholarly attention. Tran tam Tinh's catalogue comprises a description and interpretation of all the objects, inscriptions and wall paintings that he linked to Isis. It consisted of seventy-one wall decorations, fifty statues, statuettes and busts, thirty-three small objects (e.g., reliefs, jewellery, cult mobilia, sculptures), and twenty inscriptions and graffiti. Sistra are treated as separate category of which twenty-one are listed to be found throughout the town. This inventory included all objects depicting Egyptian imagery or Isis and her entourage. It interpreted everything as some form of cult expression, without regarding the context in which the objects were found, the remaining wall paintings on which the Egyptian figures were portrayed, or the function and form of the objects. Lamps, architectural fragments, statuettes and bracelets were all considered to be cult objects. Any image or attribute of Isis on both iconographic and stylistic grounds, and regardless of

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[81] The notion Egyptian versus Egyptianising and the concept of authenticity will be discussed in part 4.5.2 through the example of wall paintings versus objects in the temple of Isis in Pompeii and in part 5.2 through the case study of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati.
[82] Tran tam Tinh also clearly struggles with structuring all the finds into categories that fit a cultic interpretation which makes both the catalogue and the story now and again appear somewhat artificial. For example, statuettes of Horus are categorized as 'Horus' instead of 'statuette'.
[83] See Zevi 1994, 37-56.
[84] In effect, the cult was ubiquitous in the region.

context, provided evidence of worship of the goddess.[85] Beyond any doubt it can be stated there were followers of Isis present in Pompeii. Nevertheless it seems a premature conclusion to herald all Egyptian objects as Isiac, and everyone who possessed such objects as initiates of the Isis cult.[86] A problem with such an interpretation, apart from the disregard of form, function and context, is that it is not a legitimate claim to consider everything 'isiac' without taking the wider range of cult images and their interpretations into account. Greek mythological scenes, Roman deities and accompanying attributes could creatively be deployed within a large variety of contexts and forms, Therefore their uses, values, and meanings were innumerably more complex than being of merely cultic nature, something which is acknowledged by scholars for many Roman deities, but not for Isis. Although there were perhaps dissimilarities between different Roman deities, the study of Egyptian items and artefacts related to Isis should be reviewed in similar frameworks. Moreover, issues such as the above can only be resolved by excluding an a priori cultic interpretation and by viewing the objects as part of a totality of objects, contexts, and cultural and cultic expressions. It is therefore argued that studying Egyptian artefacts as an isolated category of material culture does not contribute to the explanation of their significance and functioning in Roman Pompeii.

2.3.2 Egyptomania

A second way of interpreting Egyptian objects in Rome, which has not replaced the religious explanation but actually runs parallel to it, is to explain Aegyptiaca in the Roman world within a framework of so-called Egyptomania. Within this perspective, the fascination for ancient Egypt forms the main motivation to incorporate Aegyptiaca and Egyptian elements into non-Egyptian contexts. Scholars have argued that during the Augustan Age, after the annexation of Egypt, the predilection for 'things Egyptian' increased dramatically. Its popularity grew to such an extent that the term Egyptomania, which is an 18th century term, has also been applied to this period.[87] The concept was initially developed in order to explain the Western fascination with Pharaonic Egypt during the 18th and 19th centuries. After Napoleon's conquest of Egypt (1789-99), Europe started to massively acquire

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[85] *"..à Pompéi, les tableaux, les frises, les statuettes, les symboles et mobiliers rituels dont les maisons sont ornées, experiment d'une manière plus éloquente l'âme religieuse du people."*, see Tran tam Tinh 1964, 9.

[86] From this point of view almost half of the city should have been engaged with the Isis cult.

[87] See de Vos 1981; Leach 2004, 140; Ling 1991, Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 360-1.

objects from Egypt and adopt Egyptian style as domestic ornamentation.[88] During the 19th century, Egyptian motifs and themes in art and architecture became such a popular means of decoration that the term 'Egyptomania' and 'Egyptian renaissance' was invented.[89] Later, Egyptomania also served to describe an earlier context, namely in the reappraisal of Egyptianised styles witnessed in renaissance art and Egypt's influence on Renaissance and post-Renaissance thought.[90] In the same line it was supposed that the concept could also be applied to even earlier periods and to antiquity where 'Egyptomaniac practices' such as copied and adapted Egyptian designs in contexts outside Egypt also occurred frequently.[91]

Although Egyptianising features as object of western fascination was the defining characteristic of the process of Egyptomania during the 18th and 19th centuries, it was not considered to be merely a static copy of Egyptian culture. As Humbert observes: "… *every Egyptianizing object has at least one other dimension – religious, esoteric, political or commercial – that is not Egyptian.*"[92] An interesting point raised here is that Egyptian objects are more than merely Egyptian. They have also evolved into being an intricate part of the adopting culture. It may indeed be relevant to investigate the way in which 'Egyptianised' objects became part of a society within the context of the Roman world. At first sight therefore the concept of Egyptomania seems to be valid to apply to the context of Roman antiquity. However, on further contemplation, it includes difficulties and drawbacks which in fact render it a highly problematic term. Firstly, the integration processes and appropriations of Aegyptiaca in the Roman world and the term Egyptomania are rather conflicting concepts, because Egyptomania implies that Egypt and Egyptian material culture are always recognised, set apart and *a priori* considered to be different and exotic. The adoption strategies and underlying concepts used in the Roman world seem to present us with a much more fluid and dynamic picture, while Egyptomania implies that the presence of Egyptian objects within a certain context is all part and parcel of the same process.

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[88] It became popular, for instance, to embellish villas and elite houses with 'Egyptian rooms' (*Sala Egizia*), as can be attested in the Galleria Borghese (1780), Palazzo Braschi (a room especially designed to house objects brought from Egypt by Napoleon), Villa Torlonia, and Villa Poniotowksi.

[89] See Price and Humbert 2003; Curl 2005; Curran 1996; 2007.

[90] Curran 1997; Rowland 1998; Dannenfeldt 1959; Humbert 1994, 21-26.

[91] See Price and Humbert 2003, 9. For a survey of 'Egyptomania' from its conception to modern-day, see Humbert 1996 (ed.)

[92] See Humbert 1994, 25.

In spite of these objections, and notwithstanding the limited explanatory and interpretative values of a mania in general; the expression has served to explain a multitude of Egyptian objects and concepts within the Roman world, such as Isis in the Graeco-Roman world, Hadrian's Canopus, obelisks in Rome, and wall paintings in Pompeii.[93] These markedly different objects and contexts however, each had their own historical backgrounds, unique development, diffusion, and integration process. It can furthermore be observed that Egyptomania has been rather uncritically applied in order to attribute Egyptianising features within the material culture of antiquity. The explanatory framework was adopted without ever questioning the term or the value as an interpretative tool.[94] For instance De Vos adopted the term *'Egittomania'* as a title for research on Aegyptiaca only in order to note the presence of the numerous Egyptian themed scenes on the walls of Pompeii and Rome. Except for the title, de Vos never properly scrutinises the terminology or applies it as an analytical tool in the way Humbert envisioned it in the above quote.[95] In fact, it seems that, with regard to the Roman world, the term *Egittomania* might do more harm than good, because it places Egypt as a Roman phenomenon outside the Roman repertoire of visual language. Moreover, applying the term Egyptomania causes the objects found within Roman contexts to become generalised as one monolithic category of exotic objects with a singular origin and similar meaning. Therefore it seems that when explaining Aegyptiaca in the Roman world, Egyptomania is in fact the problem, not the solution. Present-day Egyptomania in the form of a fascination with Egypt turns modern recognition into a projection. Scholars should be open to the idea that in the past Egypt as a concept and as an object was experienced in various ways. By adopting the term and using Egyptomania without historical evidence and without historical contextualisation one only transposes a modern concept directly onto the past. This issue will be further discussed in 2.5.

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[93] See Curl 1994, 1-37; Curl 2005; Ashton 2004; de Vos 1980; Ziegler 1994, 15-20.
[94] Although the number of Aegyptiaca in fact is quite small, scholars repeat each other in adopting Egyptomania in order to explain Egyptian artefacts in a Roman context. For instance on people of the Roman world we read: "*At the same time, however, Romans and Italians – particularly in and around the capital city and the Bay of Naples – evinced such growing fascinations with Egypt, the Nile, and Egyptian gods that some have now called it 'Egyptomania'.*", see Boatwright 2012, 106.
[95] de Vos 1980; 1991, 121-43.

Both lines of interpretation, either those based on a religious paradigm or from the perspective of Egyptomania, can be deemed unsatisfactory with regard to explaining the presence, meanings, and the use of Egyptian material culture in Roman contexts. In addition to the dominant focus on religion, such approaches made one simultaneous and problematic error: the isolation of Egyptian artefacts from Roman material culture. When treating material culture, scholars tend to set Egyptian apart as a separate group of artefacts placing it aside from Roman traditions and other non-Roman influences. Traditional studies, even if they allow interpretations beyond the religious sphere, were therefore unable to let go of the exoticising characteristics of the objects. If the categories Greek and Egyptian are compared in a historiographical sense, we can observe that the difference in approach and consequences concerning interpretations are astoundingly different. Scholars never considered Greek material and visual culture to be exotic. Greek art was immersed as a Roman phenomenon, was integrated, while Egypt never seemed to have been absorbed in the same way nor it was able to discard its exotic features. This does not mean that Greek cultural influences and Egyptian cultural influences should be put on equal footing, however, the study to those influences should in order to be able to see the differences. As Gunter has argued with regard to Oriental features in Greek art, this should also be the case for Egyptian features in Roman art. They should be seen as functioning in a wider framework than merely 'Egyptian'. The problem is well expressed by Davies: "*By contrast, Egyptian and Egyptianizing art, as described by modern scholars, seems to have existed within Rome without becoming Roman and without shaping Roman art; it remained distinctly other.*[96] Although Egyptian artefacts still suffer from the limited attention they received as Roman objects, recent studies on Aegyptiaca attempt to extract the artefacts from their restraining framework and allow various interpretations to be carried out from a broader socio-cultural perspective. Aegyptiaca do no longer solely belong to the domain of religious studies or to Egyptologists, but have become 'acknowledged' as a source of Roman inspiration by those who study Roman culture and slowly but surely regarded a part of the Roman world as to material culture, history, and historiography.

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[96] See Davies 2011, 354.

2.4 Recent approaches to Aegyptiaca

2.4.1 Aegyptiaca within wider cultural frameworks

Aegyptiaca remained the territory of religion and Egyptomania for a lengthy time. Only in the late 1990s and beginning of the 2000s do various voices argue for a broader understanding of Aegyptiaca. Although Egyptomania or cultic expressions are not abandoned as interpretations of Aegyptiaca in academic writing, recent approaches focusing on Egypt in the Roman world and Egyptian artefacts as Roman material culture have successfully attempted to pull Aegyptiaca out of their restraining and isolated interpretative frameworks by trying to analyse them as a Roman phenomenon. The main propagators hereof are Swetnam-Burland and Versluys, who both carried out a study on Aegyptiaca in order to review them within wider social and cultural contexts. Beside these monographs, further studies have adopted new strategies in order to interpret Aegyptiaca: Meyboom presents a strong statement against formerly religious interpretations of the Nile mosaic of Palestrina, while Davies tries to argue that the focal point of the study of Aegyptiaca Romana should be situated in a wider cultural perspective by comparing the integration of Greek styles in Rome with the incorporation of Aegyptiaca.[97] From the context of Roman religion Bragantini nuances the religious interpretation of Egyptian motifs on wall paintings, while Söldner rejects religious explanations of Egyptomania altogether, and instead favours a political interpretation of Egyptian motifs in Roman art in Augustan Rome.[98] A recent work summarising the above-mentioned ideas which embodies the incipient paradigm shift is titled *La terra del Nilo sulle sponde del Tevere* by Vittozzi in which the entire corpus of Egyptian material culture in the city of Rome is placed within a Roman context.[99]

Swetnam-Burland and Versluys added important arguments to the discussion concerning Aegyptiaca Romana.[100] Swetnam Burland's thesis entered the long-term debate on the Egyptian versus Egyptianising objects, arguing that no large difference could be discerned in terms of Roman receptions between imported Egyptian material and Egyptianised material.[101]

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[97] Meyboom 1995; Versluys 2002; Davies 2011.

[98] See Bragantini 2006, 159-67; Söldner 2000, 383-93.

[99] Vittozzi 2013.

[100] Swetnam-Burland's Ph.D. dissertation is unpublished. For the nucleus hereof, see Swetman-Burland 2007.

[101] More prominently postulated in Bricault et al., 2007, 113-36. For an example of the statue of Isis in the temple dedicated to her at Pompeii including an 'archaizing' hairstyle, facial expression, pose and 'Classical Greek' drapery could have well appeared Egyptian to

In many cases creating an Egyptian atmosphere was more important than reproducing the exact styles of ancient Egypt. In *Aegyptiaca Romana, Nilotic Scenes and the Roman Views of Egypt* (2002), Versluys views Aegyptiaca and Nilotic scenes in particular as a distinct Roman development stressing a contextual and more holistic approach to Egyptian artefacts.[102] In his dissertation he arrives at a multi-leveled culture embedded conclusion on the way in which a Roman audience looked at Nilotic scenes.[103] Indeed Versluys and Swetnam-Burland present us with a significant addition to the studies carried out by Tran tam Tinh, Roullet, and Malaise, by giving room to the Roman perception of these artefacts.

Because of this development, together with an improved embeddedness within the wider study of Roman religion, Isis is also studied from within wider frameworks than merely Egyptian religion. Recent studies dwell more on the social aspects of the cults (supported by progress made in the field of Roman religion itself by for example North, Beard, Gordon, and Rüpke). A move from Isis as an Egyptian deity and cult to a Roman one can also be witnessed.[104] This resulted in a significant development with respect to the material culture in the sense that Aegyptiaca could no longer *a priori* be considered expressions of devotion to the Isis cult. [105] Alvar, takes a next step in reviewing Isis as Roman phenomenon. When discussing 'Oriental' deities (such as Mithras, Isis, and Cybele) he stresses the Roman influence on the cults which transformed them from foreign cults with an origin outside Rome into something that fitted into the Roman religious system.[106] Although Alvar did not necessarily mean that 'Oriental' pointed to an exact origin, he did imply that the cults were viewed as a seperate category by stating: '*It captures the appropriate ideological connotations of claimed*

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the Roman viewer by means of the combination of these styles with Egyptian attributes such as a sistrum and ankh, see Swetnam-Burland 2007, 116-8.

[102] Nilotic scenes are defined as imagery that somehow refers to the life on the Nile. Found throughout the Roman Empire, they chronologically range from the 2nd century BC to the 6th century AD and depict landscapes with an Egyptian genre associated with the (overflowing of the) Nile. They often include exotic flora and fauna (e.g., lotus flowers, ibises, hippopotami, crocodiles, dwarfs, or pygmies), see Versluys, 2002.

[103] Versluys 2002.

[104] Scheid 1990; Beard, North and Price 1998; Rüpke 2007; Stroumsa 2009.

[105] It is stated that the symbols of Isis could have been removed from their original context and were subsequently integrated into Roman art in order to serve as domestic decoration, where they would retain their original meaning only to the initiated audience, see Tackács 1995, 33-4.

[106] Applying the term 'Oriental' was justified on more than historiographical considerations. They had 'sufficient common features to justify their being taken typologically as a group.', see Alvar 2008, 6.

alterity.'[107] By propagating Isis as a Roman phenomenon, the Isis cults in particular were able to receive a more social and cultural inclusive understanding. Other scholars within the field of Isis studies resonate this e.g., Bricault (in general), Bonnet (who criticises the term Oriental) and Beaurin (as to Pompeii in particular); all describe the successful integration of Isis within Roman contexts and of the Egyptian *lares* found in the houses of Pompeii.[108] The distribution, iconography and the presence of Isis together with all kinds of other Roman deities in houses convincingly argue for a Roman conception of Isis. Moreover, not only the appearance of the 'Alexandrian' gods in material categories, but also the presence of the Isis cult firmly embedded in social strata argue for a Roman interpretation of Isis.[109] Monographs on the most important Isis sanctuaries are now published in which the Egyptian outlook and nature of the deities as well as practices are critically re-evaluated. In certain cases they take in more nuanced positions with regard to their Egyptian appearance.[110] Nevertheless traditional narratives in which Egyptian material culture is automatically considered a sign of the presence of worship of the Egyptian gods are still present too.[111] Furthermore, despite these more nuanced visions on Isis in the Roman world and Aegyptiaca, a detailed contextual study which takes into account the diversity of meanings Egyptian objects could have to the various inhabitants of Pompeii is as yet lacking.[112]

Reviewing the discussion two important observations can be made: Aegyptiaca are no longer regarded as something purely religious and they cannot be studied when isolated from Roman material culture. Recent approaches, moreover, were able to bring the studies of material culture and those of Egyptian religion closer together, although a historiographical gap

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[107] See Alvar 2008, 3 note 5.
[108] See Beaurin 2008, 267-94; Bricault 2013; 2006; Bonnet 2006; Bonnet and Bendlin 2006. For the discussion on Oriental cults discussion, see Beylache 2000, 1-35.
[109] Bricault 2013.
[110] Lembke 1994 (on the Iseum Campense); Dardaine et al., 2006 (on the sanctuary of Baelo); Kleibl 2009 and Bricault 2013 (on Isis cults and sanctuaries in general); Versluys 1997 and 2004 (on sanctuaries in Rome).
[111] DeCaro 1992; Arslan 1997, 2006; Barret 2011.
[112] As Petersen notes: "*Lacking is a critical investigation of the meanings of Isis in Pompeii. After all, Isis did not have to mean the same thing to all Pompeian's, and we would do well to consider how Isis might have been part and parcel of the Roman insatiable desire for Egypt and things Egyptian, an Egyptomania- as the numerous images of her testify. A brief examination of the physical contexts in which Isis and entourage are found can reveal varying attitudes about Isis and Egypt, as well as illuminate both the social and political importance of the rebuilding of the Temple of Isis at Pompeii.*", see Petersen 2006, 40-3.

can still be witnessed.[113] However, the afore-mentioned problem concerning Egyptomania is as yet not entirely solved; the category Egyptian, although no longer ubiquitously defined as exotic, religious or Oriental, is still unquestionably and uncritically adopted as a conceptual category. In fact, in spite of the recognition of Egypt as a Roman phenomenon, the category is still studied as an isolated group. They are defined as Nilotica, as Aegyptiaca, and as an Oriental religion, while the conceptual parameters on which this categories were once constructed have never been properly questioned or discussed. Furthermore, the relation between material culture and concepts of Egypt should be carefully scrutinised before they can be connected to any concept (the 'exotic Other', Isis, or politics etc). Is Egypt really always the 'Other'? Even if this was the case, it does not account for every object that looks Egyptian. Vout asks: *"How many Romans berated Egypt and all it stood for, but yearned for its textiles and coloured granites in their homes?"*[114] Although not meant in this way, Vout's statement is a telling argument in the sense that a direct line cannot be drawn between Roman perception of Egypt and Egyptian material culture. These are still issues that need to be dealt with in order to really give Egyptian artefacts a proper place as a Roman phenomenon.

2.4.2 Romanisation, globalisation, and connectivity studies

The recent perspectives forwarded by Swetnam-Burland and Versluys advocated the view that Egyptian objects and concepts comprised a Roman phenomenon. The next step within research is to bring these studies to the wider debate of identity and cultural influence within the Roman Mediterranean. Whatever can be stated on the influence that Egypt and Egyptian material culture may have had on Roman culture, Egypt at least did not form a very substantial part of the Romanisation debate. Part of the outset of the general project entitled *Cultural innovation in a globalising Society, Egypt in the Roman world* to which the present dissertation contributes therefore, tries to provide Egypt with a place within this discussion. It was argued that the romanisation debate was either centred on core-periphery models in which the focus was placed on cultural identity of Roman versus native and Rome's influence on the provinces, or, when approaching the subject from a mutuality perspective (implying it is

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[113] This may be due to the two separate research schools with different approaches: the French tradition of Isis cult studies and a more Anglo-Saxon school focussing on cultural studies.
[114] See Vout 2003, 183.

acknowledged that Rome also became culturally affected by the provinces), that the focus was mainly placed on Greek influences.[115] Egypt's role, although from a material culture perspective omnipresent in Rome and Italy, was left out of the debate. An explanation for this might have been the nature of the romanisation debate itself, which has not been seriously approached from a material culture perspective until recently. The fact that Egypt has seemingly manifested itself largely through this medium perhaps explains the marginal role Egypt played historiographically. In trying to change this perspective, the *cultural innovation*-project proposes that a constant circularity of material culture, ideas, and people can be studied as a form of globalisation, and that this circularity did not only contain Greece and Rome alone; Egypt played an important role too.[116] Of course, instead of merely mentioning it was an important force in the creation of Roman identity, Egypt's exact role and relevance should be investigated first. Therefore the true aim should not be propagating Egypt's importance as a cultural and material influence in Rome, but to reach a better understanding of the integration of Egyptian cultural influences within the Roman Empire. However, on a methodological note, it is argued that studying so-called 'forces from outside' such as those from Egypt may provide a valuable addition to the romanisation discussion.[117] In order to achieve this goal however, the Romanisation debate itself should be removed from its postcolonial frameworks (which still excessively lean on colonial constraints). The most important step forward is to refrain from thinking in terms of Romans and natives, at least when studying material culture, and to discard the provinces as an anti-Roman backdrop of the Roman world in general. The Roman world should instead be viewed *"as one single cultural container"* as this will be able to regard cultural and social interactions as within the same group.[118] Whatever the historical objections against globalisation as a new explanatory framework may be, approaching the Roman world from a globalisation perspective has methodological benefits concerning

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[115] The discussion on Romanisation (ranging from debates on cultural identity, material culture, to Roman imperialism and colonialism) includes an extensive body of literature with wide takes and ideas. For key publications and recent summaries of the debate, see Millet 1990; Hoff and Rotroff 1997; Woolf 1998; 2004, 417-28; Häussler 1998, 11-19; Mattingly 1997; 2010; Alcock 2001, 227-30; Keay and Terrenato 2001; Terrenato 2005, 59-72; Van Dommelen and Terrenato 2007; Gardner 2013, 1-25; Versluys 2014, 1-20.
[116] See Versluys 2010, 7-36.
[117] For a recent discussion concerning a method one should carry this out and the way in which material culture could feature in the romanisation debate, see Versluys 2014b, 1-20.
[118] Versluys 2014b, 10. See also the contribution by Versluys and Pitts in *Globalisation and the Roman world, world history, connectivity and material culture* (forthcoming 2014).

archaeology.[119] While romanisation still assumes that either something travelled from Rome or to Rome, thereby enforcing a centre-periphery approach, globalisation theory concerns investigating diversity from within a single cultural framework.[120] Power structures between various groups and the dynamics of shifting goods, ideas, and people are studied as one system. This means it has the advantage of dissolving top-down explanatory frameworks, while it is aimed at studying the structural dynamisms of (material) culture instead of seeing them as a static and bounded entity. The perspective therefore, can also be described as complex connectivity.[121] In this guise, it can well be applied to all those regions that witnessed increased contact in the past resulting in the movement of goods, people, and ideas. A clear methodological benefit can be observed in that, by means of this vision, objects can be separated from cultural classifications and categorisations invented by scholars. This is very helpful indeed as a perspective in order to study the dataset of the present research.

However, as solid as this perspective sounds when explaining the move of objects around certain areas in a wider perspective, the question of what globalisation has to offer to the study of Aegyptiaca from a bottom-up perspective and from specific context such as Pompeii, still needs to be answered. A gap seems to exist between the large, overarching narrative which current romanisation and globalisation theories offer on the one hand and the study of objects and their meaning in a local context on the other hand. The problem can be approached from two perspectives, reflecting the issue of labels quite clearly. Firstly, scholars have made an effort in breaking down the boundaries of Roman cultural identity and material culture and argue for a more complex and more dynamic picture of the way in which the Roman world and its connectivity functioned on a large-scale. On a small scale, nevertheless, when studying objects, classifications such as Roman and Egyptian, Greek, Dacian, or Gaul, remain incontestably used. It seems that when we really wish bring together the study of objects and take globalisation theories seriously, such classifications are no longer tenable. A second aspect of the above gap is formed not only by means of globalisation as an overarching theory itself, but also by means of its inability to assist the study of local communities and complexities, because it does not provide clear methods or an empirical toolbox. Therefore, while globalisation

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[119] For globalisation perspectives applied to Roman contexts, see Hingley 2005; Pitts 2008, 493-506; Pitts and Versluys 2014: Versluys (forthcoming2014).
[120] See Nederveen-Pieterse 2012, 1.
[121] See Tomlinson 1999, 2; LaBianca and Scham 2006.

provides a way for archaeologists to study and understand the objects' movement in a period of increased connectivity, is it as yet really useful when studying material culture from specific contexts? While globalisation explains the availability of different material culture, if it is the objective to learn about how a society deals with cultural change and how not only objects but also ideas relate to people's internal reference frames, globalisation might not be sufficient when serving as an interpretative framework. The parameter choice, next to availability explained by means of an increase of cultural contact, should be introduced in order to scrutinise the reason why objects end up somewhere and how this can inform scholars about a certain context. The way Pompeians dealt with foreign artefacts, or artefacts produced in a foreign style, in all their diversity can tell us about choices people made. This is of crucial significance simply because the availability of that what could be imported is larger than that what was imported. This implies that everything that was chosen, adapted, and rejected from the available repertoire can teach us something valuable about a society. It deals for instance with the way in which a part of a larger available repertoire (the entire network of the Roman world as a cultural container) is able to integrate into a new environment, such as in a smaller hub such as Pompeii. It thereby explores the prerequisites for integration and embeddedness of the integration of 'foreign' objects. The empirical way to study Roman material culture on this level, to rethink so-called Egyptian objects in a Roman context and to render the benefits of thinking in terms of complex connectivity on a structural level for object studies (as will be discussed in chapter 3), shall therefore become an important directive of this research.

2.4.3 Incorporating Egypt into the history of Rome

Not only those dealing directly with Egyptian material culture in the Roman world have tried to place the category in a wider framework of Roman material culture. The other way around archaeologists and (art) historians also had to deal with 'Egypt' as a presence in their studies on the Roman world and material culture. Reviewing some is of interest in order to achieve a better perspective on the relative influence of Egypt on the Roman world, both in a historiographical sense in order to observe the way the concept is dealt with, and to shape a broader cultural context in which to assess Egyptian material culture. As stated above, it is difficult to gain a proper grip on the functionings of Egypt in the Roman world when merely focussing on

Egypt. How are Aegyptiaca incorporated in the various study areas of the Roman world? As an influence within material culture that is notably observed in the Roman world by scholars, Aegyptiaca regularly feature in studies on Roman art, Roman houses, or Roman gardens. When regarding these studies in terms of the way in which they deal with Aegyptiaca, however, scholars mostly fall back on traditional readings of the objects, implying they are either considered to be cult objects or part of a wave of Egyptomania. Examples hereof can be found in Jashemski (on Roman gardens), Clarke (on Roman houses), Leach, and Ling (on Egyptian influences in Roman art).[122] Jashemski for instance refers to the Egyptian style of painting in the cubiculum of the Casa del Frutteto as a desire for the exotic, while Ling explains it as a similar desire prompting a taste for Chinoiserie in the European decorative arts of the 17th and 18th centuries.[123] Regarding historically aimed studies this uncritical dealing with the concept of Egypt is also clearly visible.[124] Looking at Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's publication entitled *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, which can be considered the most influential work on the development of Roman identity of recent years, it can be observed that Egypt is not described as a serious possible source of influence on the Roman world besides the presence of objects.[125] One gets the idea that Egyptian influence was limited to material culture only. Is this justified? It is of relevance, as to the scope of the present research, to view Egypt in the light of all cultural influences on Roman culture, in order to gain any sense of the position it took in among them. Moreover, it is certainly arguable whether the influence from the Greek world should be regarded similar in form and intensity to the Egyptian. However, while its influence seems to have been 'restricted' to material culture and seems to have taken a marginal position within Roman literature (which is why historians such as Wallace-Hadrill automatically have marginalised the influence of Egypt), it does not mean that as a physical presence it played no role in the development of what might be called a 'Roman identity'.[126] How did Egypt play a role in the revolution Wallace-Hadrill writes about? The Roman cultural revolution he proposes was a social one i.e., *'a consumers*

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[122] See Leach 2004, 140; Ling 1991, 38-9, 55-6, 142-3, 148-9, 151-5, 162-3; Jashemski 1979, 346, notes 56, 105; Clarke 1991, 194-6.
[123] See also 4.5.
[124] It is, for instance, not mentioned in Wallace-Hadrill, 2008.
[125] For more information on lacunae in the cultural forces within Rome's development, see Van Aerde 2015.
[126] The concept of Egypt took up a far more complex space within Roman literature than previously assumed, see Leemreize 2014, 56-82.

revolution', but with huge consequences with regard to the treatment and availability of material culture. Although Wallace-Hadrill does not at all hesitate to also use Egyptomania as an explanatory framework for the presence of Aegyptiaca, he does incorporate the category as a whole when discussing material culture. Egyptianising styles and motifs were incorporated into the city abundantly, something that Wallace-Hadrill calls '*the outbreak of Egyptianising motifs*', a style which found lavish expression in local art, and was adapted to local tastes and modes of production, accompanied by a rapid social diffusion among Roman social strata.[127] However, this does not only count for Egypt. Wealth was generated in combination with the availability of luxury goods of the connected Mediterranean, which allowed for a vast incorporation of especially eastern 'exotic' luxury items. The appropriation and local production of these objects followed, which begin to spread again across the same regions. It finally resulted in an extraordinary innovative cultural blend (*koinè*) consisting of Hellenistic, Eastern, Italic, and Egyptian styles which can be called Roman material culture.[128] Although these flows of appropriation and perception, and adoption of exotic motifs may be more complex than Wallace-Hadrill accounts for, the idea clearly fits in with the connectivity paradigm sketched above.

Within art historical approaches to the Roman world, Egypt, being such a recognisable visual presence in visual material culture, is an inevitable issue for scholars to discuss. Even in these contexts, however, this subject seems only slightly assessed. Elsner analyses Egyptian material culture as a part of classicism in Roman art.[129] He considers the use of Pharaonic Egyptian images as a reference to a past, similar to the way that classical Greek imagery was put to use. In his view Egyptian style could serve in the Roman Empire (as opposed to Hellenistic styles) in order to convey specific cultural messages.[130] In the first case Rome is taken as an as example: many antique objects were imported from Egypt to be displayed as trophies, as dedications at Isaea, or in order to enhance elite settings. According to Elsner, the collection and exhibition of such objects resembled that of original Greek art.[131] This is the first time that not only the cultural influences of Greece and Egypt are compared, but also the first time that they are treated as

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[127] See Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 357.
[128] See Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 360-1.
[129] See Elsner 2005, 270, 237-69.
[130] See Hölscher 2005, 237-69.
[131] See Elsner 2005, 276-7.

equal forces. Elsner's 'classicism' proposition does not exclude Egypt as a player in the process of multiculturalism of the Roman world. His arguments work especially well with regard to the Greek part, as they refer to a Greek past (in fact to a Roman vision of the Greek past) rather than the contemporary Greek world. Athough Egypt forms a less sophisticated argument than Greece in his central thesis, the way in which Elsner envisions artistic Classicism's appropriation of Egyptian themes (as well as other 'Oriental' visual forms as the author stresses[132]) being equal to Greek cultural traditions is certainly an interesting take.

In *The Social History of Roman Art*, Stewart discusses Egyptian art within a broader frame of material culture and Roman art, arguing that the fact that sanctuaries dedicated to Isis (e.g., the Iseum Campense in Rome) which made extensive use of real and imitated Egyptian themes, self-consciously applied art in order to invent *'a little bit of Egypt in Rome'*.[133] This is indeed a significant notion, however, it is difficult to universally ascribe such a phenomenon to all Egyptian artefacts in all Isis sanctuaries as Stewart seemingly does. His notions would imply that the Romans were always aware of the 'Egyptianness' of a style or theme. In addition, people would also have intentionally used objects in order to recreate Egypt. As mentioned above, Egypt is not a single phenomenon but has numerous complex social understandings. Stewart therefore makes an important point in arguing that the concept of Egypt could be intentionally used, not only serve to evoke an atmosphere but also to convey a certain message, however, prior to adopting this as an explanation the contexts of the places as well as the artefacts themselves should be carefully compared.

The accounts of Aegyptiaca as approached 'from the margins' of Roman historiography has brought the understanding that Egypt as a cultural force can only be seriously understood when it is analysed together with all other cultural and material influences in the Roman world. Only in this way it is possible to comprehend the role Egypt played as a material and cultural

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[132] See Elsner 2005, 293. Of course, oriental is a simplified term for very complex cultural influences which is also applied to influences other than originating from Egypt. In this context we may refer to for example Celtic traditions or even Indian themes (Parker 2008). To which extent this influence pertains to the nature of cultural contact Rome maintained with specific societies (trade relations versus province) may not always have had the kind of influence scholars expected. India was indeed never a Roman province, Indian cultural traditions were known and adopted within the Roman Empire. As with Egypt, India was appropriated as a cultural concept with subsequent adaptations and imports of material culture.

[133] See Stewart 2008.

agent. It also, however, illustrated the historiographical marginalisation of material culture itself as opposed to for instance literature in the study of Roman culture. Scholars have never dealt with Egypt critically when analysing Roman culture. Although Egypt may well have been more present visually than, for instance, in philosophy, literature, theatre, language, myth, or mode of dress (as opposed to Greece), its objects, materials, and stylistic appropriation must in a way have influenced the way Romans thought and behaved. Taking this process seriously, and studying the manner in which it took place when compared with other cultural appropriations, is one of the fundamental goals of the present dissertation.

2.5 Perception of the Roman, the Egyptian, and material culture

2.5.1 Visual reception history of Egypt and the role of Aegyptiaca

While reviewing the previous historiographical analysis of Aegyptiaca it appeared that modern concepts concerning ancient Egypt influenced the thinking and study of Egypt in the Roman world considerably, and should therefore be more carefully examined. It has already been argued that this may have played an influential role in the interpretation of Egypt and Egyptian artefacts for a Roman context. Although the Romans also had visual concepts of Egypt and although it seems they now and again reapplied Pharaonic Egypt and Egyptian style in a comparable way to which it still occurs nowadays, it cannot automatically be assumed that these emerged from similar conditions, and that concepts were employed in an identical fashion. Firstly, the Roman concepts of Egypt were not only created from a notably different historical background, but were also connected to visual and material culture in a completely different way compared to modern society.[134] Therefore, it is of importance to study the way in which the selections, classifications, and interpretations (as forwarded by Tran tam Tinh, de Vos, Versluys and Swetnam-Burland) came about, and to discuss how present-day scholars arrived at comprehending the concept of Egypt as well as studying the way in which it influenced their work. The creation of a full reception history of Egypt as material agent would require much more space and attention than the present dissertation allows for, however, in the context of this thesis it is important to study and discuss how Egypt became

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[134] For the reception of Egypt in Graeco-Roman literature and its connection to Roman material culture, see part 3.4.

visually known to people. How and when was the visual image created and what were the key factors of its development? In order to show how the reception of Egypt relates to material culture and how the current dataset of Aegyptiaca have been categorised up to now it is valuable to briefly point out some important factors that were significant in this respect.[135] As discussed with regard to the application of the model of Egyptomania as a framework, the effect of *a priori* interpretations originating from present-day dealings with ancient Egypt is quite precarious. However, it seems the modern visual concept of Egypt and its material culture have been created and continuously influenced by a few specific phenomena and events: Napoleon Bonaparte's campaign in Egypt, the political and historical developments of the relationship between the East and the West, the birth of Egyptology as a discipline, important discoveries such as the Rosetta Stone (in 1799, followed by the deciphering of hieroglyphs) and of Tutankhamun's tomb (Thebes, 1922), the establishment of museum collections, and the increasing travel to Egypt and equally increasing number of books, movies and television programmes on the subject. All these varied phenomena eventually created a memory of ancient Egypt within the European mind which notably differed from those experienced by the ancient Romans. Furthermore, it should be noted in this respect, that the majority of these direct influences with regard to the visualisation and conceptualisation of ancient Egypt sketched above have a visual basis.

As mentioned above, of vital importance to the founding of the formation of our contemporary concept and visual memory of ancient Egypt was Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt (1798-1801). It can be considered a watershed in the rise of Egyptology as a discipline and the increasingly leading role Egypt and its culture played in the international politics of the 19th century. The discovery and translation of the Rosetta Stone furthermore contributed to the fascination with a distant land of which its hieroglyphs could now be deciphered. However, probably even more important in this context of Egypt as a visual memorable impression, was the creation of the *Description de l'Égypte*.[136] This massive undertaking comprised the

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[135] For surveys on the perception of Ancient Egypt and its various ways of influence on the thinking and culture of present-day societies, see Said 1978; Bernall 1987; Assmann 1997; 2003; Meskell 2000; Jeffreys 2003.

[136] *Description de l'Égypte* consists multi-volume publication created after Napoleon's expedition in 1798, offering a detailed scientific description of both ancient and modern Egypt as well as its natural history. Publication commenced in 1809, and continued until the final volume appeared in 1829.

manufacture of hundreds of engravings depicting ancient Egyptian monuments and the everyday life in contemporary Egypt. Prior hereto, the country and its antiquities were only visited by elite travellers such as Pococke or Norden; now images of ancient Egypt became accessible for all to see.[137] For some decades, the images published in the *Description de l'Égypte* were the only means of visual access to Egypt known to the West.[138] Soon however, objects themselves became transferred from Egypt to European museums. This event was of profound importance in bringing 'reality' of ancient Egypt to the academic world and to the public.[139] It can thus be stated that the Napoleonic expedition brought Egypt visually to Europe (especially to France and Britain), which has controlled the cultural productions about it ever since. Moreover, Egypt arrived at these countries at a very critical moment, to wit during the rise of nationalism in Europe. National awakening evolved from an intellectual reaction to the Enlightenment, which emphasised the creation of a national identity and developed a romantic view of cultural self-expression through nationhood. Visual imagery related to Egypt, and the founding of national museums procuring objects, brought to Europe after the Napoleonic expeditions in Paris, London, and later also to other European cities, contributed to shape these fresh national identities in giving a face to the 'eastern-*cum*-exotic Other'. Moreover, by incorporating them into the hearts of their countries, they assisted in enriching and even shaping the nation itself (albeit in a very particular fashion).[140] By means of these events in a way, ancient Egypt *became* part of the French and British past.[141] In addition to the expedition and museum contexts, the discipline of Egyptology which developed during the 18th and the 19th centuries was an important factor in not only giving shape to the concept of Egypt, but also providing ancient Egypt with a face.

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[137] Pococke 1743-1745, 2 vols. and Norden 1755. Pococke was an English prelate and scholar travelling the East between 1737 and 1741. He visited Lebanon, Egypt, Jerusalem, Palestine, Asia Minor and Greece. These travels were later published in his *A Description of the East, and Some Other Countries,* 1743-1745. The King of Denmark sent the Danish naval captain-*cum*-explorer Frederick Ludvig Norden (1708-1742) with the request to make drawings and observations about Egypt's ancient monuments. His 200 'on the spot' illustrations dating from his 1737-38 travels were later published in the *Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie* (1755).

[138] See Jeffreys 2003, 1-2; Scham 2003, 173.

[139] Rice and MacDonald 2003, 6

[140] For more information on the connection between museums and 18th and 19th century nationalism (and to the concepts of colonialism and nationalism) see Kaplan 2006, 152-69.

[141] Perhaps little has changed since Balfour declaimed to the House of Commons the necessity of the British occupation of Egypt: "*We know the civilization of Egypt better than we know the civilization of any other country. We know it further back; we know it more intimately; we know more about it.*", see Scham 2003, 173.

Whereas initially predominantly British and Italian explorers had set off on adventurous, explorative pursuits to Egypt, ancient Egypt had now become a professional academic discipline accompanied by a wide range of publicity and influence.

All the afore-mentioned events had a fundamental consequence on the perception of Egypt. Its nature was now twofold: ancient Egypt became removed from the Islamic world as it evolved into the preserve of western scholarship; while at the same time this scholarship (within a context of colonialism and orientalism) created a gap between Egypt and the West. Western civilizations did not look to Ancient Egypt for its roots any longer, instead Egypt become more and more epitomised as the 'Other'.[142] To the present-day this has continued to influence the western perception and study of Egypt as Assmann states: *"Even today, some 160 years after the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphs by Jean-François Champollion the intellectual heritage of Ancient Egypt can hardly be said to have become part of our cultural memory. It is a subject of fascination, not of understanding."*[143]

As was said, in addition to the engravings included in the *Description de l'Égypt* as a visual representation of Ancient Egypt, national collections of art and archaeology founded during the 18th and 19th centuries began to acquire artefacts from Egypt. These objects started to play a leading role in the formation of a collective history as well as a collective vision of things Egyptian.[144] On his return to France from Bonaparte's campaign, Vivant-Denon was appointed Director-General of Museums and the museum was renamed *Musée* Napoléon; it started to house the spoils of the expedition.[145] A renowned example of one of the first exhibited objects from ancient Egypt in Britain was the colossal Memnon head (collected from the Ramesseum at

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[142] See Jeffreys 2003, 4; Bernal 1987; Said 1978; and Moser 2006.

[143] See Assmann 1984, 1. This statement also refers to the notion made with regard to Egyptomania in 2.4.2. It is argued here that modern scholars transpose their own fascination with Egypt - in the form of Egyptomania - as a concept also present in antiquity.

[144] On the development of European museum collections and the shaping of a collective history and memory, see Paul 2012.

[145] Later obtained by the British afther the defeat of Napoleon. During the French Revolution the Louvre was transformed from a palace into a public museum which became declared in May 1791 (Wyn 2007). Under Napoleon the collection grew considerably through the military campaigns and following the Egyptian campaign of 1798–1801, Napoleon appointed the museum's first director, Dominique Vivant Denon, who renamed the museum *Musée Napoléon* in 1803. Vivant-Denon published his *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute-Égypte pendant les Campagnes de Bonaparte* in 1802 (Strathern 2009). In 1822, after the translation of the Rosetta Stone, King Charles X decided that a special Egyptian Antiquities department should be created, with Champollion as new curator. For a general history of the Louvre, see McClellan 1999, for the Egyptian antiquities in particular see Buhe 2014.

Thebes), which became displayed in 1819 in the Egyptian Sculpture Room in the British Museum in London, while the Louvre's antiquities department *Musée Charles X* created a whole Egyptian section, opened by Champollion in 1826.[146] The display of objects such as the Memnon Head in the British Museum and the elite burial objects displayed in the *sale funéraire* of the *Musée Charles X* meant that any citizen and scholar could now finally stand face to face with what seemed the real 'Ancient Egypt'.[147] Each exhibit was therefore of crucial importance. The consequence was that the curators and Egyptologists who assembled or designed the rooms and exhibitions played a pivotal role as active agents in not only the reinvention of those objects, but also in shaping a communal perception of Egypt.

How was Egypt than captured in these first presentations? In the case of the British Museum, the Egyptian antiquities were initially (in the beginning of the museum's history in 1753 there were 160 objects) staged as curiosities and sometimes monstrosities, even though serious antiquarian studies of the objects were also undertaken.[148] They were valued in the same context as other curiosities such as tusks, narwhals, and crocodiles, as '*objects deemed appropriate for superficial consumption rather than deeper intellectual contemplation*'.[149] This thought prolonged into the 19th century, aided by Winckelmann's publication of *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* in 1764 stating Egyptian art as primitive by its Africanness, and by being static, unable to innovate, and inferior to Graeco-Roman art.[150] The addition of the French collection of Egyptian artefacts in 1802 after the victory of Aboukir Bay did not change this view.[151] It was stated that the Egyptian objects were only definable as art when they were displayed together in the company of other Egyptian antiquities.[152]

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[146] Colla 2007, 16-8.
[147] See Wengrow 2003, 183.
[148] For a history on the British Museum and its collections, see Wilson 2002. For a detailed analysis of the Egyptian collection, see Moser 2006.
[149] Moser 2006, 41.
[150] Winckelmann 2006 translation (with an introduction by Potts), 128-58. Followed by other scholars such as Quatremère, who wrote: "*even among so many examples of Egyptian sculpture the highest degree of uniformity reigns between, which show no perceptible signs of advancement despite the immense intervals of time during which they were produced*". Quatremère, 1803, *De l'architecture égyptienne*, 51–52, From Buhe 2014, 6.
[151] It however, added a layer of meaning in which the antiquities took on the symbolic role of trophies connected to the victory of Britain over the French. Whitehead 2009, 85.
[152] Moser 2006, 115. In fact, although the Memnon-head was artistically praised, the curator at the time Joseph Banks stated in a letter to the British consul-general of Cairo Herny Salt that: "*Though in truth we are here much satisfied with the Memnon, and consider it as a chef-d'oeuvre of Egyptian sculpture, yet we have not placed that statue among the works of Fine Art. It stands in the Egyptian Rooms. Whether any statue that has been found*

In Paris, the collection was initially formed by the royal collection, which was amplified by the spoils brought back from the expedition of Napoleon. The collection as it was exhibited in *Musée Napoléon* took similar forms as those on display in the British Museum, as trophies and curiosities.[153] A similar nationalistic undercurrent to obtain objects for the French Republic in the first displays could also be detected. However, the attitude towards the Egyptian art changed due to historical events and to scholarly perception. After the loss of the Napoleonic collection to Britain, the Egyptian art collection was restocked in the 1820's through three large acquisitions by the French king Charles X, convinced and advised by Champollion.[154] While Denon himself already seems to have been taking a more empirical approach to Egyptian art, a study by Buhe shows that Champollion as curator was deeply investing in providing a basis the understanding of Egyptian art in its own context.[155] Champollion took care to show Egyptian objects together with objects from the same period and to shape a picture of Egyptian society and its customs (the funerary hall is an example of this).

Notwithstanding this care for context however, the effect on the viewer is bounded by the museum itself. Exhibiting Egyptian antiquities in these museums took on a special social significance with far-ranging consequences for the reception of Egypt. The impact of the display in a museum should not be underestimated, no matter the 'objective' empirical intentions of the curators and Egyptologists involved.[156] The assemblage of material culture, the physical spaces of the British Museum and the *Charles X*, the routes, the lighting, the arrangement of the objects and the organisation is essentially discursive and involves a social construction of

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in Egypt can be brought into competition with the grand works of the Townley Gallery remains to be proved unless however they really are so,the prices you have set upon your acquisitions are very unlikely to be realised in Europe." Colla 2007, 46.

[153] For the display of Egyptian artefacts during *Musée Napoléon* see Malgouyres 1999 and Gallo 1999, 182-94.

[154] Through Champollion as curator, three major Egyptian collections were purchased in relatively quick succession: that of Edmé-Antoine Durand in 1824, Salt in 1826, and Bernardino Drovetti in 1827.

[155] Buhe 2014, 5. Although Champollion agreed with Winckelmann and Quatremère (and Hegel) that Egyptian art did not belong within the concept of ideal beauty (which was Greek art), he tried to argue that Egyptian art did not share the same functions of Greek art did and therefore could not be evaluated on the same grounds. Buhe 2014, 10.

[156] Even today, this is a noted problem in museums. Macdonald (using a study of Fisher on the modern perception of ancient Egypt in museums) argues that many museums have difficulty to convey a sense of chronology of ancient Egypt and properly communicate this to the public: "*Ancient Egypt is a sealed bubble in which pharaohs, pyramids, tombs and Cleopatra float around in a rich soup.*" Macdonald 2003, 92; Fischer 2000a and 2000b , chart 17.

discourses.[157] Museums, as suggested by for instance Whitehead, MacDonald and Staniszewski, are not reflections or representations of theories, but are an active forming agency, because the activity of physically assembling and displaying objects for presentation to a public is inherently heuristic and structuring.[158] It is therefore through a particular type of knowledge production, called *musealisation* that the principal ´understanding´ of Egypt was formed. In the case of Egypt this included the sensory learning (visual and physical confrontation) of a culture through showcases and objects devoid of their cultural context (also in the case of Champollion's collection), creating a static image of the culture and the feeling that time had stood still.[159] It is argued that musealisation is especially treacherous when it tries to inform people on cultures far removed from the known culture.[160] The re-made objects in museums therefore moved from their original contexts to exhibition contexts, and were removed from ancient Egyptian culture into artefacts on display. This was a decisive turn in their cultural biography and a radical alteration of their very being. The exhibited objects became understood in the collective memory as isolated and strange artefacts, cut loose from their original context and 'colonised', but without integrating into their new environment because they were bounded by a museum exhibition space. Hereby an unbridgeable distance was created between Ancient Egypt and the modern viewer. The fact that museum visitors came to learn about Egypt by means of isolated showcases was therefore vital to their perception of the objects. It was also vital to the wider sense of the origin of these objects as the concept of Egypt itself was re-invented by means of this event.

The term adopted for this process, the transformation from material culture belonging to a certain cultural context to the perception of static, isolated and individual artefacts, an 'objectification' so to say, was defined by Colla as '*artefaction*'.[161] The process also links to Bourdieu's 'cultural consecration', the social process (and the power of institutions herein) that creates cultural symbols as the culmination of canonisation in the wider field of cultural

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[157] Whitehead 2009, 25.
[158] Whitehead 2005, 2009, Staniszewski 2001, and MacDonald 1996, 1-20.
[159] Modern surveys of the perception of Egyptian collections, showed that it presents the avarage visitor the feeling that this ancient civilasation has stood still, Naguib 1993.
[160] Lidchi 1997, 151-222; Karp 1991, 373–85.
[161] Mitchell 1991; Colla 2007, for objectification, see Tilley 2006, 60-73.

production.[162] It was this process of changing a culture into an artefact and into a symbol which had a crucial impact on the way in which the public and also scholars have become to observe ancient objects and Egypt. In addition to being instruments by means of which colonial power and Otherness were (and in a way still are) communicated from the curator's mind to the public, the object as an artefact created, sustained, and enforced this. But not only in the way how the objects were displayed in museum context, but also the very fact that they were *objects* that became known to the western world through museums is of importance. Because not being an idea, or a story, or a person but an actual object that people could see carried with it a visual presence and connected sense of reality, making objects in particular very powerful knowledge producers.[163] The objects thus in fact widened the gap and strengthened the thought of ancient Egypt as something exotic, now accompanied by a clearly recognisable visual support. It can be argued therefore, that the present-day public has formed its view on Ancient Egypt predominantly on the base of such museum showcases, as these are the only way of a direct physical (and therefore realistic and true) confrontation with Egyptian culture. While the curators played a substantial role in shaping the concept, Egypt as artefact was the force that canonised this connection: "*…because artefacts are not just products of human agency but also constitutive of it, they are not merely inert or detachable from the kind of knowledge and power which comes into being through the interaction of scientists and their objects of study.*"[164] It had its resonance on Egyptology as well, for *artefaction* caused Egypt to be represented in the majority of the standard histories as a self-contained and static culture, isolated from its neighbours in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East. Egypt appeared to be a civilisation devoid of dynamics and innovation.[165] As this part illustrates, artefacts are 'entangled' with the sciences that take them to be

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[162] Bourdieu 1993, 1-34 ('The market of Symbolic goods', chapter 1 from *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*) originally published in 1971, as Le marché des biens symboliques, *L'année sociologique*, 22 , 49-126.

[163] For the role of object shaping colonial pasts and presents see Edwards, Gosden and Phillips 2006.

[164] See Colla 2007, 17.

[165] It is argued here that Egypt does not express its common features but its diversity by means of: (a) a complex society with multiple cultural codes, (b) a plurality of cultural phenomena, (c) an ongoing change caused by innovation which to a considerable extent consists of appropriation from abroad. Moreover, it pleads in favour of describing Egypt as a culture that changed markedly through time by means of continuous reconfiguration. Modern historiography of Ancient Egypt faces the challenge of describing not one single Egypt, but a sequence of different Egypt's each with a different Egyptianness, see Schneider 2003, 155.

their objects, they shape each other. Moreover, artefacts are significant visual building blocks of human perception in general.[166] The manner in which the so-called Aegyptiaca Romana have been studied has to a large extent been influenced by the way of viewing, and by the selection of objects from ancient Egypt as made in the European mind.

2.5.2 Enframing Egypt

A combination of the discoveries, the development of Egyptology in the light of orientalism as well as the specific way in which objects as exhibited artefacts became known to the public has created the 'cultural memory of Egypt' within the western mind. Because of its visual and physical presence, the objects in European museums had (and still have) a huge influence on the way in which Egypt is stored in the collective memory. In the modern mind, Egypt has become canonised as alien because of the use of these carefully displayed artefacts. Because what was on display in Paris, London, and in Cairo itself (and also later in Turin and Berlin), was the extraordinary 'Otherness' of Oriental civilization.[167] A distance was taught through musealisation of Egyptian antiquities and Egyptian culture and this was emphasised by means of opera (Mozart's *Zauberflöte*), art (Robert Hubert, Piranesi, David Roberts), and Egyptomania in art and architecture of the 18th and 19th centuries, which endorsed the connection between a visual style, otherness, romanticism, mysticism, and Egypt. Within art and literature, through travelogues and poetry (Shelley), Egyptian objects were de-humanised; they became ruins, a romantic fascination, and not the representatives of an ancient culture within cultural memory. Egypt has therefore become cognitively 'enframed'. This has had vast consequences with regard to the way in which artefacts in Roman context were subsequently dealt with and interpreted. Of relevance to the present thesis is the realisation that this enframing is an example of rather recently developed behaviour which should not incontestably be transposed to the past. The way in which the audience was visually introduced to Egypt by means of museum displays did not close the afore-mentioned divide; indeed it widened it, but now to a large public and with a clear visual image. It brought on exhibitions of carefully selected objects now considered as 'Classic Egyptian', which everyone can recognise. Exactly this current recognisability combined

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[166] For a discussion on entangled objects, see Thomas 1991.
[167] Mitchell 1991.

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with the present-day construction of 'Otherness' causes any research into Aegyptiaca within Roman contexts to be so complicated and elusive.

By means of this brief discussion on Egypt's visual reception history and observing the way in which Egypt was installed in the Western imagination it has not only become clear how important objects are in creating a cultural memory (defined as the phenomenon in which a cultural group collectively and individually remembers and becomes remembered as the basis of the forming of an identity), but also how influential and far-ranging the consequences are for perception and for modern scholarship. Furthermore, it is now quite easy to realise the danger in locating 'materialisations of Egypt' within a Roman context, because it is done so from a specifically situated mind. Egypt is recognised easily, but this cannot be equated with what Romans observed; not only does the recognisability notably differ, the way of viewing too has developed in a genuinely different environment, as one is currently trained to enframe objects as Egyptian, and enframe them as the 'Other'. Especially with material culture therefore extreme caution should be taken in calling something Egyptian as being a Roman classification. Although recent research has refrained strongly from the phenomenon Orientalism following the writings of Edward Said (though it has not been ruled out completely), the first issue is still unquestionably taken for granted; scholars continue to enframe Egyptian artefacts within Roman contexts. The conclusion here should thus be that one cannot automatically assume that Romans recognised Egyptian style and Egyptian artefacts on the same grounds as people do nowadays. Furthermore it has become clear that if we wish to assess the interpretation and function of Egyptian objects it is necessary to solve this problem and seriously look into the double hermeneutics attested in the process of interpretation of Egyptian artefacts; the interpretation by Roman viewers and the interpretation by scholars. What should be done in order to overcome such problems therefore, is to carefully study the relationship between artefact and representation (or concept): to study perception in context.

2.5.3 The category of Aegyptiaca

A consequence of the above discussion is that it very clearly calls into question whether the entire category of Aegyptiaca consists of an existing conceptual category. Furthermore it demands a thorough revisit of the artefacts as a material culture group. Its assemblage was seemingly by and large based on the way scholars and contemporary society have learned to

recognise Egypt by means of cultural learning. One cannot assume that Romans interpreted Egypt on the same basis. Therefore the research needs to revisit a quite basic premise with regards to the way scholars acquired and interpreted Aegyptiaca as a category in contrast to a Roman audience.

Interpreting Aegyptiaca is arduous and complicated, unattainable even when one tries to find *the* meaning of Egyptian objects. It is relative to the context in which certain objects are found, not only by way of its appearance, style or technique; the meanings of Aegyptiaca depend upon perception of the ancient viewer. It is embedded in the behaviour towards the object and becomes more lucid only when reviewed in its physical and social context. A Nilotic scene for instance, indicates something different within a domestic context than within a temple dedicated to Isis. A statue of an Egyptian sphinx in a garden setting might mean something other than a sphinx displayed on Third Style wall paintings. Nevertheless, the majority of studies on Egyptian material culture in the Roman world sought to find a general consensus with regard to the relevance of Aegyptiaca and Egypt to the Roman world. The various interpretations of Aegyptiaca to be observed in this historiography ran from religious, to a mania, exoticism and depicting the 'Other'. The issue with many earlier interpretations (such as suggested by Tran tam Tinh and his successors, including for instance de Vos) is that they separated Egyptian imagery from the field of Roman art, as was once done with Classical Greek style. As with Greece, Egyptian artefacts manufactured and used in Rome are compared with their originals, or otherwise set apart as another cultural category. Considering Aegyptiaca as a Roman phenomenon, following Versluys, Swetnam-Burland, and Davies is a first step towards understanding the process of incorporation. The second step is to observe in which way Egypt acted as a Roman phenomenon and to study its perception within specific contexts such as domestic settings. Because Egypt in Rome is Roman, its meaning cannot be unambiguously Egyptian, as the manifestations are integrated in various ways in various complex social contexts. Extrapolated from the survey of previous research on Egypt in the Roman world it could be concluded that a specific contextual study is lacking. In order to provide this, Egyptian artefacts should be reviewed in conjunction with all other material and visual culture. Moreover, its physical context should be given a more prominent place within research. It is therefore argued that focusing on domestic contexts as carried out in the present dissertation results in a better general understanding of the use of Egyptian artefacts. Regarding Egypt as an inherent part of Roman

material culture is only the first step required in order to arrive at a coherent, holistic and meaningful interpretation of what scholars call Egyptian material culture in the Roman world. As point of departure it is proposed that Egypt in objects, as a part of a total of cultural influences contributing to the Roman world, could be somthing alien and exotic that was perceived as Egyptian, as well as that it could be regarded inherently Roman and only trained scholars would recognise it originated in Egypt. A contextual approach that takes account of the way in which Egypt is conceived, appropriated, and integrated into material culture is the only possible way to elucidate the significance of a certain part of the cultural conception of foreign influences.[168] A multitude of explanations concerning the Aegyptiaca of Pompeii shall be reached, depending on the way objects were produced, circulated, and used. However, this multivocality is not the product of an inherent ambiguity of meaning which allows a constant expansion; it possesses more precise meanings, which shall be revealed by means of the context in which the object was used.

2.6 Conclusion: from *artefaction* to studying perception in context

The historiographical analysis undertaken in this chapter has clarified which approach to Aegyptiaca is desirable and which questions need to be asked to the dataset in order to not only get a grip on the subject but also to find a way to study of Aegyptiaca in the Roman world from a different perspective. The main question with regards to chapter 3 concerns the way in which to turn Egyptian objects into a useful instrument to study the Roman world. This implies that the present thesis includes a methodological as well as an analytical objective. The four main issues emerging from the above discussions will guide this approach to the dataset. They focus firstly on a solid contextual research and secondly, on the perception of objects (thereby critically questioning interpretations which have unconcernedly linked Aegyptiaca to Isis), third, taking Pompeii seriously as a site with its own socio-cultural development, and fourth, paying more attention to the way in which the modern concept of Egypt and the recognisability of Egyptian style and subjects has influenced scholars when dealing with Aegyptiaca. Especially the last issue was found to be problematic in the current state of research, because it has seriously affected the creation of the dataset as a

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[168] It could also be argued there is at present too much consensus on the meaning of Aegyptiaca which should be scrutinized first.

conceptual category. A modern perception of Egypt has been a primary guiding force in the interpretations regarding that category. The fact that the Romans now and again adopted Egypt as something exotic and isolated does not exclude that, in other instances, it was a deeply ingrained part of the Roman Empire. Multiculturalism has always been an important facet of a cultural identity, not only with regard to self definition. Egypt's influence and the meaning of Egyptian objects should therefore be separately studied as to funerary, religious, urban, and domestic contexts without academically separating them from the Roman world and all its social, economic, religious and political movements.

It is important to consider the meaning and the change of meaning of the artefacts within their new context, while at the same regarding them as objects with a material presence and as active agents, as the above quote from Colla indicates. To return once more to the obelisk, Swetnam-Burland notes: "*To fail to consider the origin of such an obelisk is to make the mistake of treating the act of appropriation as an irreparable break from the past, allowing the monument's later life to eclipse its earlier history, thereby ignoring the object's life (or lives) as accumulative of multiple and related layers of significance.*"[169] Its Egyptian origin is not capable of adding a meaning that 'sticks to objects' as they move to another context. What is of significance is that while a meaning is created, realities do 'stick' to the object. The obelisk Augustus transferred from Heliopolis to the Campus Martius in 10 BC *was* from Egypt, its hieroglyphs *were* Egyptian script, and its material *was* Aswan granite. These realities accompany the object no matter in which way it was used or interpreted. And it are these realities that need to be traced and studied in relation to their new context. In order to learn more about a certain context it is very useful to observe the way in which a specific object is dealt within its setting. With respect to the scope of this thesis what should be asked in relation to the obelisk is the following: why was it imported from Egypt and not, for instance, a statue? Why was it used within this context? How does that inform us of the way in which it was perceived? How could its realities (whatever their interpretations comprised of) and its presence in the centre of Rome influence the city, its inhabitants, and their choices? Being able to answer these questions implies that a fundamental insight into the Roman world and their thoughts has been achieved. The study on Aegyptiaca is especially well suited for this. The above questions exemplify that strange objects, 'exotica', are heuristically capable of telling

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[169] See Swetnam-Burland 2010, 251.

something fundamental about the context into which they are integrated. To redirect the question at the present context: the focus should not be on what Aegyptiaca are but on the way in which Egyptian objects can serve to learn about Pompeii. Attention should be paid to appropriation: how selection and use tell something significant about Roman society- as well as that attention should be paid to the active role of material culture. There can be intention present (when something was selected and used somewhere), but at the same time as soon as an artefact became used in a specific context the artefact itself affected the interpretation.

Studying perception and use in context requires a more dynamic approach that has to pay tribute to the constant changing nature of object-perception. To return to the example of the obelisks, although the first obelisks could be considered exotic by its material, Aswan granite soon became widely available and very popular in Rome, especially for large monoliths such as the columns of the Pantheon and those Michelangelo re-used in the *Santa Maria degli Angeli*, or those used on the Forum Pacis, the baths of Nero and the forum of Trajan. Over time, grey and pink granite were no longer associated with Egypt in a one-to-one relationship but took on a much more complex role in perception. Moreover, from the same period onwards, coloured stones became a normal feature within the public domain, as the Forum of Augustus illustrates.[170] Might the obelisk be exotic within Rome? The chance exists that current scholarship again 'made it exotic', a result of the historical development and enframing as discussed above. Was Egyptian material culture considered exotic in Rome as a Roman phenomenon? Again, this calls for a contextual analysis which does not isolate Egyptian artefacts from the remaining material and visual culture present, but should do justice to the versatility of roles and realities an object has in perception. Furthermore, on a larger scale, the role of material culture itself and the way in which archaeologists study these subjects will also be critically re-evaluated, because what counts for Aegyptiaca, counts for material culture in general too. Material culture has often been uncritically subjugated as a visual support of overarching narrative structures - especially in the case of Aegyptiaca - while the benefit with regards to archaeological research is the investigation of objects in a bottom-up perspective in order to establish their addition to contexts. The risk concerning Egyptian material culture applies

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[170] See Sear 1998, 85, see Ganzert 1996 for the temple of Mars Ultor on the forum and Geiger 2008 for the forum of Augustus and the use of statuary.

to material culture: it can become enframed and an easy subject for modern projections. This thesis therefore will attempt to state, by means of the case study of Aegyptiaca, that objects and cultural associations should not be connected too easily. A bottom-up approach with Aegyptiaca as a tool has the advantage of forming a heuristic isolated case in which these issues can not only be tested, it also allows objects and its conceptual associations to be properly problematised. The way, I believe, to translate these concepts into a method to study an empirical case study is to radically rethink the way artefacts, styles, ideas, and people relate. Instead of targeting the boundaries between them, it is necessary to focus on the way in which they constitute and affect each other, and cognitively connect to each other. The concept of Egypt should thereby be a heuristic instrument with which to investigate the emic dealings with objects. The way forward in my view is thus not the study of objects *as* Egyptian or *as* Egyptianised objects *a priori,* but a focus on the relation between objects and Egypt.

In conclusion, it can be observed that the questions, discussions and issues outlined in this chapter present the study of Aegyptiaca within domestic contexts of Pompeii with a clear direction. However, they also gave rise to an entirely new set of problems, on a methodological and an archaeological level. To place the defined directives and new scope to Aegyptiaca in a suitable framework and in order to design from them a proper approach to answer the questions proposed in this part, a solid methodology should be constructed in which dynamism should be processed as an intrinsic part of object-meaning. The way in which to move towards research into the perception of objects in context needs to be explained in a more refined and a carefully theorised framework, as it touches on a very intricate substance matter which has to be approached from an interdisciplinary angle. In order to move from Aegyptiaca to relationships between the classification of Egyptian and artefacts, and to move from *artefaction* to perception, a new approach should be designed that gives shape to these ideas, which shall be explored below in chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

From chapter 2 an unexamined and largely untouched hermeneutical problem has emerged. It can be best described as a divergence existing between the objects concerning 'Egypt' and the connections made between these objects and associations of Egypt in the Roman past and within present research. A division can be obesrved not only between the way objects are used and regarded, but also the way in which scholars have generally dealt with them. Furthermore, the relationship between the the classification and recognition of someting Egyptian and material culture is situated on much more complex levels than has been argued so far. Hence the disctinction needs to be thoroughly charted and re-evaluated before any analysis can take part. It was concluded in chapter 2 that Aegyptiaca are the victim of current projections concerning Egypt. Taking one of the objects mentioned in the previous chapter as an example, such as the the Pyramid of Cestius in Rome, scholars and the general public alike are very apt to classify this object as Egyptian. This however, is derived from a specific visual availability and cultural learning in modern culture which was different in antiquity. If there is no other visual example present that would make the connection to Egypt stronger, how would an average Roman know a pyramidal form is Egyptian? That the effect of visual cultural learning is so significant however, also means that it works the other way around, in the sense that the objects which are present in the visual memory of the Romans form a backdrop to classify, use, and interpret other objects; and an association with Egypt might arise from this totally deviating from the way we would nowadays perceive it.[171]

Even more strikingly is that it could be noted by means of such observations that scholars are too interpretative when looking at objects in general. Not

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[171] If people for instance, somehow came to learn that a pyramid was Egyptian, and that the tomb of Cestius was a pyramid, Romans would also learn to associate the form and material with Egypt through the visual availability of that specific artefact. If they were to imagine Egyptian pyramids, such objects would have a steep 'Nubian' style and be made out of marble.

only were objects classified as Egyptian on modern grounds, and on a stylistic classifications, but this understanding has been equalled with the meaning and understanding in the past. While interpreting and classifying objects is a rather straightforward tool in archaeology, when they become equalled to the user's perspective it is hazardous because this denotes an *a priori* assumption.[172] Objects in Pompeii obtained their meaning within a different context and on different levels of awareness; that of an everyday use-level in which objects formed the basic background noises of existence. A change of perspective with regards to Aegyptiaca must therefore be made. Not the object as interpreted by the scholar should be the central objective of study, but the perception of the object in its context should be the primary goal of investigation. Only then it will be possible to state anything valuable about the way in which Egyptian artefacts were used, how they integrated into a Roman context, and how they were able to affect Roman society. Moreover, it was observed in chapter 2 that the dichotomy between what Egypt was and the way in which people thought about Egypt, extends beyond the mere study of Egyptian artefact classification. It touches upon the way in which people think about artefacts, concepts, and their world in general. This chapter will therefore make an attempt to show how people think about and use objects and how this affects the use and concepts of the study of Aegyptiaca specifically; it will try to show its complexities, and will subsequently try to develop a way of studying Aegyptiaca avoiding scholarly projections and stylistic or iconographical interpretations. Not only will it be tried to create a method that is able to investigate perception and the pre-interpretative level of object experience for Pompeii. It also has the scope to theorise on how people treat objects and how objects make people.

3.2 Theoretical framework

3.2.1 Initial observations and theoretical foundations

As stated in the introduction, Aegyptiaca consist of a category of incredibly diverse objects that were defined and assembled by scholars, lumped together as a single category of 'things Egyptian' and interpreted accordingly. As the previous chapter has shown, many issues arose from this observation. For instance: why did Greek material seem to have been an inherent part of Roman material culture? Why was Egyptian material always

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[172] This became even more difficult when such interpretations initially used to classify in archaeological research, suddenly became a symbolic qualification for the ancient user within post-processualism. This had far-ranging consequences for the understanding of the use of material culture within ancient societies.

considered an exotic outsider? Were Egyptian artefacts regarded as Egyptian by their users? Is this assumption a misdemeanour of our own abundant historical knowledge? The questions and observed problems demand that the thought of the scholar in his interpretation of Aegyptiaca, the interpretation of the Roman user of Aegyptiaca, and what is called the Aegyptiaca themselves, should somehow be separated in order to reach a clearer understanding of the use and perception of Aegyptiaca. However, similarly, a contradiction can be observed, because while methodologically these three phenomena should indeed be separated, ontologically they are intimately connected. There is no rigid difference between the world and what people think of it, of mind and material, because people are immersed in the world and their thinking is relative to the existence of that world. To put it simply, the way in which people think about the world and the very fact that people think, relies on the fact that a world exists. Translated to objects: we think not only *of* the things around us, we think *because* of them. This seems a generalised truism, but it has large consequences for the way in which objects play a role in everyday existence and as they will be studied in this research, as will be further elaborated on in the remainder of this chapter. It also seems to contradict the scope the present research wishes to take, as it is argued to methodologically separate things that are ontologically interdependent. It must therefore be stipulated that the methodology proposed here cannot fully embrace the complexities present in the world and the human understanding of the world. It will, however, attempt to develop an approach in order to allow more complexity in interpretation. Unravelling layers of perception should thus be seen as a methodological means to represent the complexity of artefacts and their perception.

This research argues that the current studies on materiality in archaeological discourse, networks, and agency that propose a nature of being in which the human and the non-human are seen as entangled and at each other's mercy (such as recently proposed by Latour, Miller, Ingold, Brown, Thomas, Olsen, Hodder and others), are helpful in structuring the theoretical framework and in asking the right questions to the dataset. The current research can therefore deservedly be placed within the tradition archaeologists refer to as materiality, although the particularities of the context, material, and historiography of course request their own solutions

regarding research strategies.[173] In any case it seems clear that the problems and their consequences outlined here require a proper theoretical framework in which the objects can be treated and their specific issues solved before facilitating a suitable approach to contextualise Aegyptiaca can commence. The following sections will develop the theoretical framework; it will incorporate the most important theories that serve in solving the problem that was outlined above, which is how we can study the difference between the interpretation of Egyptian artefacts (as a conscious act in the past, but also in the present), the experience and dealings with Egyptian artefacts in their environment (as a subconscious act), and the Egyptian artefacts as things with agency (how they act upon people, both in the past and in the present). Within the context of studying the perception of Aegyptiaca, the following subjects are of specific importance to theorise: (a) perception and the related themes of consciousness (or awareness)[174] and intentionality, (b) materiality and the related themes of agency and relationality, and (c) the environment as context.

3.2.2 Perception

Perception can be considered a central perspective through which is tried to better understand 'Egyptian' artefacts in Pompeii, but also a difficult concept to get a grip on archaeologically; for how can we access perception of people in the past? Perception is a complex and elusive concept and complicated to incorporate in a theory of objects, because it is shaped by a myriad of cognitive and environmental factors of which many cannot be taken into account archaeologically. In this archaeological study, perception as a phenomenon cannot be fully explored. Due to the limits of the data and the scope of the thesis it excludes for instance how biology or concepts influence perception, or how perception works in specific social situations.[175] This

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[173] For a more detailed discussion on how the term functions within this framework, see part 3.2.3. Materiality, according to Miller 2005 the agency that material and artefacts have to create humanity and culture ("*we are not just clothed but we are constituted by our clothing*", 42). The theory of materiality according to Latour tries to transcend the dualism of subjects and objects. The term has difficulties, especially for its diverse use and application between a large variety of scholarly disciplines and because many concept and theories (often contradictory) are related to the term. For a general understanding of materiality see Miller 2005, 1-50. For an overview of the difficulty of the term and its connected concepts see Holly 2013, 15-7 (especially figure 2).

[174] See Dretske 2002, 420.

[175] For a survey of the various theoretical takes on the concept of perception, see Maund 2003. There are similarities in the way in which perception works on for instance a social level (i.e., within the interaction with other people) because humans are similarly capable of interpreting social information in order to infer that something is animate. However, this

means that the research will primarily try to engage in how people perceived objects by closely looking at the contexts in which they were used, but also to expound on how objects were able to influence perception by the way they appeared; we are scrutinising human perception in relation to object-being. Because how things appear to us has not only to do with how we look, but also with how objects are. Objects, the physical environment, and visual learning therefore play an important role. Because perception is not a passive receiving signals, but is generated by means of learning, knowledge, memory, expectation and attention, the environmental situatedness of perception is of the utmost significance. Next to being contextual, perception should be primarily regarded as an action (or reaction), not something that lives in people or something that happens to them, it is something that people do.[176] Relating to objects, perception as active response and use as act should be regarded central to object meaning, as it is argued that our fundamental contact with things arises from a 'practical synthesis' i.e., from handling them, looking at them, using them.[177]

Perception as employed in this dissertation concerns the organisation, identification, and interpretation of sensory information in order to represent and understand the environment. Despite its ostensible intangibility, it is considered worthwhile to take perception as point of departure to re-think cultural classifications and the workings of objects and styles, as it has not been seriously undertaken in the context of the study of Aegyptiaca yet. Related to this last statement, focusing on perception is particularly useful because it forces the scholar to think in totalities, look at practice, abandon arteficial labels, and start building op arguments contextually. When we wish to incorporate the agency of artefacts within perception, a method should be created that looks at perception as action and at perception in context, and also at the the pre-interpetative level of perception. This means a focus will be put on a particular part of perception, namely that of *direct perception*, which will be elaborated on in part 3.3.

In this section we will continue briefly with discussing the connection between the workings of perception, the environment and the concept of agency, mainly by posing the statement that perception of external objects

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research will primarily deal with with perceptual and cognitive processes that allow humans to perceive and understand objects and their environment. It is therefore only indirectly aimed at this social perception. For a recent study on social perception and agency, see Rutherford 2013.

[176] It is stated that perception is a kind of skillful activity of the body as a whole in response to its environment and not something which only occurs in the brain, see Noë 2004, 1-2.

[177] As is the central theme as formulated in Merleau-Ponty 1962; 1963; 1968.

depend on context. As was noted, a distinction between a 'real' environment independently of the human senses and the perceived environment as constructed in the mind should be considered fluent.[178] The idea does not so much imply that human beings are obtuse and inert slaves of their environment, it means that human perception, actions, choices and behaviour, are created in accordance with environmental agencies.[179] Why is this important for archaeological research? Because we perceive context- or environment-dependent, and because we often use objects intuitively without thinking (from a practical synthesis perspective), it means that objects are capable of influencing the way people think and act to a much higher degree than people are consciously aware of. The way people perceive in general provides power, or rather agency, to objects and the environment, meaning that by studying objects in context, perception can be partly accessed.

3.2.3 Materiality and perception

These views on object agency, or materiality, significantly changes the way in which scholars should regard objects and their subsequent effects on people. Objects are important not only as the decoration and better functioning of people's lives, but also as the constitutive of their lives. Such agencies should not be underestimated but should become a point of departure instead. This is precisely the way in which this research wishes to regard its objects of study. Although an object may have originated from Egypt, this does not imply it was consciously perceived this way. However the advantage that thinking about material agency brings is in this respect, is that even though not perceived, because something was from Egypt *did* influence people's thinking and *did* affect the way in which other objects were perceived and used. Because of the observation that a mutual influence of material and mind exists, in which the artefact influences the way in which people think and act, studies focusing on material agency are helpful for the scope of this thesis. Materiality, object ontology, actor-network theory, thing theory, human-thing entanglement, the study of objects and agency has as many practitioners as it has names. Especially among archaeologists it has

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[178] See Ingold 2000, 178.

[179] Although intentional concepts such as for instance choice seem always to indicate a premeditated act, this is less the case. Choices for object use are grounded in a framework which are also largely based on an intuitive reactions and unreflective handling with the things that surround us. It is a risk for the contemporary scholar, argued from his own intrinsically hermeneutic way of working, to ascribe intentionality to processes (and to the use of objects) that were not always existent.

become an important way of rethinking objects and the way they act in a certain context. However, in (art)history, sociology, literary studies, anthropology, and other disciplines, a growing awareness of the relevance of the things surrounding people can be witnessed.[180] As this thesis wishes to focus primarily on the way in which the study of Egyptian artefacts in Pompeii can be helped by means of materiality perspectives, it is not considered fruitful to re-iterate and discuss all the different approaches within the concept of materiality here.[181] However, it should be discussed where this study depends on particular ideas taken from materiality-focused perspectives and in which way it departs from it.

A first important theory in this perspective is the way in which objects are regarded within the Actor-Network-Approach (henceforth abbreviated as ANT) as developed predominantly by people such as Callon, Law, and Latour.[182] Although their initial aim was to rethink sociotechnical processes, they have accommodated a fundamental change in the way in which objects can be regarded and analysed.[183] Taking Latour's ideas as a principal guide in order to explore objects within ANT, he argues that human and non-human should be integrated into the same conceptual frameworks and accorded equal amounts of agency.[184] Agency in this way is conceptualised as a variously distributed phenomenon that exists in relational networks of persons and things, in which all actors are analytically equal (symmetrical).[185] The purpose of ANT is therefore to focus on the relationality of entities, to overcome constructed dualisms, and to incorporate dependence as well as dependency into analyses and interpretations of

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[180] A list of scholars engaged in object ontology and agency from within and outside the field of archaeology. Outside archaeology: Miller 1995 ('consumption theory and material' anthropology); Latour 1993/2005 ('actor-network theory' philosophy); Gell 1998 ('art and agency' art history/anthropology); Preda 1999 ('the turn to things' sociology); Brown 2001 ('Thing Theory' literature); Ingold 2007 ('materiality' anthropology). Within archaeology: Renfrew 2002, 23-32 ('material engagement theory'); Orlin 2003 ('object ontology'); articles by Witmore, Webmoor and Shanks 2007 ('symmetrical archaeology'); Olsen 2010 ('Object ontology'); Knappet 2011 ('archaeology of interaction'); Hodder 2012 ('human-thing entanglement').

[181] For good surveys on the way in which these perspectives found their way into material culture studies, see can Olsen 2010; Beaudry and Hicks 2010.

[182] For Latour's ideas on ANT see his 2005 publication. See also Law 1992, 379-93; 1999, 1-14; Callon 1986, 19-34; Law and Mol 2009, 57-78.

[183] ANT is an anti-essentialist movement and does not differentiate between science and technology (or object and knowledge).

[184] The symmetry is clarified by means of an example on the agency of the human and the gun. According to Latour, instead of either one of them having the ultimate agency to kill, the two bring each other forth. The active agent is neither human nor gun, but a human-with-gun. This view is translated into archaeology as *symmetrical archaeology*, see Witmore 2006, 51; Witmore 2007; Webmoor 2007; Shanks 2007.

[185] See Latour 1999, 15-25.

human-thing interactions.[186] Within this larger frame, other studies (e.g., by Ingold, Olsen, Knappet, Hodder) should be mentioned too, especially for their emphasis on the material aspects of the objects themselves within ANT related approaches.[187] The theory of symmetrical agency poses clear advantages with regard to conceiving objects. Firstly, by accepting symmetry between objects and humans, it can be understood that both are agents in the creation of immaterial phenomena such as culture. Additionally significant for this particular enquiry is *how* that agency exactly is capable of affecting. Because it is not only the object itself as object, but also its intrinsic qualities and material properties that affect perception.[188]

The way in which agency is explained within ANT therefore notably differs from anthropological understandings of fetishism or animism, such as for instance is employed by Pels.[189] Whereas agency from an animism perspective ascribes intentions, aims, and purposeful actions to artefacts, ANT's agency proposes that objects and humans are equal forces in the generation of knowledge.[190] The way in which this dissertation will advocate agency in objects is situated closer to the latter model and is in view with the theoretical foundation stated in part 3,1, in which agency in objects is defined by existence. It is stated: "*that things are in life rather than that life is in things*".[191] Materiality, or material agency, in the way it will serve throughout this thesis is defined as the agency that objects and their properties possess to constitute thinking, humanity, and culture. Humans

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[186] See Law 1999, 4.

[187] Archaeologists who use the term archaeology are divided. Scholars that apply materiality as a term in order to emphasize the material aspects of the world (not in particular the way in which humans engage with this). Derived from archaeometrical studies it is concerned with agency, see e.g., Boivin 2008, 26; Jones 2004, 330; Jones and Boivin 2010, 333-51. For those that view materiality as the socially situated agency employed by means of material culture and the way in which humans are generally involved with the human world (a more relational aspect), see Olsen 2010; Hodder 2012. For a discussion on materiality, see Ingold 2013, 28-9.

[188] As proposed by Ingold, Olsen and Hodder. A need to really focus on the object and its physicalities is argued as follows:"*Why has the physical and 'thingly' component of our past and present being become forgotten or ignored to such an extent in contemporary social research?*", see Olsen 2003, 87; 2010. Former materiality approaches forwarded by Latour and Miller are critized: "*To understand materiality it seems, we need to get as far away from materials as possible.*", see Ingold 2007, 2; Knappet 2008; Hodder 2012, 1.

[189] We read: "*animism - that is, ascribing intentions, aims, and purposeful action to artefacts knowledge.*", see Pels 1998, 94. For a discussion on inanimate agency, see Johanssen 2012, 305-47.

[190] Preda 1999.

[191] See Ingold 2007, 12. In this respect it is significant to realise that the agency employed here is not confused with intentionality, but rather that human intentionality has a material basis. For the focus on perception in this research it is important to consider that objects affect both the conscious and the unconscious mind. However, these traits are not internal to objects.

project thoughts onto objects, and humans as thinking subjects are constructed by means of the non-human world in which objects form an important substrate of their thinking existence. This should not be regarded as a qualitative aspect which only certain objects possess and others do not, but as an essential presence of power embedded in every object. Every object in its context affects human behaviour and thinking in its own way.

In addition to agency there is a further quality which makes the theory of ANT attractive for this research. ANT is not only a matter of presenting objects with agency, but also of reinstating those objects in the fluxes and the networks of the world of materials and concepts in which it came into being and will continue to subsist. ANT therefore not only proposes a symmetrical, but also a relational ontology. Beings, things, and ideas are continuously moving (i.e., in a state of being and becoming) in an environment which is also always in flux.[192] Therefore all entities, material and immaterial, are constituted in a relational field.[193] The emphasis on networks and relationality with regard to knowledge production is therefore a thought shared in this theoretical framework, as it leads to a more natural way of looking objects than the strict cultural categorisations that were imposed on ancient artefacts.[194] Accepting a relational nature of being is furthermore important because it allows complexity to exist, it stimulates a bottom-up approach, and it creates a much more dynamic picture of object meaning. A relational ontology (and a network approach) can thus be considered a valuable addition to the way in which objects of the dataset will be considered, because it has the potential to pull Egyptian artefacts out of their static interpretational fields, while at the same time it provides the ability to study their material and cognitive relations with other objects and ideas more carefully.

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[192] Heidegger 1971b, 163-8.

[193] We read: "It is the dynamic, transformative, potential of the entire field of relations within which entities, continually and reciprocally bring one another into existence. All organisms are constituted in a relational field". This relational field should not be seen or conveyed within a network but as a *meshwork*, because it does not consist of externally bounded entities in the form of interconnected points but is a constitution based on bundles of interwoven lines of growth and movement, together constituting a meshwork in fluid spaces, see Ingold 2006, 12-3; 2007a, 80.

[194] "*Human being's in their entanglement with objects are inherently relational.*", see Harman 2007, 474.

3.2.4 Environment and context

The following section will set out the theoretical underpinnings of the contextual approach to Aegyptiaca. As argued in 3.2.3., it is important to regard relationality, agency, and the material properties of the object when looking at its use and perception. The context however, is the domain in which perception takes place. The particularities of agency are not acted out in a vacuum, but within a totality of things in context. It can be observed, however, that difficulties arise when applying terms such as environment, world, or context, as they seem to refer to different explanatory levels. Environment (or physical context) in the case of this research refers to the total sum of all surroundings of an organism, including objects, material, space, natural forces and other living things, which provide the conditions for living, but also the metaphysical world-making (it is thus an ecological definition of both the real physical world and human experienced world). It is made out of substances such as stone, flesh, vegetation, and molecules, and consists of objects such as plants, stones, animals and tables.[195] Contextuality or contextual research on the other hand, is proposed rather as a methodological term. Because the aim of the project lies in the inclusion of the environment and affordances within the inquiry to object perception, I intend to study objects contextually.[196]

The so-called environmental situatedness of thinking, which has been mentioned before, has become a growing (re)realisation for many disciplines, of those that work in the field of the mind, the brain and the environment alike.[197] It means that thoughts are created within an environment; human beings are not brains in a vat and research should centre on the way in which the material in its environment is able to form and influence human thinking as cognitive extensions of the mind.[198] Three theories (and their

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[195] See Gibson, 1979, 152. With regard to networks, the environment should be considered a zone of entanglement (not a bounded territory) where connections and agencies become meaningful.

[196] Context itself, however, can be explained on a pragmatic and methodological level, in which context it means the place where things become meaningful to us (e.g., a house context) and on a philosophical level, in which it is related to the concept world meaning from which worldview, as the totality of being, something becomes known.

[197] In biology (Noë 2009), anthropology (Ingold 2007; 2000), neurology (Lamme 2010), philosophy (Putnam 1987; 1988; 1990; 2002; in part Dennett 1991), and sociology (Latour). An important discovery from the field of neurobiology and psychology for example is that the human brain for a large part acts responsively to its environment and is thus predominantly a reaction to environmental stimuli, and not a conscious autonomous decision, see Kahneman 2012.

[198] For arguments from the field of environmental biology, see Noë 2009; Malafouris 2013. For more material approaches to the way in which mind and material are interdependent, see Malafouris 2008; 2013; Renfrew 2000; Dennet 1993. Cognitive in this sense refers to

subsequent impact on archaeology) connected to environment and perception are of particular importance in order to frame the current approach on both a theoretical and a methodological level. The first is the theory of James Gibson on direct perception (already mentioned above) and the way in which his research has been employed in recent scholarship by for instance Neisser and Knappet.[199] It focuses on perception of the environment and the way in which it influences behaviour, also known as the ecological approach to perception or as ecological psychology. The second are theories on perception of the environment and *Dasein* (as developed by Heidegger) or phenomenology of perception, and the influence of Heidegger's theory of *Dasein* on recent studies concerning materiality and perception such as by Latour, Ingold, Harman, and Thomas.[200] The third theory adresses the psychological processing of perception-layers in response to the environment (Dretske and Kahneman).[201] The three theories are complementary and will together form the way objects are approached theoretically in this research.

The perspective of ecological psychology has many benefits to object perception studies, although it has until recently only been little regarded in archaeology (as opposed to for example the writings of Bourdieu). *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (1979), Gibson's ground breaking work on direct perception, argues that people perceive the world directly in terms of its manifest structure, by means of the active pickup of ecological information from the environment.[202] Each individual is considered an active agent, but the way in which this is produced and the way in which an agent produces his or her reality is by means of the movement of his perceiving body in the environment.[203] The environment thus has primary qualities, on which human bodies reflect in accordance to what is observed in their

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that which mental constructs people as sentient creatures bring into the world, see Jackson 1977, 4.

[199] See Gibson 1979, Neisser 1987a and 1987b, and Knappet 2005.

[200] See Heidegger 1968 and 1971a; Latour 2004; Ingold 2013, 2008 and 2007a; Thomas 2006 and 1991; Harman 2002 and 2005.

[201] See Dretske 2002 and Kahneman 2011.

[202] Gibson 1979.

[203] Because of its stress on visual aspects and optical inferences as picked up from the environment (a simplicity principle which denies perception as being based on underlying process mechanisms) it can also be related to structural information theory, which investigates the way in which the human visual system organises a raw visual stimulus into objects and object parts. To human beings, a visual stimulus often has a single clear interpretation athough, in theory, any stimulus can be interpreted in numerous ways, see Leeuwenberg and van der Helm 2013.

immediate surroundings. This implies that perception is not the achievement that the mind has on the body, but of the organism as a whole within the environment; the world becomes a meaningful place for an individual because it is lived in rather than by means of having been constructed.[204] Direct perception is important because it emphasises the vital role of the environment and its abilities (affordances) for human projection, symbolism, and the formation of concepts and meaning.[205]

The second perspective in order to better understand an object's use and perception within its context is derived from theories often headed under the so-called 'phenomenology of perception'.[206] Numerous different theoretical approaches exist that can be headed under the term phenomenology, however in general it is described as an interpretative approach which pursues to define the underlying essential qualities of human experience and the world in which that experience takes place.[207] Phenomenology as philosophical theory pays attention to the nature of consciousness as actually experienced, not as is pictured by common sense or by the philosophical traditions. Experiences are not like objects in a box; they happen out there somewhere and are shaped by the interlocking of the human body perceiving his surroundings.[208] Central to phenomenological

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[204] Also referred to as 'visual kinesthesis', see Still and Good 1998, 50. This environment is real and physical, however, it is reality constituted in relation to the beings whose environment it is See Ingold 2000, 168.

[205] And related hereto the significance of the environment as a holistic totality for perception and behaviour.

[206] Phenomenology is a difficult term to adopt, as it has been practised in various guises for centuries. It was first mentioned as a movement during the early 20th century and was advocated by Edmund Husserl (1858-1938). However, as a philosophy, it was expanded by means of theories forwarded by Martin Heidegger, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Maurice Merleau-Ponty. The discipline of phenomenology as currently used may be defined as the study of structures of experience, or consciousness. When taken literally, phenomenology is the study of "phenomena": appearances of things, or things as they appear in our experience, or the ways in which we experience things, thus the meanings things have in our experience. This concept was introduced as a movement mainly by Husserl. The pivotal works on experience and perception are by Merleau-Ponty and Heidegger, see Merleau-Ponty 1964; Heidegger 1961. It is now and again shared under the denominator of phenomenological studies. Important studies which have shaped the way archaeology looks at phenomenology are by Tilley 2004, Thomas 2006, and Barret 1994. Although these scholars also focus on relational networks of being, the approach of these archaeologists centre around the social construction of this and ignore the physical aspects of the world. It accounts for a one-sided view of phenomenology where perception is seen as a purely cultural construction without the workings of the environment. In the face of certain arguments (see e.g., Thomas 2004, 26-7; 2006), I do not believe we should not acknowledge intrinsic qualities of either things or the environment or the human being itself for that matter.

[207] It was therefore closely linked to other interpretative ways of knowing e.g., extentialism and hermeneutics.

[208] With Heidegger, the environment is a central concept, albeit in a less pragmatic manner when compared with Gibson.

thought is the assumption also advocated in this dissertation: that people and world are intimately related in a way whereby each makes and reflects the other. Perception within this view is a vital element in how the human mind and its environment interact in the production of knowledge. Such views are not only attractive on a philosophical level (because of the focus on experience and because it withdraws from subject-object dichotomies), or as a way of explaining how people become aware of the world around them, it also provides a clear perspective in which the relational, the interdependencies, affordances and the mutual influencing connections of human and non-humans and humans and environment come together in the creation of an experience. It can therefore be regarded evident that this can help significantly in providing a wider understanding of Aegyptiaca, because it views them within this approach by default as part of a totality. Experience in this sense, is the key word for understanding the world as a totality.[209] Although the term phenomenology, due to its multiplicity within disciplines and approaches might better to be avoided, the use of theories concerning intentionality and consciousness within the use and perception of objects, and the developments done within the field of phenomenology (or philosophy of mind), are nontheless of great importance for the current undertaking.[210]

Of these approaches the most important for this undertaking is Heidegger's philosophy on being (*Dasein*), because of his focus on things in lived experience, on viewing experience as experience-in-context, and because of his conviction that within this experience there is more than meets the eye. Heidegger in particular believed that being was pre-intellectual, but that modern society had clouded that immediate contact with existence.[211] His analysis of *Dasein* as Being-in-the-world offers a critique on the subject-object relationship from the perspective of everyday experience. Rather than thinking of actions as based on belief, Heidegger described, notably in his most influential publication entitled *Sein und Zeit* (published n 1927), that which in fact goes on in people's everyday life while coping with things and

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[209] Phenomenology looks into practices and experience, natural phenomena and people. It does not look into that which differentiates them, but into that which makes them all coherent, see Dreyfus and Hall 1992, 3.

[210] Phenomenology as applied nowadays is more directed at the working of the senses (what it means to feel sensations). It is indeed better to speak of philosophy of mind. This broader term attempts to structure various types of experience (e.g., perception, intentionality, thought, memory, imagination, emotion. See Guttenplan 1994, 1-27.

[211] In Heidegger's view, the world already exists before someone tries to reflect upon it, see Sharr 2007, 26-7.

the way in which people are socialised into a shared world.[212] Artefacts and the material world play a pivotal role within this theory, in which human reflexive practices arise in the everyday care for objects, in being around them, and in trying to respond to their challenges.[213] Simple skills such as using a hammer or walking into a room have the power to make sense of the world and to find a way about in the public environment, testifying once again how intertwined and how powerful the interplay between objects, humans, and the environment is.[214] Heidegger's philosophy offers a relevant perspective to frame the current inquiry by his focus on coping with everyday life instead of reflecting upon its various components. It therefore offers exactly that holistic viewpoint believed to be essential for conceptualising Aegyptiaca. Secondly, his ideas help to deal with the second proposed aim of the dissertation, namely studying the (material and social) properties hidden in the experience of Egyptian objects (this will be further discussed in part 3.3). Furthermore, his attempt to overcome scholarly projections on how the world works is in line with the central concerns of this thesis.[215]

In respect however to the subject of environment that is of central concern to this dissertation, we must discuss how this was conceptualised within Heidegger's framework. Being-in-the-world seems to form the key of how people encounter life and make sense of the world, it is not something formed only from inside or only from outside, but it is formed through being. However, a question that remains unanswered with regards to this theory, is what that world exactly is that *Dasein* lands in? Heidegger argued the world to be a totality of being, but he remained rather ambiguous about the world.

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[212] See Dreyfus and Hall 1992, 2.

[213] See Heidegger 1962, 93. This most interesting thought clearly resonates the issue this thesis has with regard to Egyptian artefacts i.e,, his equipment or tool-thesis. It greatly influenced the many scholars who looked with renewed interest at the power of objects in the life of people (Brown 2001). Being of relevance, too, to the way in which this thesis deals with the perception of Egyptian objects Heidegger's theory will be more extensively discussed in 3.3. Kahneman can be considered to belong to the school of cognitivists and Noë to the school of 'ecologists'. According to the former the brain is responsive to the environment while according to the latter it is environmentally located. Both views are not contradictory, and should rather be seen as complementary.

[214] However, those actions surpass an interpreted world as there is a pre-ontological experience in an experienced world in which many realities become obscured, see Heidegger 1962, 405.

[215] It must thus be stipulated, that whereas Heidegger proposed his phenomenology as the foundation of *all* philosophy, it will be restricted here in order to rethink objects and experience. Husserl, the first to engage in the study of phenomena, was in search of the formal qualities of the concrete reality which human beings recognise as their experience. Here 'form' or 'formal' means the essential immanent in the particular, see Natanson 1973, 4.

Heidegger's *Dasein* does take place in a real world, a world with nature, gravity, trees, molecules, and temperature and although people cannot perceive it unmediated, it does not mean that it does not exist.[216] Although the level of perception is the way in which this research wants to review objects, it is important that the physical world should not be disregarded as something *only* relative to experience.

In this way however, Hedegger's theory brings a balance and forms an addition to Gibson's theory on direct perception. Gibson entirely rejected the unconscious inferences within perception, while he was convinced of the fact that all necessary information was contained within the visual information available to observers as they explored the environment. Albeit not fallacious, Gibson's theory omitted the complexities in stratification and hierarchy that come with perception.[217] For instance, he did not discuss intentionality of people within direct perception.[218] Another theory besides *Dasein* brings nuance to Gibson's direct perception (without abandoning the influence of the environment on the human mind) and to that of Heidegger's theory alike, which is the work of Daniel Kahneman.

Kahneman does illustrate the way in which these different layers of intentional and unintentional perception could work within everyday behaviour and decision making. In his book '*Thinking, Fast and Slow*' he attempts to describe the interpretative and perceptive qualities of the brain within the psychology of economic processes. What Kahneman concludes from this is that people do not base their decisions on rational thought and argumentation, but rather on context and experience-based fast thinking.[219] Moreover, he discovered that the brain processes information in two distinct manners, represented by brain system 1 (the fast brain), and brain system 2 (the slow brain).[220] System 1 is the unconscious, automatic responsive brain

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[216] For this particular criticism on Heidegger's theory, see Sloterdijk 2005, 223-41. 'The real world' is not meant as a naïve ontology, it is a critical realist ontology meant to stipulate that although people have no access to it, the world influences how we think. Putnam 1987 and Baskhar

[217] Sequences of perception exists as does a form of indirect perception which enables Gibson's direct perception. Criticism expressed by Rock's posthumously published *indirect perception* 1997; see also Treisman, Wolfe and Robertson 2012.

[218] It is argued that Gibson has no workable way of the required constraints consonant with his assumption that perception is direct, see Fodor and Pylyshyn 2002, 169. See also Dennet in Fodor and Pylyshyn 2002, 482-95.

[219] Kahneman 2011; for studies on the psychological state of becoming conscious or aware of phenomena, see Dretske 2002, 419-42.

[220] Kahneman's theory thus also balances phenomenological approaches, as these focus mainly on the structures of conscious experience.

which is active most of the time, because this is how people can quickly and cost-effectively (without much energy) cope with their lives. System 2 is the conscious, slow and interpretative brain, whereby a full mental effort is necessary in order to analyse the environment.[221] Kahneman illustrates that fast thinking is the system normally employed in daily life, which strengthens the theory of direct perception discussed above. The illustrations below (fig. 3.1) show how strongly adding a context affects how people think about things, and how human perception is therefore primarily dependent on it.
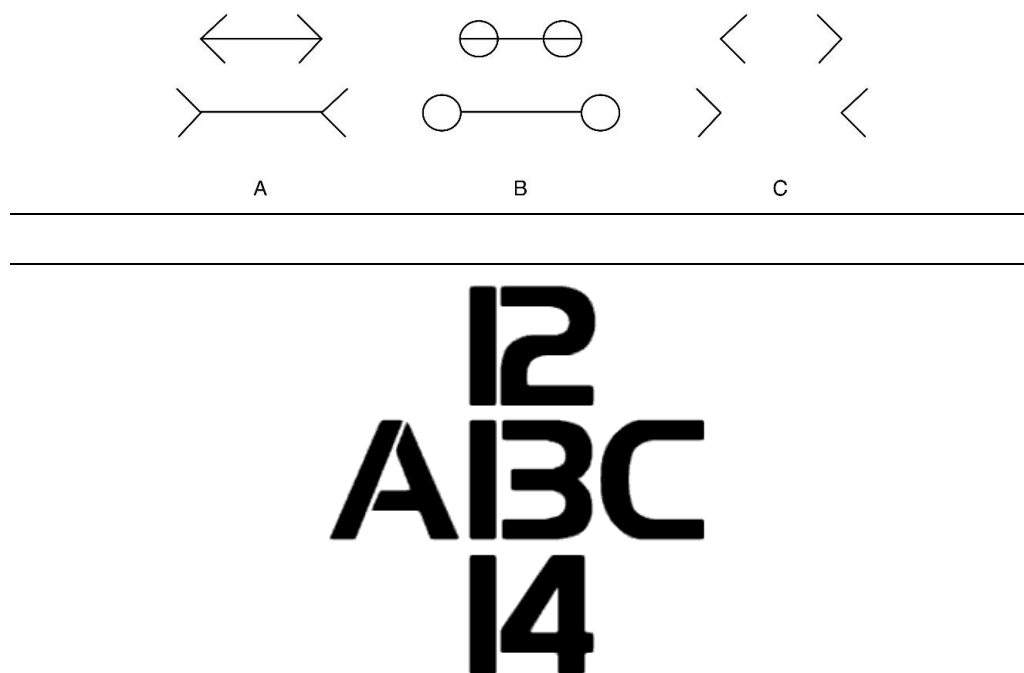
Fig. 3.1) The renowned Müller-Lyer Illusion and the 13-B priming illusion. They illustrate the way in which human perception primarily depends on context. Viewing things within a context (adding perspective lines as in the fig. above) or a background, is decisive of our perception of something, because the 'fast' brain dominates the slow system and will as soon as possible make sense of the situation. If the 13/B is preceded by a 12 it will be perceived as a 13, when preceded by an A it will be perceived as a B.

This has vast consequences for how things are perceived in general, and therefore also for how Aegyptiaca should approached in this research. Things

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[221] When looking at 41x13, the fast brain will recognise this as a multiplication. However, the problem is solved by means of System 2. System 1 has developed to easily scan the environment rendering the human mind is much more susceptible to the environmental influences.

that are perceived as 'common' in a certain context, will not be consciously picked up by brain system 2 and will therefore just be unreflectively dealt with, while when something appears to be 'striking' in a context, brain system 2 becomes activated and things are approached interpretatively and consciously.[222]

The theories of Gibson, Heidegger and Kahneman clearly complement each other as to the way in which perception and the environment should be incorporated into the research. They make clear how important it is to study things in their context, and within the totality of their environment when wanting to know the use and perception of an object. In different ways they argue that the human brain is a situated brain, and that it, and the objects within the world, make us think a certain way. Object meaning is made in context and from a context, in which the object and what it stands for have agency.

3.2.5 Epistemology

The realism that accompanies the acceptance of object agency has considerable implications on a philosophical level and on the ways of world-making as envisioned in this dissertation. How should these ways of thinking be incorporated on the level of knowledge theory? Arguing from the above sections on material agency and the power of the environment on the way people think, it has become clear that it is important to regard both the world as a reality and the world as a representation, because although only the latter is in the human mind, they are not completely separated entities. The study of Aegyptiaca, and on a larger level the study of the hermeneutics of concepts and objects, should be critically approached in an epistemology which accepts both the world as experienced and as independent reality. Epistemologically speaking, it is thus of great significance, regarding this framework, to become liberated from those postmodern views that relativise reality to human projection and re-allow realism into the interpretative frameworks (because although perception is relative, it is relative *to* something). Especially in a study on objects and their complexities in interpretation it is relevant not to lose sight of the realities the world consists

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[222] This ties in with the dichotomy noted in the beginning of this chapter and in chapter 2, that there is a conjunction in how archaeologists handle objects and how they were dealt with in the past. Archaeologists use brain system 2 to interpret objects, while they should invent a method to analyse how people in the past (with brain system 1) used objects. To use fast-thinking as a way of studying objects should be scope of research.

of, even if it cannot be perceived unmediated.[223] Although the world can never come to the human mind unmediated (it is always interceded by social, environmental, and linguistic concepts), the world as it is does affect the mediation. This also suggests there is much more entanglement between the world and the perceiver of the world. What we are able to know about the world tells us something about how that world is.[224] Therefore the rigid opposition between purely positivistic methodological monotheism and hermeneutic relativistic post-positivism as often encountered in archaeological research should be considered obsolete. What it necessary, especially for archaeological studies, is to arrive at a synthesis were empiricist methods and tools are not discarded and reality is not regarded as non-existent, nor should it be thought people are able to gain access to the past unmediated by the present. For a long time this has been considered an 'either or' discussion within archaeology, where either a realist or a relativist epistemology could be adopted. However, such a rigid opposition would only be an option when one considered hermeneutics a methodology and positivism a theory of knowledge, which they are not. Although the true complexity of the world might be largely inaccessible to human comprehension and although people are not able to grasp or communicate it through language this does not mean it is not there; there remains the existence and presence of something real, and it affects and constitutes our experience.[225] Therefore, in order to overcome the idea that humans and their world are two separate entities, to review ecological and phenomenological theories into a workable methodology, and to acknowledge both the real and the experienced as creators of the perception of human beings, critical realism is adopted as epistemological framework in this dissertation.[226] Critical realism (or internal realism) as firstly proposed by Bhaskar and by Putnam, then adopted and developed by scholars such as

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[223] We read: *"The tacit assumption by archaeologists, that artefacts exist as real things in the world, is essential to our ability to discover anything about the past from material remains."*, see Wallace 2011, 127.

[224] Castoriadis 1997.

[225] Deleuze's so-called 'new' empiricism, in which concepts are not simply abstractions or tools that are to serve in order to explain concrete phenomena, but are themselves extracted from a confrontation with the pre-conceptual realm of the empirical is a good example of this, see Gane 2009, 90.

[226] A philosophy of science called transcendental realism aims to specify the fundamental structure of reality. According to the original developper, *'given that science does and could occur, the world must be a certain way'*, see Bhaskar 1978, 29; 1998. From this critical realism emerged the general perspective of transcendental realism within the social sciences. Hilary Putnam arrived at a similar philosophy with his concept of 'internal realism. Putnam 1981;1987;1990 .

Danermark, Wallace, and McCullagh, is meant as a critical approach in order to reassess current theories and provide ontological boundaries.[227] It accepts the conscience of humans within their environment and gives as much agency to that environment as to the human being in that environment, as its ontological position stands between science and humanities and prioritises the investigation of the nature and workings of reality.[228] The framework enables the investigation of a reality that is not necessarily observable or capable of being experienced by humans, but is nonetheless real. This implies that reality has an objective existence but that our knowledge of it is conceptually mediated: facts depend upon a theory but they are not determined by theory. The idea of relativism in the sense that knowledge is socially produced and in the acknowledgement of the criticism of the empiricists/objectivists ideal in which science produces objective empirical observations, is accepted.[229] All knowledge is conceptually mediated and context-dependent, however, it is not all of equal value. Moreover, of further significance (as it embeds the notions forwarded by Latour, Heidegger and Gibson on an epistemological level) is that critical realism also emphasises the importance of holism and relationality, but in this case on the level of social analysis. Critical realism is sees the world as ontological relational and acknowledges the relational nature of human and non-human. The method to overcome, on a philosophical level, dualism and the Kantian divide that Heidegger and Latour attempted to bridge and in order to synthesise positivistic methodologies within a postmodern framework and integrate 'postprocessualism' and 'processualism' in archaeological research can in my view be established by turning to materiality in context, based on a critical realist epistemology.

3.2.6 Theoretical synthesis

Within the epistemology of critical realism, object agency and the theories of perception proposed by Gibson, Heidegger, and Kahneman can now be formed into a framework and an approach for this thesis. As argued in part 3.1, the nature of the dataset, context, and research questions ask for a methodological strategy which can be aided by recent scopes on objects, but nonetheless needs to find its own approach. It is not sufficient to state that

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[227] Danemark et al., 2002; McCullagh 2004; Munslow 2002; Bhaskar 1998; for a critical take on realism, see Putnam 1987.
[228] For the manner in which Bhaskar proposes human agency is criticized, see Pleasants 1999, 99-120.
[229] See Danermark et al., 2002, 202.

objects and their materiality must be the centre of the approach, because this study focuses on deconstructing and disentangling Egyptianness as a projected concept, as an object, and as a thing. Firstly, as a thing, and as the material behind the materiality, Egyptian artefacts should be taken seriously as Egyptian artefacts within the process of perception, because its 'realities' and its material properties have agency. This leads to a scope which must methodologically attempt to dichotomise the different properties that lie behind perception. Secondly, archaeology is not only about objects, but also about the way in which people thought about those objects and about their projections. Concepts should receive proper attention within materiality approaches and within this dissertation too. Thirdly, the direct environment is the context in which everything becomes meaningful; it is not just a background of isolated autonomously taken decisions. The environment as well as related physical and psychological fields in which human-human and human-thing interaction takes place should be at the centre of the research. Although influenced by objects and meaningful from a context, projections, symbols, and objects as vessels of meaning should not be discarded because the focus lies on materiality; rather they should be integrated in an approach. The emphasis in this sense is placed on the ways that people and their world are connected and how things such as cognition, value-making, and culture are dependent on things. The next part of this chapter (3.3) will therefore first review objects and concepts in the light of the theoretical framework and will subsequently construct a methodology in which Aegyptiaca can be analysed.

3.3 Rethinking objects

What are the consequences of this rethinking of the relations between objects and concepts concerning the way in which objects in general, and Aegyptiaca in particular, are studied? To solve the problems discussed in chapter 2 it is necessary to look at objects differently than is to be found in previous studies. The transformation within archaeology from a hermeneutic and symbolic framework to understand objects to materiality is of help in this reframing. This revolution within the field of archaeology unfolded rapidly; whereas the publication Hodder edited in 1989 edited book was still called: *The Meaning of Things, material culture and symbolic expression* and focused on the identification and interpretation of the symbolism of material artefacts, his 2011 book *Human-thing entanglement* centred on the interdependencies of objects and humans, and looked into *"the objects*

themselves and the way in which they are able to draw things and humans together".[230] As can be observed, the way in which to regard objects has changed considerably in only a decade: from the object as a symbolic vessel to the object as agent in cultural change. Olson phrases the regained realism in object analysis as follows: *"Things, objects, landscapes, possess 'real' qualities that affect and shape both our perception of them and our cohabitation with them."*[231] From this transition in thinking the following issues in particular are of direct significance to the present research: first, realising that a clear separation should take place between scientific and everyday dealings with objects, second, the divergence between the reality and the perception of objects and third, the realisation that these two factors are co-dependent and influence each other.

Returning to the hermeneutical problem posed in the onset of this chapter, the manner in which archaeologists interpret artefacts notably differs from the way they were interpreted in the past. An important aspect in rethinking objects realised by means of materiality-focused approaches, is therefore to searate between the real existence of objects and what they consist of, and they way in which human users perceive them. When archaeologists defined objects as Egyptian, it was founded on a genuinely different (visual, historical, and cultural) knowledge basis producing different mental associations which cannot be simply transposed onto the past. Moreover, it cannot be confirmed that Egypt on the whole was a defining characteristic or interpretation of such objects in the past. Heidegger calls this discrepancy in experience a difference between object and thing. In his view, a thing (a jug in his example) is its own independent thing, things which just are, while objects are thought of entities.[232] Thingness, moreover, can be defined on three levels i.e., the thing as proprietor of certain characteristics or features, the thing as a unity of a multiplicity of perceptions, and a thing as constructed fabric.[233] At a first level, the perception of objects can be observed as seeing a substance which has assembled certain features. For instance, a piece of glass never appears as just a piece of glass, but always

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[230] Furthermore, it is stated on the book cover that: *"Its focus is not on artifacts themselves but on the social contexts in which they are produced and give meaning…"*, see Chilton 1999; Hodder 1989, 2011.

[231] See Olsen 2003, 88.

[232] This is a very important division with regard to our study of Aegyptiaca, which can also be seen and understood in these two lights, depending on its shape and the viewer's knowledge.

[233] The relationality in perception is furthermore stipulated. as things are in fact gatherings and consist of multiple strands, see Heidegger original 1950, transl. 2002, 5-8.

as a number of characteristics such as smooth, transparent, coloured, thin, fragile etc. In this manner, the thingness itself and its features become obscured.[234] People never experience the different parts of things, but instead bundle all the various realities or traits, because the human brain assembles all aspects within perception in order to process the world in the most efficient way.[235] The totality of components of a thing makes how it becomes an object. When we see a certain object, such as for instance a blue woollen carpet, the way the woollen and blue is perceived is interdependent. It is also dependent on environmental phenomena such as lighting conditions for instance.[236] This means that people do not actually see the property (something belonging to a particular object) of the object as such, but only an aspect of its property dependent on the context of perception. What is thus of significance for trying to understand object-meaning on a perception level is that when an object is perceived to have a certain property (such as for instance a certain colour) we have to include in the description something about the perceptual context in which the object and property are seen.[237] This presents a renewed interest for materials in the sense as what they can evoke, something strongly emphasised by a scholar like Ingold. According to him we should redirect our attention from the materiality of objects to the properties of materials.[238] This means that it counts that

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[234] This is fundamental to Heidegger's phenomenological way of thinking, because the thing operates in a certain environment (e.g., people, language, nature, practices, perspective, colours, other objects, or the ready-at-hand association of values) it is always concealed from the real thing.

[235] This assembling leads to perceptions created by means of totalities: we do not hear a multitude of instruments, but music; we do not see a frame, a saddle, two wheels and a bell, but a bicycle. We hear a voice screaming, a door slamming, rain tapping etc. However as, in these cases, things become objects (or tools) the various material traits becomes obscured, see Merleau-Ponty,1962. Furthermore, objects in the present thesis means the assemblage of traits of a thing which are united in an interpretation, that which it gathers and draws in when looking at it. It is thus not the thing itself, but what it stands for, what it does when utilized and in unreflective coping. The thing itself is pre-interpreted, the object is interpreted.

[236] The blue colour of a carpet would therefore never be the same blue were it not a woolly blue, see Merleau-Ponty 1962, 313. It is argued here that a colour is never merely a colour, but the colour of a certain object: "*Even if our attention is focused on the colour alone, we will still find a meaning that emerges from its harmony or opposition to other colours and light levels in the field, and indeed from texture, shape and weight of the object whose colour it is.*", see Crowther 1982, 139.

[237] Perception is thus not only the object, but always the object-in-context In the case of the perception of colours, we need to include lighting context, distance, size, shape and structure. We cannot see properties as such but see a carpet by means of its colour aspect. Or we see the colour aspect of the carpet. Aspects serve to indicate that the colour we see can not entirely and accurately be described independently of the fact it is the colour of a specific object, and not some other, see Kelly 2007, 23.

[238] See Ingold 2007, 5; 12-3. On thoughts on the properties of surfaces, see Gibson 1979, 23.

something is made out of marble or wood, and it matters whether the stone is coloured white or black. Although people do not consciously perceive something is made of wood (they see a chair), it makes a difference for the perception of the chair that it is made of wood and not out of stone, it even affects the way people would use the chair.[239] These physical properties, and the context in which their properties come to the attention of people, provides contours to the perception of objects. These properties are moreover a vital factor in the way in which relations of entities are capable of structuring a network and how people and actions are 'drawn into particular entanglements'.[240] One of the objectives of this thesis is therefore to not only study the various parts of objects and the way in which these separate qualities can affect the totality of perception, but also to study the sum of those parts as something that influences the viewer in the way he thinks (both the materiality and representation of objects). This points to a divergence between thing and perception, the physical world and the way in which we think of it, but it clearly argues that the two largely affect each other. People for example can regard an object as sacred, or exotic, but base such an interpretation on the unconscious pre-interpretative perception of the material. This also relates to another component of Gibson's direct perception which is directed to object agency: the theory of affordances. Gibson's original thesis, as was discussed above, holds that people possess an unmediated ability to pick up of information from the surrounding world as an active and exploratory process, whereby the perceiving subject acquires knowledge of that world directly through affordances.[241] Affordance in this sense is the potential something has to trigger certain actions. Explaining this within the materiality paradigm as was sketched above it means that every object has affordance and the way in which an object is made and in which context it appears to a viewer will guide the specific action that evolves from a confrontation with an object.[242] However, as Gibson argued perception to be primarily a reaction to visual stimuli, this should be balanced by the account that objects can become fixed in

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[239] It will even help create how people develop the entire concept of a chair.
[240] Hodder 2012. Materiality is the agency of objects, but also the agency of its material properties. Olsen 2010; Ingold 2007.
[241] This implies that we know primarily by seeing and that we react on our surroundings. Gibson 1979.
[242] The form of objects and the way in which they are made and which space they occupy in an environment dictates the use as well as the way in which it is thought (or un-thought) about. A chair (form) requires a certain material in order to function. It can therefore consist of wood, but not of custard.

privileged ways, and that humans, even in its most direct and reactive way, are more than just a reacting organism.[243] As argued above, there exist layers of experience behind direct perception that are not consciously understood but nonetheless are able to influence decisions.[244]

Habitus and object perception
This latter claim is also stressed by Idhe when pointing out that socially constructed signs also can guide people.[245] When moving the agency of objects and their perception to a social situation, matters seem to become even more complex. In the same respect as discussed above it can be argued that things are not merely a reflection of the social, but that they also constitute the social. However, when regarding interacting people in the environment, with their expectations and mental frameworks, a layer of experience is added in which social learning partly guides use and perception. These social understandings consist of deeply ingrained values and habits (also called habitus) that are not experienced consciously. When considering perception in this way, meaning by including social complexities, it refers to the research carried out by Pierre Bourdieu.[246] His *habitus* and

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[243] Although affordances are a useful way of providing agency through objects, a danger exists of becoming ecological deterministic. The reason for this is that not everything is dictated by the environment. It is important to realise (as Knappet illustrates) that knowledge is not accessible from a physical form alone, but that it is derived from numerous associations and internal categorisations. An attempt has been made to overcome ecological determination by assessing the relation between people and their environment by means of transparency, relationality, and sociality. Affordances in this way i.e., what the object affords and the way in which human beings respond to that, provide a very useful concept with regard to the present study, see Knappet 2005, 47.

[244] However, these 'underlying construction of society' that structures our behaviour is also created to a certain extent somewhere 'outside' the body. Rules in this way are capable of structuring the social world and guide our encounter with worldy matters. According to phenomenology, our ability to apply rules must be grounded in a background capacity. We are governed by a causation in which our background ability to cope with the world can be causally sensitive to the specific forms of constitutive rules of the institutions without actually containing any representations of those rules. The practices themselves determine the content. For example, we know that when we step into a bakery and there are many people, we have to wait our turn. This is not a conscious thought but a direct social reaction to a physical situation. See Wrathall 2007, 71

[245] In this respect, Being-in-the-world actually means being-the-world-within a world This is the 'postphenomenological' approach as forwarded by Ihde. Here we are being-in-the-world within a culture, a step further in comparison with Merleau-Ponty where the research desire to search for something, apart from an experiencing body, can account for the culturally shared material hermeneutics and the way in which social rules play a role herein. Idhe 1993; 1999; Adams 2007, 1-5; Hasse 2008, 46-9; Vygotsky 1978, 33.

[246] Especially in his 1980 work ´*Le sens Pratique*'. It is compatible to the current framework as a social addition as Bourdieu argues that within society's fields (such as politics or science) there are a specific set of rules which are partly reflectedly and partly unreflectedly used by people. In each of these fields people develop a specific and unconscious way of perceiving, thinking, and acting in order to function (habitus).

doxa concepts argue in a similar vein as Heidegger (but now socially embedded) that fundamental but largely unconscious principles and values, which are taken as self-evident universals, are guiding our actions and thoughts.[247] Things however, in this sense also help shape people's thoughts on issues such as value, or on what is aesthetically pleasing, as well as that they are able to evoke specific social reactions. Although an object is originally Egyptian, it might not have been consciously perceived in this manner. Egyptian as a property however influenced the way other objects were perceived and used, and is an agent within in social learning and the creation, maintaining or chance of habitus. In this way it can contribute to the studying of social values and social related perceptions of artefacts that are of fundamental importance when analysing Roman houses and households. A statuette of Bes might not have been experienced Egyptian, but as something 'beautiful' or 'ugly' or 'expensive-looking' at the first confrontation. This experience is created by means of socially mediated (and therefore valued on social terms) values. It is still a statuette, but this factor is obscured by aesthetic judgement.[248] These aesthetic or social judgements are also concepts developed and negotiated from within a specific environment. They are of relevance to this research because Egyptian artefacts form a part of this network of social values too. This will be further discussed in chapter 5 (see below).

3.4 Rethinking concepts

In addition to objects, concepts also need to be 're-thought' within the theoretical framework. When using this particular term in the context of the Roman world, the first thing that springs to mind gaining access to concepts of Egypt are those which were employed in the literary sources. However, as will be made clear below this is highly problematic. As this is an archaeological study of Egyptian artefacts in a Roman context, it cannot consider literary concepts in the way they should be treated.[249] However, it is important to regard them in order to discuss in what way the concept of

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[247] See Bourdieu 1990, 52-5.
[248] Aesthetic judgements, or better judgements of taste, are also largely unreflectively dealt with and can be considered acts of social positioning, see Bourdieu 1984; Sepp and Embree (eds.) 2010; Casey 2010, 1-7; Toadvine 2010, 85-91; Tuan 1993, 1-31. They relate to more generally aesthetic experience and not so much target the appreciation of that which we now call art which has been regarded as an object of special significance over other objects. See Heidegger, 1957.
[249] On the mutual influences of concepts and objects as well as the use of texts and objects, see Mol (forthcoming 2015).

Egypt is applied, and whether that carries any useful indications as to how Egyptian objects were used. Briefly, when the concept of Egypt is employed in literary sources a wide range of registers are revealed. It can be observed for instance that Egypt as a concept is used when discussing Roman moral, as a counter-example of the Roman, as the Other versus the Self. However, Egypt was also regarded as grain-producer, as exotic, as a Roman province, as beautiful, mystical and a far away and highly developed culture.[250] Herodotus´ book II of *Histories* which was completely dedicated to Egypt is the most famous example of this, and tells both of an admiration and fascination as well as a real ethnographic interest in the country and its people. Furthermore the invention of writing was often ascribed to the Egyptians by for instance Plato, while Diodorus Siculus' first book of *Library of History* claims that the gods were first created in Egypt.[251] Such traditions speaking of admiration and descent however also seem to be leaning heavily on each other. As classical writers were quite aware of the writings of their predecessors, many sources seem to be a literary reaction to an earlier account.[252] Another tradition employed in the literary sources exploits the negative associations of Egypt, and seems to use Egypt as a counter-example in order to praise the civilisation of Rome. They therefore recount rather negatively about the country and it customs. The recurrent thought that the Egyptians worshipped of animals for instance, features prominently in Juvenal's 15th satire, often referred to by scholars in this context.[253] Cicero uses Egypt in a similar manner when writing about religion, mentioning the Egyptians (and the Syrians) as an example of uncivilised animal worshippers.[254]

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[250] For an in-depth study on the literary concepts of Egypt and their complexities, see Leemreize (forthcoming 2015)

[251] Plato *Philebus* 18b-c, Diodorus Siculus *Library of History,* I 9,6.

[252] Tait 2003, 35

[253] "*Who knows not, O Bithynian Volusius, what monsters demented Egypt worships? One district adores the crocodile, another venerates the Ibis that gorges itself with snakes. In the place where magic chords are sounded by the truncated Memnon,1 and ancient hundred-gated Thebes lies in ruins, men worship the glittering golden image of the long-tailed ape. In one part cats are worshipped, in another a river fish, in another whole townships venerate a dog; none adore Diana, but it is an impious outrage to crunch leeks and onions with the teeth.*" Juvenal *Satires*, 15. An example of how such accounts of Egypt were used to convey the perception of Egypt in scholarship see for instance Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984, 1852-2000.

[254] "*Very likely we Romans do imagine god as you say, because from our childhood Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Neptune, Vulcan and Apollo have been known to us with the aspect with which painters and sculptors have chosen to represent them, and not with that aspect only, but having that equipment, age and dress. But they are not* **known to the Egyptians and Syrians, or any of the almost uncivilised races**. ***Among these you will find a belief in certain animals more firmly established than is reverence for the holiest sanctuaries and images of the gods with us**.*" Cicero *De natura deorum* I, 29, 81.

The largest problem with using the ancient sources in this way to get a grip on possible employed concepts of Egypt in Roman society, is that it neglects the context of the story, the way in which Egypt is used to enforce a rhetorical argument, and the context in which the text was written. Writing in Greek or Latin, in Classical Greece or the Roman Empire for example, makes an incredible difference to the use and understanding of the concept of Egypt, however, there is more context to take into account even more important. For instance, the genres in which Egypt featured included a wide variety, such as satire, philosophy, and history; all with its own traditions concerning the use of particular structures and themes. Furthermore on the same note, although it is useful that Egypt was used by Cicero as the first example that came into his mind when he had to mention a less sophisticated culture, the context of his text focuses on the relativity of the appearance of the gods. Cicero means that although Apis looks like a bull, it does not mean that the Egyptians did not see him as a god because of this appearance, in the same way that his friend Velleius cannot imagine Juno without the appearance that he has learned to recognise her.[255] The context of both the purpose and the genre of the text should be taken into account therefore, when one wishes to gain proper access to concepts of Egypt.

Pursuing that, it seems that in all their variety the sources carry one overlapping similarity, which is that although Graeco-Roman writers were keen on using Egypt as a literary tool, they did not seem to carry particular interests in the country or its people.[256] It points to a difference in perception between Egypt as object and Egypt in text as well. Whereas Cestius built himself a pyramid in Rome to house his grave, Pliny mentions them

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[255] *"For we often seen temples robbed and images of gods carried off from the holiest shrines by our fellow country me, but no one ever even heard of an Egyptian laying profane hands on a crocodile, ibis or cat. What therefore do you infer? That the Egyptians do not believe their sacred bull Apis to be a god? Precisely as much as you believe the Saviour Juno of your native place to be a goddess. You never see her even in your dreams unless equipped with goat-skin, spear, buckler and slippers turned up at the toe. Yet that is not the aspect of the Argive Juno, nor of the Roman. It follows that Juno has one form for the Argives, another for the people of Lanuvium, and another for us. And indeed our Jupiter of the Capitol is not the same as the Africans' Juppiter Ammon."* Cicero, *de natura deorum*, I 29, 81-83. In this sense, in fact, he appeals to one of the central concerns of this dissertation about the relationship between subject, style, and perception.

[256] Tait 2003, 36. As Ucko and Champion note:"*The reality of whether classical knowledge of Egypt matched the apparent literary interest is a question, it is not just a matter of what evidence was available to them or a question of physical or linguistic access. There is a more fundamental problem of whether the classical world was really interested in ancient Egypt. Classical writers were keen to deploy Egypt, the Nile and its revered tradition of knowledge as literary motifs. But seldom (except maybe Herodotus) showed much interest in the people or the culture of Egypt.*" Ucko and Champion 2003, 11. These ideas are also confirmed by the research of Leemreize 2014, 56-82.

(referring to the country Egypt in this case) as: "*the pyramids – also in Egypt must be mentioned in passing, too: an unnecessary and stupid display of royal wealth.*"[257] Tastes differ of course, but looking at how Egypt features in the literary sources seems to denote a large gap between the rhetoric's and Egypt used visually in domestic everyday life. Concerning antique texts the approach to Ancient Egypt was largely prescribed by the particular context, or literary genre, within which Egypt was mentioned.[258] In its own unique way Egypt in literature was employed as a part of the self, a mirror, and a part of the Roman Empire. It therefore seems unlikely that such carefully employed literary *topoi* testifying of a large tradition in a literary context, were associations that emerged when people engaged with Egyptianised objects or saw a wall painting in an Egyptian style. Although this certainly does not mean that literary sources and physical remains are always two worlds apart, in the case of the concept of Egypt they do seem to represent two separate contexts. This means that the mental associations or concepts used when reflecting on Egyptian objects are different than the literary concepts. What does seem to correlate however, is that concepts concerning Egypt from the written sources are as manifold and as complex as the objects from this study and likewise, only the context in which the concepts are employed can elucidate their significance.[259] Concepts from historical accounts therefore, are a both a complexity that lies beyond the scope of this research as well as that they feature in quite different mental templates and frameworks in everyday experience. They also concern a quite specific influence. Whenever concepts are found in literature it means are consciously handled (in accordance with Kahneman's slow brain system). This, as argued above, is not a common way to deal with the objects that surround people. In everyday coping, people usually employ a very visual way of dealing with the world, and mental images are more likely to become associations than abstract and conscious notions.[260] Within direct perception such concepts do not reach the surface of conscious reflection. Furthermore, concepts employed in historical sources, such as the concept of the country Egypt as a literary construct for example, cannot be regarded

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[257] Pliny the Elder, *historia naturalis* XXXVI.75 cf. 82
[258] Tait 2003, 36.
[259] See Leemreize (forthcoming 2015). See also Manolaraki 2013 specifically aimed to the Nile as a literary concept.
[260] The associations with the concept of Egypt (when one is asked: what do you think about when you think of Egypt?) is much more likely to be 'pyramids' (in a present-day situation), than an abstract notion such as 'mystical' or 'old'. This is the difference between written sources, a slow brain process, and perception in daily life, a fast brain process.

in the same context as object study, it has its own context of emergence and use.

Because objects and concepts are able to affect each other, they should be regarded as interdependent features.[261] Things are not just symbolic projections as has been stated above, but symbolic projections do play a role in perception. Although ideas are shaped within a certain environment, they are not merely things that surround people without any reflection being deployed. And although the concepts of Egypt as we know them from literary accounts might not have seem to be very influential with regard to object perception in this particular case, this does not mean that there were no concepts employed at all when experiencing Egyptian material culture. A danger included within taking up a materiality perspective, is to grant too much agency to objects and disregard the concepts, mental associations, and symbols altogether, while they nonetheless form a vital component of perception. Furthermore, the observation that now and again Romans thought things were Egyptian when they were not, and vice versa, forms a clear argument of the necessity to also include concepts within the framework.

Concepts are mental representations, which the brain applies in order to denote classes of things in the world, they mediate between the world and the brain and help to structure human's existence. Concepts and categories show no real static or necessary features to emerge, rather they seem to be specified by probabilistic features and develop very heterogeneously.[262] This means that in addition to a direct inference (this is a dog), experiencing something involves a use of categories, classifications, and representational awareness of the kind of object the mind is directed towards. These features are present in the object of perception as actualities; they are present by

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[261] In perception, however, seeing an object and thinking about one differs. This disparity according to Coates lies in the fact that visual experiences contain an additional component, a distinctive phenomenal aspect that is absent in mere thought. We should acknowledge that seeing is also a cognitive process, whereby concepts can represent their surroundings and vice versa. Seeing involves a classification, an awareness of kinds and even at the most basic level of consciousness people have an idea of how a particular experience differs from other past and other potential experiences. We thus also allow cognitive processes to play a role within perception, see Coates 2007, 15.

[262] The 'prototype theory' proved that within concepts and categorization, certain members of a category are more central than others. For example, when asked to present an example of the concept furniture, a chair is more frequently mentioned than a stool. Subsequently an environmental and visual influence in the prototype theory of concepts has been established. Rosch 1973 (on natural categories); 1975; Rosch and Mervis 1975; Neisser 1987. On the development of conceptual structures, see Keil 1987, 175-200.

virtue of being imagined.[263] Mental phenomena - ideas within various states of consciousness - furthermore show 'aboutness', or directness, directed towards objects in the world. Belief, mathematical thinking and imagination are always directed towards objects or state of affairs.[264] Within perception, the concept of Egypt and the object Egypt can be separated as thinking about something and seeing something. Seeing the colour blue or smelling coffee, feeling the woollen carpet; these are all sensory aspects of experience which people can become aware of. Concepts in contrast, as argued by Coates, are essentially dispositional in nature; they are involved in the exercise of intrinsically representational states of mind, states of mind that are directed onto possible states of affairs in the world.[265] They nonetheless possess the power to trigger expectations concerning the function and behaviour of a certain object.[266] For instance, a changing concept can change the world without that world actually transforming. The concept earth, for example, when it changed from flat to round, did not change the real world, but it completely altered its representation with huge cultural consequences. Concepts also have the power to alter society by materialising a social construction, such as for instance the concept money.[267]

In terms of this particular dataset, the concept of Egypt or the idea Egypt in the mind could be directed to the object Egypt in physical space. However, the concept of Egypt was also influenced by means of objects (see 2.5, where it was noted that the idea of what was Egyptian was very much formed with regard to visual stimuli such as museum objects and movies etc.). It consists of an interplay, because the way that the *idea* Egypt influenced the materialisation of the *thing* Egypt also had its effect on the idea of Egypt which again affected the object etc.[268] Again this should be seen in a network

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[263] See Sellars 1978, 422.

[264] See Tieszen 2005, 184-5. Or to put it simply: every mental phenomenon includes something as object within itself, albeit not all in the same way. In presentation something is presented, in judgement something is affirmed or denied, in love loved, in hate hated, in desire desired etc., see Moran 2000.

[265] See Coates 2007, 12.

[266] For example, I can imagine lying on the woollen carpet and feeling the material, or sitting on a wooden chair or the experience of drinking that cup of coffee when I see it.

[267] For instance, the concept of money. Society is therefore something very real and not, as many post-positivist state, a social construction. Social forms are a necessary condition for any intentional act and their causal power establishes their reality, see Bhaskar 1998, 27.

[268] Even concepts (as well as categorisation and classifications e.g., of Egypt and Aegyptiaca) as discussed in chapter 2 are influenced by means of direct perception and affordances from the environment, although less directly when compared with perception. A category is always defined by a reference to a cognitive model, However, they are so closely connected to affordances they seem perceptually given. On the move from direct perception to conceptual

of objects and ideas, where more concepts and objects shaped the ideas and the materialisations related to Egypt, and in which the context was guiding. People do not see an object, or interpret it as an isolated feature; when a statue of a sphinx in a garden is observed, then it is regarded in that garden and with the garden's contents. Concepts should thus be seen as ecologically and socially situated cognitive associations.[269] Conceptualising something is carried out by means of a mind in an environment. If concepts are mediated by means of society and the environment (social and material) however, it might be possible to study the relation between them.

In this respect, it is interesting to look into the way in which we think of objects in general. How can we know when things are taken for granted and when something is consciously reflected upon? How do objects appear to people? In part 3.3 it was observed that material properties are not experienced as parts but as a totality of our involvements with the object as well as its totality of representations, connotations, and properties. However, more factors play a role within the perception of objects which are of significance to the study of the use and perception of objects. As became clear from Kahneman's work, people largely deal unreflectively with the objects and their surroundings. Objects are merely there. However, people do occasionally deal with the world in a reflective and interpretative way. While Kahneman relates this to two different brain systems, Heidegger refers to it as ready-to-hand (*Zuhandenheit*) versus present-at-hand (*Vorhandenheit*).[270] Ready-to-hand in this case represents the everyday untheorised (or pre-interpretative) dealing with objects as a totality of involvements. Presence-at-hand is thus not the way in which things in the world are usually encountered.[271] Present-at-hand is for example when an archaeologist

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structures, see Neisser 1987, 11-25. In reference to the discussion on Aegyptiaca and their classification, scholarly concepts are closely related and come about in the same way concepts and categories made in everyday life do. Their difference is social and based on authority.

[269] As was argued before, it means that also cognition is not something that is formed independently in the brain. Thinking in general is inseparable from doing because it is a social activity that is situated in the nexus of ongoing relations between people and the world. Noë 2009; Lave 1988. See also Merleau-Ponty 1962, 24.

[270] Heidegger, 1962.

[271] Even then it may be not fully present-at-hand, as it now show itself as something to be repaired or disposed, and therefore a part of the totality of our involvements. In this case its Being may be seen as unreadiness-to-hand. Heidegger outlines three manners of unreadiness-to-hand: Conspicuous (damaged, e.g. a lamp's wiring has broken), Obtrusive (a part required for the entity to function is absent e.g., we discover the bulb is missing), Obstinate (when the entity impedes us in pursuing a project e.g., the lamp blocks my view of

observes, classifies, and interprets artefacts, when something becomes present for the observer and when it is theorised and interpreted. These states of perception are a useful way of thinking about how objects can be encountered, and that these encounters fluctuate. However, when the ready-at-hand perception (and Kahneman's fast brain system) is the typical way of dealing with one's surroundings, how do things move to present-at-hand situations? Heidegger provides the example of the hammer, which in a normal situationis just used in order to achieve something, not consciously interpreted as a hammer (which would actually obstruct a successful use).[272] However, when the hammer breaks it loses its usefulness and appears as merely there, present-at-hand. When a thing is revealed as present-at-hand, it stands apart from any useful set of equipment, and we then become aware of it (in Kahneman's terms it slips to brain system 2). Furthermore, we become likewise aware of the network it exists in (all the things, actions, and people required to repair and make the hammer work again) and the complex interdependencies the object is involved in. However, while Heidegger only uses the example of a broken tool, more examples can be mentioned where things become present-at-hand. For example: when objects are not broken, but differently shaped than considered common, or when something appears outside a regularly used context. When it is somehow deviant to the accepted norm which allows an unreflective coping or an unconscious focus on its use and the goal to be achieved.

In order to describe the entanglements objects bring together for a society, Hodder presents the illustration of Caselli's concert piano at the Mesolithic site of Lepenski Vir (see fig. 3.2).[273] I wish to use the very same illustration in order to point to the difference between the awareness and taken-for-grantedness in perception. Everything exposed in the painting: the huts, the tools, the clothing, are used unreflectively, in the way Heidegger's ready-at-hand thesis proclaims.

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the computer screen). On conscious experience (awareness as present-at-hand condition), see Dretske 2002, 419-42.

[272] Dennet is skeptical in being able to establish the moment in which we can identity perceptual (as opposed to conceptual) and states by means of evaluating their contents. *'The question of exactly when a particular element was consciously (as opposed to unconsciously) taken admits no arbitrary answer.', see* Dennet 2002, 494.

[273] See Hodder 2012, 2, fig. 1.1.

Fig. 3.2) A piano at the Mesolithic site of Lepenski Vir. Source:
G. Caselli; from Hodder 2012, fig. 1.

The men and women do not focus on what is in their hands, their tools are just used, the huts are not looked at, the clothes are worn. Everything has a place within this context which allows people to merely respond to situations instead of thinking them through. The piano, on the other hand, is out of place. Within this context it has precipitously moved to a present-at-hand situation (it would not have been so in a piano shop or concert hall), like Heidegger's broken hammer. Not fitting into the context, it suddenly becomes reflectively and consciously dealt with as an object. It becomes interpreted, its material is thought about, and its presence triggers an active response. The above figure therefore clearly elucidates the problem of Egyptian artefacts in Roman perception: are Egyptian objects (always) the concert piano of Pompeii? If so, under which circumstances? Or do they perhaps perceptively belong (or start to belong- within the process of integration) to the fishing nets, scrapers, baskets and tools; as a part of the whole and the ordinary, just unreflectively used. Which conditions causes an object to move from the unreflective to the reflective side of perception? Form, material, the viewer, or context? A combined study of all these features and their inner relations regarding the perception of objects-in-contexts is considered the prerequisite for the methodology developed in this chapter.

3.5 Approach, deconstructing and re-placing Egypt in Roman Pompeii

From the above theoretical discussions on the study of Aegyptiaca in Pompeii the following issues should be taken into account as a theoretical basis of the methodology. They concern the way in which objects are unconsciously dealt with and thus form the substrate of our beings, thoughts, and doings, the way we project ideas onto objects, and the way that objects only become meaningful and act out agency from a specific environment. A way should be found in which these thoughts on object-perception and agency can be translated into a methodology in which Aegyptiaca can be studied with the aim of providing them a proper place in the Pompeian material culture. The approach asks for a two-fold analytical treatment. First, the perception of Egyptian artefacts should be separated from the way we (scholars) think of them. Moreover, an attempt should be made to arrive at a Pompeian perception of these objects in which the relation to Egypt is explored instead of exploring them *as* Egyptian. This is step one, a deconstruction of the category Aegyptiaca. The second step is to re-place the objects and review the objects not as specifically Egyptian, but as objects that have a meaning inherent to the environment in which they were used (in this case Pompeian houses) and as a totality of involvements. According to the theoretical framework, objects should be regarded holistically; their value emerges in a web of other entities and in a specific context of being and practices. This is step 2, what will be called place-making. These two steps complement each other and are both necessary, but should be treated in two separate parts. Whereas the first part of the methodology separates concepts from objects as a methodological deconstruction, to overcome the modern projections of scholars and to gain access to the layers of perception, this is not in accordance with the adopted framework which argued that subject and object are in fact no independent concepts. The second part therefore uses the complexity of perception and complements the research in paying justice to the totality of meaning-making and to being-in-the-world in which subject, object and consciousness cannot be separated but indeed constitute each other; only in context of use things can be properly valued. Both methodologies will be briefly introduced and their value for the analysis of the dataset will be discussed in the coming sections.

3.6 Methodology I: Deconstructing 'Aegyptiaca'

3.6.1 Associations between objects and concepts

The interdependency and mutuality within the construction of objects and concepts are illustrated above. However, albeit ontologically connected, they must not only be methodologically separated in the first analytical part in order improve the starting point with regard to regard Egyptian objects, but also to (partly) overcome preconceptions within interpretation held by archaeological classifications. Which associations did Pompeians have when they perceived certain objects and where did those associations derive from?

As inferred from chapter 2, the current associations of an archaeologist with these objects played a crucial part in the way in which the object was interpreted. As Egypt was in such cases always the first interpretation, it therefore automatically constituted the most important characteristic of the object, which was unproblematically transferred to a Roman context. However, it has become apparent, that present-day associations with Egypt, Egyptian artefacts, and Egyptian styles played a too dominant role in the interpretation of Roman Aegyptiaca. In addition to the fact that their original owners not always perceived such objects in an interpretative realm, the objects also existed in completely different associative networks. Instead of automatically regarding objects as Egyptian and interpret them accordingly, the connection that artefacts had with Egypt should be questioned and be critically analysed.

3.6.2 Deconstruction

Intrinsic meanings do not exist, but are mediated by means of social interaction and through coping with them in an environment.[274] Instability and flux should therefore be the constituents of that which is thought of as an object. The static interpretations of Egyptian artefacts as well as the structural denial of their contextual, conceptual and material heterogeneity should be renounced before the objects can be re-interpreted from the level of contextual perception. A thorough deconstruction by means of a disentanglement of the concepts and objects that comprise the 'category' Aegyptiaca is necessary in order to see whether there are conceptual connections between objects, concepts, material, and contexts. Only those entities present in the immediate visual environment of Pompeii can therefore be accounted for. This will be the goal of chapter 4. The analysis

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[274] Bourdieu 1990, 50-6

will produce a relational network which is incomplete by default (because only archaeologically inferred entities can be included, as it is unsure how for example concepts from intellectual discourses and reflections in literature played a part in this process in Pompeii) but nonetheless, it is useful to disentangle the deeply entrenched concepts surrounding Aegyptiaca. What visual basis is found in Pompeii that might have affected perception, and how were these used? What associations existed with other objects or material in the immediate surroundings? Pompeii is exceptionally suitable for this kind of research because its context and contents have been preserved to an unprecedented level within the Roman world. Although not a "Pompeii premise" as once argued, the site is indeed an ideal archaeological playground to illustrate the complexities involved within the understanding of material culture.[275] It is claimed that comprehensively examining these complexities between concepts and objects is not only worthwhile with regard to this particular case study, but to archaeological research in general.

3.6.3 Relationality

Whereas the term networks already appeared a fair amount of times within this chapter, a few words need to be said concerning networks and relationality. Thinking in a relational way assumes that a network approach should be adopted within the methodology. However, the way the relational thinking and the separation of concepts and objects occur in this thesis should not be considered as anything like the formal approach currently and increasingly employed and developed within archaeological research.[276] Formal network approaches (those that use networks in a quantitative way such as within Social Network Approaches, complexity theory, or space syntax), and the ideas presented in this chapter, however, share the assumption that relationships not only exists between entities (e.g., human beings, objects, ideas) but that they are omnipresent, important, and worthy of being the object of study.[277] As with numerous other recent network approaches within archaeology this research sees the benefits of graph visualisation. However, the network as it is employed in this thesis will merely be a qualitative approach in order to illustrate existing relations between 'Egypt(s)' concepts and objects. It is not to order complex data; it is

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[275] Allison, 'not the Pompeii Premise' in reaction to Shiffer. See Allison 1992, 49-56.
[276] See Brughmans 2013; Mol 2014; Knappet 2011.
[277] See Brughmans 2013, 625; Wasserman and Faust 1994.

used to show the complexity of the data. There is thus no quantitative analysis, the focus is on the deconstruction of static concepts, to bring in more dynamism in interpretation in the way illustrated above, and to show the connections between different entities: between images and objects, and between objects and subjects. Combining concepts, contexts, and objects in an approach to observe the way in which they relate means that the networks as conceived in this research are called multi-entity, two-mode, or bipartite networks (see also part 4.1).[278] This kind of network approach is increasingly applied in material culture studies, for example by Gell, who applies it for the use of motifs in Marquesian art within different social groups.[279] Furthermore, scholars like Knappet, Gosden, and Watts study the relations between images, texts, and objects (Knappet 2008); objects and stylistic inferences (Gosden 2004, also Gell 1998); and the way objects are regarded semiotically within networks (Watts 2008).[280] Although not identical to that which is proposed with regard to this research, the approaches are helpful to shape the network as envisaged for the deconstruction of Aegyptiaca. Approaches such as the above have dual benefits in the sense that they are able to rise above the separation between the study of material, image, and idea by means of integrating them in the same network, and because they constitute a better way to illustrate how artefacts and images slip in and out of objecthood and thingness.[281] Furthermore, it is claimed that such relational thinking is capable of leading to a deeper understanding of the overall character of networks as human and non-human collectives (as proposed by ANT).

Although multi-entity networks are useful, there are a few drawbacks that have to be taken into account within 'thinking through' them. The largest shortcoming is that when a graph or a network is drawn, it is flawed the very moment it is completed because it represents a static image of what is in reality a highly dynamic process. The meaning of an artefact in these networks is created and sustained by its material, contextual and conceptual relations, and they form the basis and catalyst for its change of meaning. There is a difference between using relationality as a theory and using networks as a method. While relationality assumes a continuing connection between entities, the visualisation hereof is incapable of grasping this. Visually there is something deeply wrong in the way networks are pictured

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[278] See Watts 2004, 248-50; Knappet 2011, 61-97.
[279] See Gell 1998, 155-215.
[280] See Watts 2008, 187-208; Knappet 2008; 2011; Gosden 2004, 35-45.
[281] See Knappet 2008, 146; 2008, 138-56.

since we are never able to use them to draw enclosed and habitable spaces and envelopes, they are always continuing and relating to other.[282] However, although all models that attempt to capture complex situations are inherently oversimplifying and incorrect, they can nonetheless be helpful. Multi-entity networks are therefore useful as they constitute a first bridge of the gap between empirical case studies and overarching theories; they allow a way to look at the way in which the meaning of artefacts is created in a relational instead of a categorical way.

The most significant advantage in adopting a relational approach is that Egypt in this case will serve as a heuristic device, not as a classification. The research objective moves from objects studied as Egyptian to studying objects in relation to Egypt, which means withdrawing from the *a priori* proclamation that things were automatically experienced as Egyptian. Relational thinking furthermore allows more dynamism into the interpretation process, taking account of the materiality of an object (as in the agency of an object itself and its material properties) as well as its semiotic values (what is thought of that object, by the present-day and ancient public).[283] In this way, it becomes possible to unravel what lies behind the choices that people made for certain objects, how these objects are appropriated, how they relate to concepts present in a society, and how the integration of 'foreign' objects work on a local level. What the deconstruction of Aegyptiaca will try to prove, is that material, objects, and space are always instable and unfixed phenomena; they cannot be objectively determined or subjectively imagined, but should rather be seen as processual and relational.

3.7 Methodology II: Place-making

Deconstruction, however, is not something that needs to be achieved, but something that needs to be overcome.[284] Meaning is imminent in the relational contexts of people's practical engagement with their lived-in environments, and it is the lived environments (and *as* lived environments) -

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[282] See Latour 2011, 796-810; Ingold 2000, 189.

[283] Gosden 2004; Watts 2004; Knappet 2005; 2008. In order to study the use and perception of Egyptian objects in all their complexity it is important to include the meaning and associations evoked by means of the object itself as well as and its material properties; the human intuitive associations and interpretations. However it is also relevant to consider the conscious values, concepts and places that accompany an object, as this allows intentionality to enter into the interpretation process. What did the viewer have in mind when displaying certain objects versus its reaction among viewers.

[284] See Latour 2004, 11.

the houses in which the Egyptian artefacts are used and become meaningful- that must be scrutinised.[285] Egyptian objects cannot be isolated from anything else that takes place in the lives of people dealing with these specific artefacts. Therefore the approach to Aegyptiaca within this thesis should be twofold. After deconstruction, a re-placing of the artefacts in their use-context is required. Whereas chapter 4 will place artefacts in a broader perceptual framework that looks at the relations and connections to Egypt, not *a priori* regarding objects as Egyptian, chapter 5 will seek to provide a framework for these uses and perception by means of a contextual analysis of object and place. This will be carried out according to the principles of place-making, a strategy with a phenomenological basis mostly applied in the field of planning and design. For this thesis, however, it will serve a hermeneutic purpose and will be carefully modelled in order to fit the research's aims.[286] First however, the theoretical background of the use-context and of place-making will be briefly explained by means of the phenomenon of dwelling, along with the specific tools and methods it comprises.

3.7.1 Dwelling

Dwelling is an important concept to consider within the context of place-making, as it deals with the theoretical foundation of the most important contextualisation of this study: houses.[287] The house as a material and psychological place is important as a focus, as it locates human existence and it unites things, people, and space in a micro-cosmos of human presence.[288] Within this perspective, the essence of architecture centres on the qualities of human experience. A house is configured by means of human beings, but by its physical appearance it also configures people. This is tried to be grasped with the concept of 'dwelling'.[289] What is of special significance is that through this idea both the physicality of the construction and the activities and qualities of inhabitation are brought together.[290] It is therefore an ideal theoretical point of departure, as dwelling brings together

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[285] See Ingold 2000, 168.

[286] As the tools and methods that contribute to the study of 'place', see Seamon 1982; Casakin and Bernardo 2012; Seamon 1982, 119-149.

[287] Dwelling in the sense of place, see Heidegger 1971. Once expounded in his 'dwelling perspective' (Ingold 2000, 189) Ingold now retreats from his earlier theory by means of stating that not place, both being along paths, is the primary condition of being, and becoming. He rather refers to inhabiting rather than dwelling, see Ingold 2008, 1809.

[288] See Altman 1975; Altman and Werner 1985.

[289] See Heidegger 1971, 143-61.

[290] See Sharr 2007, 3.

the material agency and the social intentions in one framework. Furthermore, next to its people and its material the theoretical notion of dwelling also takes into account the invisible yet meaningful force in shaping and reproducing human ideals: space. The structure of space works, more forcefully even than the materiality of the house, as an ontological structure by which humans learn how to categorise their world and how to develop social relations, personality, and social status. Dwelling can be seen as an accommodation between people and their surroundings, it involves being at one with the world and accumulates the social and the physical world.[291] The theory of dwelling can be elucidated by means of the example of a table. An object such as a table, its use, value and the way in which it draws in people together can be explained by means of the notion of dwelling but never just with building, as the latter only accounts for the physicality of a built structure and not its social and material complexities and agencies. Moreover, it is not only the table and its wood, or its place in the room which constitutes its being, but also the use of this table as such. It is the wood, its position in the room, and the shape of the table together that accounts for the specific way in which people enjoy meals. Dwelling thus depends upon building and vice versa.[292] As to the method of place-making, the theory of dwelling is of utmost importance, for its power to tie together objects in context and looks at the way in which knowledge is produced. Dwelling as a perspective reviews human engagement within space. It studies the social forces of mutual relations and those with things by means of emphasizing the immanence of use and experience while sustaining a narrative of being with regard to a domestic context.

3.7.2 Place-making as a methodology of dwelling

Place-making next, can be considered a justified methodology concerning the manner in which houses, as the connection between people and environment, are conceived within the theoretical framework. In brief: place-making subsumes the human entanglement with his surroundings into a theory of dwelling. One significant dimension of the world is the human experience of place, which continues to be a major focus of

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[291] Alofsin 1993; Mugerauer 2008.
[292] According to Heidegger (1971, 143-61) a building is not just a construction. Hence it should not be regarded as an object or as the product of a construction management process, but rather as part of an on-going human experience of building and dwelling, see Sharr 2007, 46.

phenomenological work in environment-behaviour research.[293] Place is in fact the most fundamental form of embodied experience. It is the site of a powerful fusion of self, space, time and environment. Place-making as it will be applied here focuses on lived experience, the physicality of a house, on the way in which people perceive space and invest it with meaning, on dwelling and movement, the way in which we interpret space in order to make a place, and the way in which embodiment relates to emplacement.[294] This means that place-making has a significant social component, as it engages in the workings of human interaction, group formation and community building but nonetheless pursuits the way in which the physical world plays a role in this process. The applicable methods under the heading of place-making are manifold. However, they work from a similar principle: the attempt to connect the cognitive with the physical world.[295] Furthermore, it takes into account an important theoretical proposition of agency and affordances, and the way in which the environment influences human beings, their perception, and their behaviour. The aim of place-making is to become aware of the way in which human behaviour, as well as its individual and group dimensions, affects and is affected by means of the designed environment and the objects that it, both as physical things and as a totality of things.

3.7.3 Methods of place-making

The methods of place-making as the exploration of the relationship between psychological and physical aspects of perception adopted in this research are: space syntax analyses, pattern analysis, and object analysis. All are aimed at analysing the complexities of Egyptian artefacts from the context in which they were used and regarded. The issues and the choices for specific strategies will be elucidated in 5.1; part 3.7.3 will briefly point at the various methods and the reason for choosing them.

Space syntax (configuration, visibility, and movement analysis): As 3.7.2 emphasised, space is of vital importance to study if one wishes to get a firmer grip on the use and space, and the social interaction within the house. The environment is a world that continually unfolds itself in relation

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[293] See Seamon 2000, 160-3.
[294] See Feld and Basso 1996, 8-9. On the way place(-making) is connected to experience, see Tuan 1977.
[295] E.g., space syntax, pattern language, environmental images, cognitive mapping, spatial behaviour, personal space, individual and group territoriality, defensible space, inclusive design, architectural archetypes, and environmental design.

to the beings inhabiting it. To be able to scrutinise the value of Egypt in Pompeian houses within the perspective of material agency and the theory of dwelling as explained above, means that space as an artefact is one of the central components to analyse. Methodologically speaking, space is significant because it forms the context where behaviour, guided by the body, the material around it, becomes structured.[296] It can therefore be considered a relevant agent/actor, not only space as appreciated mathematically or topographically, but principally as space appreciated by means of human experience.[297] This latter aspect is exactly that which space syntax as an approach attempts to examine. Space syntax (as developed in Hillier and Hanson's *The Social Logic of Space*), is a method which aims to construct a bridge between space and behaviour, by illuminating the way in which the mind is reflected in spatial configuration, but also by illustrating the way in which space is an agent in structuring human behaviour and relations.[298] It was thought that space created a special relationship between function and social meaning in buildings and that the arranging of space was in fact about the arranging of relationships between people. Although this is not a one-to-one relationship, its inferences have been proved helpful with regard to the analysis of the relation between space and social structure. It therefore forms a suitable tool to apply within a place-making perspective, because it relates closely to Gibson's affordances and his ideas on direct perception and the environment and because it focuses on perceived space and its social implications. For the context of Pompeii, space syntax access analysis already served as a method when Grahame applied it in order to compare the domestic structures of Pompeii.[299] Although the theories and methods which space syntax comprises are too manifold and complex to describe here in detail, the tools utilised in chapter 5 are briefly discussed below.[300]

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[296] Several features of social behaviour and built space are central to the study of space (e.g., territory, privacy, power, public space, interaction, control), see Altman 1975: Cassidy 1997, 137-8. On defensible space, see Newman, 1972.

[297] See Sharr 2007, 51.

[298] Hillier and Hanson 1984. The original aim of space syntax was formulated as: ". . . *To expound a general theory of what was inherent in the nature of space that might render it significant for human societies and how space might, in principle, be shaped to carry cultural information in its form and organisation.*", see Hanson 1999, 1.

[299] Grahame 2000. It can be noted here that, the way in which space syntax analyses serve in the present thesis diverge significantly from Grahame's views, as it is not applied in a comparative manner but to acquire more insight into not only how the Roman house functioned but also how people and objects relate to each other in a particular social space.

[300] For general surveys, Hillier and Hanson 1984; Hillier 1997; Hanson 1999. For a more detailed description of the space syntax tools as applied in this study, see Mol 2011.

Configuration (also known as access-analysis or gamma-analysis) is designed to analyse the internal structures of buildings. In particular it is concerned with the manner in which space is structured and with the arrangement of space connected to people's spatial investments in social and ideological values. The second tool is *Visibility analysis* (which comprises space syntax' Visibility Graph Analysis and Isovist analysis). It informs specifically on the visual relationships between spaces as well as on addressing the relationship between the viewer and his immediate spatial environment.[301] In this case graphs serve as a mental representation of the environment. What could be observed from a particular location, from where could specific spaces, objects, or wall paintings be viewed? This is notably of interest to the spatial analysis of the Egyptian objects in relation to their viewers. The final tool applied in this dissertation with regard to the space syntax approach is *agent analysis*. This space syntax computer model is primarily based on the affordance theory of Gibson and is aimed specifically on movement and perception within built space.[302] Agents in this computer model can infer the affordances of the environment and traverse a graph-based context. This will result in illustrating the routes most likely taken through the environment, highlight spaces where people are expected to engage in interaction, or indicate spaces which are relatively secluded. Understanding the way in which people move and gather is relevant to the assessment of the social and economic function of buildings. Therefore all the analyses encompass an ideal way of studying perceived space as well as the social structures present in a household.[303]

Pattern analysis/language: Pattern language, originally designed by Christopher Alexander in order to optimise building design in a phenomenological way, forms a suitable hermeneutic tool for the analysis of dwelling and of material agency in the context of houses. Pattern language

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[301] Isovist and Visibility Graph Analysis are both based on mutual visibility and created by means of the computer software Depthmap. The Isovist is defined as the set of all points visible in all directions from any given vantage point in space. The Visibility Graph Analysis, or VGA, has been developed in order to provide better information on larger open spaces. It presents us with a means to address the relationship between viewers and their immediate spatial environment. It replaces the line map with a grid of points within open space, and constructs a visibility graph in which points are lined if visible to each other. See Benedikt 1979 47; Turner and Penn 1999; Turner et al. 2001, 103-21; Turner 2003, 656-76; Franz et al. 2005 30-8.

[302] See Turner 2002, 473-90.

[303] Space syntax can serve as the basis for agent simulation in the form of an Exosomatic Visual Architecture or EVA. An EVA is a computer architecture that contains pre-processed visual information on the environment which agents access by means of a look-up table. It is called exosomatic visual architecture because it provides agents with a form of exosomatic (outside the body) memory common to all agents in an environment.

targets at bringing together the physical and mathematic presence of housing and decoration and the way in which it leads to experience. Therefore it shares its theoretical premises with space syntax, although this time focusing on decorative patterns within buildings.[304] It attempts to scrutinise the way in which these patterns (e.g., within wall painting, thresholds, pavements, light etc.) are capable of influencing human behaviour. As yet not adopted by archaeology on such a large scale as space syntax, it is considered a helpful addition to place making, as it likewise allows taking material agency into account. Furthermore, pattern language presents the scholar with the opportunity to include both the structural components of wall painting and their iconography.[305] Construction is determined by available materials and adapted to the local environment and climate. The house is therefore not only shaped by human, but also by physical topography. In this way the physical specifics of place-making work through the house as a way to shape a human being. The sort of timber that was used, the way the roof allowed space, the thickness of the walls, the warmth of the house and the light through the windows; they have a quality to both reflect, structure, and shape human presence. The material and natural nuances within perception of the process of dwelling is what pattern language will add as a tool. It therefore offers a way to connect all the aspects of a house from a phenomenological account of human experience. Moreover, it offers a way of describing materialities of the house as part of a totality, so within the concept of dwelling, because it analyses how different rooms relate to each other and how people used and experienced different conditions (such as light, space or differences in height) to create a certain experience and to understand the design of a single house. Within the discipline of archaeology, the approach of pattern language has been implemented by Watts': *A pattern language for houses at Pompeii, Herculaneum and Ostia.*[306] In a similar way to Grahame, she tried to look for patterns in order to establish if a general structure would emerge which would explain Roman building processes, this time focusing not on the space, but on painting, floors, and pavement of the houses. Although the functional analysis is a useful tool when one wishes to carefully and

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[304] Alexander 1974.

[305] We read: although a study of ground plans proved to be very fruitful to get a grip on roman cultural and social identity, it is not the only way that leads into Roman society and it is wrong: "*to swing the pendulum from 'the walls tell us nothing' to the 'the walls tell us everything.*", see Grahame 2000, 98. For a materiality perspective on iconography, see Alexander 2010, 10-25; De La Fuente 2010, 3-9.

[306] See Watts 1987.

systematically look at the affect of material culture in houses, when it is used to find patterning on a broad scale-just as with Grahame- it appeared not to be that successful.[307] In contrast to Watts, therefore, this dissertation will use the method of pattern language not in a comparative but in a micro-hermeneutic way, in order to comprehend one house as a holistic socio-physical unit.

Object analysis: The last tool that will be used within place-making can be categorised under the heading of object analysis. It will consist of a contextual analysis of all the objects, not only as things with material properties but also as objects with an iconographical meaning and with the power to draw in people in a variety of ways, within a specific environment. What did the owners wish to express with objects? What does the object subsequently *do* in its environment? How will it be looked upon by people? How does it engage in social processes and interactions in the house? How does it work as a part of the totality of the house? How would it have been perceived by those observing its specific shape together with the totality of objects and surroundings?[308] The analysis will scrutinise the pre-interpretative layers that shape the perception while dealing with objects: the material properties, their colour, polish, height, position, their relation to other objects, or background colours (everything gathered from the previous place-making analyses). This final object-focused analysis will study perception and objects from a materiality perspective as it was developed in this chapter, however, it will be balanced through place-making, because the agency will be reviewed in a use-context. Only in this combination it becomes possible to see what Egyptian artefacts as a thing and as an object in a world could have meant to the owners and the viewers in a domestic context, and how they acted out their agencies.

This means that although the analyses described above are used to carefully and systematically study and analyse house content and decoration, they are specifically meant to contribute to an emic understanding of the use of the house, thereby taking a distance from the functional analysis employed

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[307] As the Kind rightly argues, within her analysis Watts did not take into account enough some invaluable features, such as the wall constructions and she ignored building history, making much of her patterns ineffective. De Kind 1992/1993, 65

[308] Instead of 'totality', the term atmosphere can serve to convey the way in which and where objects are located. The light and colours are applied in order to create perception and provide meaning. Atmospheres proceed from and are created by means of things, persons or their constellations. It is the common reality of the perceiver and the perceived where one's bodily presence is changing due to certain ordering and objects, see Böhme 1993, 122.

in both space syntax and pattern language as used by Grahame and Watts.[309] Although very important for the understanding of houses in Campania, reaching a typological understanding or construction analysis of a house through a formal comparative analysis is not a primary goal of this dissertation. The original theses of the creating *effect* of visual and spatial structures (as originally put forward by Alexander, Hillier, and Hanson) are at the forefront of the analysis and the analyses will therefore be used as hermeneutic tools in order to understand the experience of a house.

3.8 Conclusion

Chapter 3 discussed the theoretical foundations guiding the thinking about (Egyptian) artefacts as physical objects with material properties, its related concepts formed through the surroundings people grew up in, and has subsequently tried to develop a method to investigate objects at the level of perception. It was argued that perceptions emerge from a background of physical, aesthetic, social, reflective, and historical associations and is therefore inherently relational. This knowledge is furthermore grounded in cohabitation with the things around us, providing people with mental structures to understand the world. Being-in-the-world as it was explained in this chapter should be considered the core of human identity and the core of the construction of culture and society. By setting out a framework in which the importance of agency of objects and the perception of objects were acknowledged as central for the formation of object-meaning, it became clear how Aegyptiaca should be conceived and dealt with in this thesis. It was argued to focus on perception and on studying the objects within broader networks of material culture. Not only does it become possible in this way to overcome some of the preconceptions that influenced previous interpretations of the study of Aegyptiaca (because Aegyptiaca will receive a more balanced position within the totality of material culture and social interaction), it also becomes possible to say something about the influence that 'Egypt' as objects had (either consciously or unconsciously) on a Roman context. By studying objects and the way they were used or integrated in a

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[309] Being part of a rich tradition of functional and comparative analyses of domestic spaces in Pompeii and Herculaneum. Examples of this tradition are for example Evans 1980, who pertained a formal analysis of the atrium house, creating a range of classification systems, de Kind 1992, who refined the typology to 8 different house types also taking into account wall construction for the houses of Herculaeum, Van Binnebeke 1991, focusing on houses and rooms, or Schipper 1992 127-49, who compared a sample of 33 atrium houses studying the relation between room functions and architectural orders.

environment carefully, it becomes possible to add something relevant to discussions such as romanisation or globalisation.

This methodology can refine the research to Aegyptiaca concerning how the perception of objects works, and how the agency they acted out in a conscious and unconscious way can function in a particular context. It was noted that by looking at how people perceive objects, two viewpoints are of importance: first is to examine the different layers of being of what makes up a perception, this means the properties of an object which are not present in direct perception but do nonetheless shape the direct perception (such as the colour, the material, the height, the surface treatment etc). This is the micro-scale of perception. The second viewpoint is the macro-scale of perception, which means that the object's perception should be studied from the context in which it becomes perceived. Both scales are crucial to the way an object is seen by viewers. A detailed deconstruction of 'things Egyptian' therefore is the goal of the next chapter, focusing on how object, subject, and iconography in context relate to each other.

CHAPTER 4: DECONSTRUCTING AEGYPTIACA

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 Deconstructing Aegyptiaca, the concept of Egypt in networks of being and becoming

Recapitulating the above chapters, it was observed that the objects classified as Egyptian and Isiac with regard to the site of Pompeii are incredibly heterogeneous in form, material, style, and subject. The dataset of collected objects, based on their Egyptian and Isiac classification by scholars in the past, comprises of 202 objects.[310] In that dataset a great variety of objects can be observed: jewellery depicting Isiac deities, statuettes in bronze, silver, or terracotta, sistra, wall paintings illustrating life along the river Nile, sphinxes, pharaohs, slabs engraved with hieroglyphs, domestic shrines including portraits of Isis, Anubis, and Harpocrates, Nilotic mosaics, and reliefs. An incredible miscellany of artefacts can indeed be accounted for. From a present-day scope of investigation, it can furthermore be delineated that objects in this case can refer to Egypt stylistically (because of a Pharaonic-Egyptian style) as imported from Egypt (e.g., the greywacke slab, see fig. 4.1a) or as locally produced objects (fig. 4.1b). They can also refer to Egypt in subject, for instance in the case of Nilotic scenes, but be stylistically Roman (fig. 4.1c). The contexts in which such artefacts are attested show no more structure than the group of objects, as they were found in large villa estates, but also in middle class houses, small dwellings, shops, bars, temples, and bath houses.

The aim of this chapter is to deconstruct and unravel the intangible category referred to as Aegyptiaca and the cultural epitaph 'Egypt' for Pompeii. It will therefore attempt to propose a fresh look at material culture, focusing especially on the full scope of experience surrounding the perception of material culture. It is not justified to classify the objects described above as similarly perceived artefacts. However, because this has always been the case until very recently, there is no clear view on any patterns and rules

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[310] See Appendix A for a complete list of the objects. The main body of artefacts was collected from the catalogues of Tram tan Tinh 1964, de Vos 1980, Swetnam Burland 2002, and Versluys 2002. They were supplemented by individual scholars (such as Dellacorte 1931, or Zanker 1990) mentioning specific objects as being Isiac or Egyptian and by objects found in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli during visits in 2011 and 2012.

present within the use of these objects. If the multiple strands of content, style, material, iconography, and context are compared, can one discover conventions and values with regard to use and perception? This is the intended target of the present chapter. This attempt will be carried out in the full range of Pompeian material culture, not just of objects deemed Egyptian. Furthermore, in the methodological part it was argued to not only search for a frame focusing on the relational, dynamic and intersubjective processes concerning Aegyptiaca, but also to approach the label 'Egyptian' critically.

Fig. 4.1 a-c) Examples of Aegyptiaca. Above: (a) a greywacke slab engraved with hieroglyphs imported from Egypt from the MNN. Below left (b) a statue made of local clay representing an Egyptian styled sphinx from the MNN. Below right (c) a Roman-styled mosaic depicting life on the river Nile from Casa del Menandro. Photos taken by the author.

Chapter 3 has already elaborated extensively on the theoretical part of relational thinking with regard to agency and perception, the introduction of this chapter shall touch upon the methodological implications of the approach and present a first survey of relational aspects of Aegyptiaca. In this introduction the category as it currently exists will be visualised within a network. Subsequent sections will attempt to capture specific Egyptian-related artefacts within their wider material and conceptual connections.

This approach is ultimately aimed at revealing the various concepts related to an artefact by means of inter-artefactual associations and the associations maintained with artefacts. Put simply, we wish to review Egyptian artefacts within a broader network than just 'Egyptian'. As mentioned, the network theoretically draws on the way in which people experience their surroundings and how their environment affects them.[311] What should the networks in this chapter examine? First of all, it is important to include the combination of iconology and materiality. It not only embraces direct perception stimulated by the artefact itself and the way it is shaped, it also allows conscious interpretation (human interpretation) and intentional behaviour created by means of cultural and social learning. This approach is characterised as 'situated semiotics'.[312] Within situated semiotics, direct affordances and indirect associations tend to articulate and interact in the generation of material culture. In a way this implies that the pragmatic and the significative come together. From this viewpoint the object can be scrutinised as symbol and material.[313] Secondly, what should furthermore serve an examination of the complexity and dynamics of Egyptian artefacts is the perspective of concealing and unconcealing, which will help to bring to light the way in which meaning is shaped and changed within an associational network.[314] Even though an association with Egypt and a certain artefact exists, this can be concealed in perception because other direct perceptions prevail over the 'Egypt-perception'. In other instances Egypt can again be revealed again, depending on the way in which the object is used and who is using or viewing it. The question then is whether the circumstances can be traced in which this occurs- the revealing and the concealing- and how this occurs for different artefacts and different settings. What will be actively traced therefore in the context of this perspective in the coming parts of this chapter, are the perceptive links that an object receives

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[311] The way in which we experience material culture and in particular its relational aspect is a challenge to analyse, because it takes place on various levels of human consciousness inducing mental and physical associations as well as actions. It is inferred from the human as well as its social occupation and the way in which he perceives and interprets the world. It is also inferred from the object itself and the way in which it appears to the human eye. The inductions of the objects are acquired from a multitude of sources (e.g., style, material, form, colour, context, other objects, value, state of the observer etc.) which do not present themselves as structured cognitive references in the human mind.

[312] See Knappet 2012, 87-109.

[313] 'Semiotic networks' should be created, where both humans and non-humans are present as nodes (as a complementation on Gell's work on inter-artefactual networks), see Knappet 2012, 91. An example of this concept is illustrated by means of miniature vases.

[314] Things are not merely visible phenomena, but are partly hidden from view. We can never acquire an exhaustive understanding of things, but can only gradually reveal them. This is an never ending process which Heidegger refers to as: Aletheia.

during its life span in Pompeii as a used object in relation to all other objects within the close environment. It is argued that the more such links an object receives, the more it can become enmeshed in the network and its meaning concealed. The networks created therefore are networks of being and becoming; *being* because they represent a meaning of an object as a snapshot within a continuous process. Speaking of a continuous process implies that a network is equally a network of *becoming,* as the links between nodes (the associations between humans, ideas, and things) disappear and new links emerge. Therefore the significance of an artefact within these networks is created and sustained by means of its material, contextual, and conceptual relations. In addition, they form the basis and catalyst with regard to the change of the meaning of the object. A drawback is, as mentioned, that due to a dynamic interface, networks form a highly unstable path to portray meaning and indeed merely represents a snapshot within the process of meaning-making. On the other hand this instability might reflect the world better than other models, just because it draws on instability; it allows chaos and is non-hierarchical by nature. The goal becomes to trace the possibility of associations and the meanings of objects, but also the way meaning can change and be concealed and revealed through its associations. In the case of Aegyptiaca from Pompeii this will lead to questions concerning its integration e.g., whether it is possible to discern how long the connotations to Egypt still cling to an object, when it is activated, how such connotations disappear, and what replaces it. This will ultimately provide a better view of both the agency of the material and the environment within perception, the complexity of different artefacts somehow related to Egypt, and to the way in which objects once perhaps viewed as 'foreign' are integrated into an environment. Moreover, it will be able to reveal insights on the underlying process behind integration.

Approaching the artefacts of Pompeii in this way is also attractive because it concerns a horizontal, not a vertical, analysis of the applications of artefacts and associations to Egypt.[315] Prevalent in numerous object-centred studies (as mentioned in 2.6) is a focus on the life history of objects and its relations, also known as the study of 'the biography of things'.[316] Constructing a so-

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[315] See Knappet 2008, 104.

[316] This is vertical (or diachronic) approach claims that objects have the capability of accumulating histories and that the present significance of an object derives from the persons and events to which it is connected. Moreover, it concentrates on issues such as cultural transfer and objects in motion, see Kopytoff in Appadurai 1987; Meskell 2004; Gosden and Marshall 1999, 170.

called cultural biography of objects, as has been proposed (by Kopytoff) might not be considered the most useful tool to study Aegyptiaca.[317] Although a cultural biography approach claims to be processual and focused on change, due to its method it remains rather static in its final interpretation.[318] The relational approach furthermore emphasises the totality of associations in the present context in which an object generates meaning. It ultimately combines not only a study of the role, materiality, and agency of an object, but also the way in which the object is appropriated by human beings, and presents information about the society in which the network functioned.

4.1.2 Studying proximate relations of artefacts and contexts: an initial exploration into Aegyptiaca relations

The remainder of section 4.1 is devoted to the results of a first survey of the relationality of Aegyptiaca in Pompeii carried out by means of an exploratory network. This means it will show the dataset as it currently exists in the form of a network. It does not yet include the broader material and conceptual framework Pompeii has to offer (the target of the coming subsections). Besides evading a categorical way of thinking, another great advantage of applying network approaches to material culture is that it can be heterogeneous, composed of various classes of nodes, and with various kinds of links.[319] Due the scale and contents of the database in relation to the detailed information on find contexts within Pompeii, the networks in formal terms will look into the proximate interactions within micro-networks.[320] While the micro-networks point to the scale of the undertaking,

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[317] See Kopytoff 1986, 64-91, in Appadurai 1986. This tool was also applied by Swetnam-Burland.

[318] Studying a vertical transmission of objects again sets apart Egyptian artefacts without taking the category itself into account, while at the same time one does not get a proper grip on the relative position of Egypt within the Roman world nor is it able to elucidate choice out of availability. Due to its exclusively vertical approach a cultural biography lacks the proper analytical tools in order to study the internal properties of the integration process and subsequent view on the role of such artefacts in their 'new' context, which are based on many more associations than its former role in history. Within a horizontal and relational approach, the biographical aspect is only a part of that which provides a meaning to an artefact. As illustrated in 2.2. on the Egyptian artefacts in pre-Roman contexts, the choice for specific goods and artefacts allows us to learn more about a society. Thus a careful horizontal and contextual analysis is preferred.

[319] As discussed in the theoretical framework, this implies they can be used in order to analyse relations between humans and non-humans which is of crucial importance for accepting agency from both parties and being able to observe how these affect each other, see Knappet 2011, 38; van der Leeuw 2008; Law and Mol 2008.

[320] Knappet 2011, 61-97. Proxemics are often treated as a subset of nonverbal communication. However, it has been convincingly argued that spatial relations in the form

proxemic networks in the manner in which they are used (see below) focus on artefacts that are cognitively proximate for their users (its cognitive links are dependent on closeness), meaning that they become known within the immediate sphere of the human senses and the everyday interaction with objects (as occurs on a household level and on a larger but nevertheless micro-scale in the town of Pompeii). They thus represent the lowest level of human interaction with artefacts to be captured.[321] In this way it ties in neatly with the theoretical framework discussed in chapter 3. In chapter 4, Pompeii and its material culture will serve as a perceptual micro-environment, a context existing as a visual framework in which the mind is situated. Employing such an approach for this chapter will bring about a better understanding of the reciprocal interaction between the mind and the physical-*cum*-cultural environment.[322]

As two kinds of entities are explored here within the network approach (examples of Egypt-related artefacts) the micro-network should furthermore be labelled as a two-mode, or bipartite network. These networks involve relations among two sets of nodes (e.g., artefacts, places, events, actions, people). Two-mode networks also serve when investigating the relationship between a set of actors and series of events.[323] Bipartite networks are affiliation networks, because the link between the various kinds of artefacts will be indirectly linked via a third party (the context).[324] A key feature of such networks is that the focus is placed on the position of actors or nodes and their relations, the Egypt-related artefacts in different materialisations, as defined by means of the find contexts. The subsequent summary of such bipartite nodes and relational ties into a representation is called a graph visualisation. The graph will represent contextual links between Egyptian objects as nodes, whereas the links will consist of the connections between the various associations. The connections between them will be drawn by means of a contextual analysis of the material evidence. Other than with social network approaches this particular network excludes human beings or human activity as a node in the graph, but exclusively looks at material relations and their contexts. Of course, the parameters of use (i.e., objects

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of intimate distance, personal distance, and social distance based on thresholds of communication are related to and structured by means of the perceptual limits of human senses and how these can be applied in a network approach, see Moore 1996.

[321] See Moore 1996.

[322] In chapter 5, networks and relations will be aimed at a bounded socio-spatial unit i.e., the house(hold).

[323] See Hawe et al. 2004, 972.

[324] See Watts 2004, 248-50.

and contexts) are all constituted by human actors. It is therefore believed that mapping their relations enables the acquisition of insights into the human actor; his concepts, ideas, and behaviour that he applies in relation to these objects.[325]

4.1.3 The network of Aegyptiaca

A graph visualisation in which all the objects from the database which could be related through proxemics (attested in the same contexts rooms, houses, temples, domestic shrines, gardens etc.) is shown in fig 4.2.

Fig. 4.2) A two-mode micro-scale affiliation network visualisation of different kinds of objects related to Egypt and their contexts. These contexts are enlarged nodes, with no analytic value, but merely indicated.

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[325] This type of approach is based on a constitutive intertwining of cognition and material culture in a comparable way to cognitive approaches in archaeology as set out in the theoretical framework, see Malafouris and Renfrew 2010.

This network has been created as a first means in order to explore the dataset and infer issues to be examined below. The network, therefore, should not be considered a network *analysis* of Aegyptiaca, but a different visualisation in order to take a first step away from categories and introduce a new way of looking at Aegyptiaca and observing its complexities which will be scrutinised further. It will in so far be analytical, that it does not serve to answer any questions, but serve to ask new questions regarding the existing dataset. It is of great significance that this network is executed and explored in the introduction and not further on in this chapter, because the relations between these objects which are called Aegyptiaca are currently quite obscure. An exploration such as this can infer the right questions and structure the remainder of this chapter.

The connections presented in the network were all acquired from the site of Pompeii. They consist of objects obtained from the dataset in connection to the contexts in which they were attested. Only if physically connected (e.g., a portrait of Isis is found together with a statuette of Isis, or a portrait of Harpocrates is found in a domestic shrine) to a context a line between nodes was created, because these connections exist in contexts, the argument can be made that the lines drawn between the objects also carry a conceptual relation. This is why there are also unconnected dots, such as the pendants of Ptah-Pataikos and Bes for instance. In the case of the pendant a find spot could not established and therefore cannot be connected. This implies not only that the network is solely based on the relation between object and archaeological context, but also that the connections were more elaborate in the past. However, when assuming that such a connection did exist it would be based on preconceptions and projections. This would cause us to fall into the same pitfall as in previous studies. However, even in its most stripped down and elementary form the network is able to illustrate trends leading to directives for the coming part, as will be showed below.
The network's first success on a larger level with regard to previous attempts to analyse Aegyptiaca, is achieved by means of providing an initial glance into the complexity of various concepts present in the past and the way in which these concepts related to objects. Nodes unrelated in accordance to their physical contexts might point to a cognitive absence of associations. This pleads for a much more complex relation to Egypt or to Isis in

connection with objects than previously assumed.[326] Therefore the network provides interesting ways to commence the investigation of this chapter even though they merely represent qualitative inferences.[327] Looking at the details of connections present in the network, the interpretation can be assisted by means of descriptive terminology taken from network analysis approaches (e.g., centrality, betweenness, and cliques). First to be noted in this respect is that the network appears to be divided into two strongly separated subgroups, or 'cliques', that seem almost unrelated to each other (see fig. 4.3 for an indication of cliques). One subgroup is linked to domestic shrines (and also to a lesser degree to cubicula) and paintings and statuettes portraying Isis, Anubis, Serapis and Harpocrates.
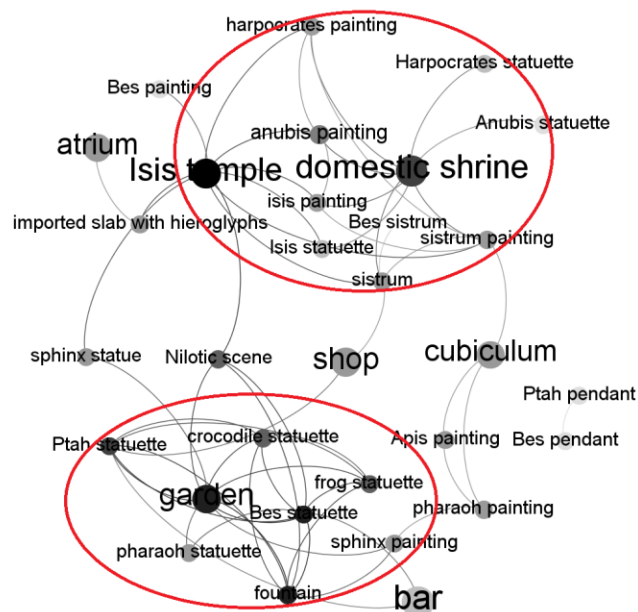
Fig. 4.3) A network illustrating two clear subgroups, or 'cliques', with regard to different types of objects and find contexts. The above subgroup concerns paintings and statuettes of Isiac deities in relation to domestic shrines and cubicula; the lower subgroup deals with statuettes of Bes, Ptah-Pataikos, crocodiles, and frogs in relation to garden and bars.

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[326] Not only the contextual relations are therefore conveyed in this network. The edges represent the cognitive connections and associations.

[327] A quantitative analysis (e.g., density measures, the total number of relational ties divided by the total possible number of relational ties) is impossible when merely applying the sample of Pompeii. The quantitative outcomes cannot be compared to other samples because the numbers would be unreliable. Moreover, comparing datasets on this level (with e.g. Herculaneum or Rome) would not be statistically trustworthy because the variations between the samples are too large with regard to meaningful statements on relations.

The other subgroup includes statuettes depicting the deities Ptah-Pataikos and Bes as well as crocodiles and frogs connected to gardens, water contexts, and bars. The network as a whole proves that the two groups are largely unrelated. The resulting question which follows from this is: was there an unequivocal concept of Egypt present among these groups? If so: in which way was it was related to both subgroups? Was it present in the one subgroup and not in the other? Were there multiple and distinct concepts of Egypt to be found in different groups or even within different groups? Furthermore, questions concerning contexts and objects began to arise in regard to the subgroups. For instance: why are statuettes of Bes seen in bars and never of those of Isis? The answers to all these legitimate questions might be able to create a deeper understanding of the meaning and use of Aegyptiaca. What can furthermore be observed looking in detail to the two cliques is that there is a substantial amount of overlap among nodes within groups.

This implies that not only different types of objects are intimately linked to particular contexts; they are also closely connected to each other and are often found together in those contexts. For the node *Isis temple* it can be observed for instance that it connects numerous objects. This is not really a surprise, as representing one single context it means that all objects are attested together in that context. However, with the node *domestic shrines* (i.e., multiple contexts distributed through Pompeii) this does not necessarily have to be the case, as a domestic shrine could for instance also have contained only one of the statuettes. However, this node also includes a cluster of statuettes connected to it. This denotes that Isis and certain other particular Egyptian deities might indeed in certain cases have been experienced as a conceptual unity. Furthermore, it is interesting to observe, in this respect, that the statuettes and paintings linked to the domestic shrines (the upper subgroup) have an either-or relation. This means that no statuettes of Isis, Anubis and Harpocrates were found together with paintings of the same deities. Either paintings or statuettes are attested in domestic shrines. This means a difference existed within the use of painting and statuettes in this particular context, and raises interesting questions in relation to their use and perception. Were such paintings and objects regarded as similar means in order to display deities? Is this also the case with other Roman deities or are the Isiac gods unique in this respect? In which context (e.g., type or size of the house, location etc.)? are paintings

found in relation to statuettes? In which way do they relate to domestic shrines? Answers to such questions can lead to a better comprehension of the adoption of the material as well as the iconography of the Isiac deities in relation to other Roman deities in Pompeii and will therefore form one of the subchapters in this section (4.3).

Surveying the network further, *Centrality* is another relevant feature to consider. It identifies the most prominent actors in the network i.e., nodes extensively involved in relationships with other nodes in the network. The more connections a node has, the more important it is within the network). In the case of figure 4.2, centrality is indicated in colour range. Nodes with darkest colours have the highest centrality, the nodes with lightest colour the least. One can infer from this that the node *Isis temple* possesses the highest centrality degree. This implies it is the best connected node in the graph, closely followed by the gardens and domestic shrines.[328] Again, the reason for the highest centrality degree for the Iseum may be because this node includes a single context while the others consist of multiple contexts. More houses contain domestic shrines, not all shrines contain statuettes and paintings. The Isis sanctuary has both. As to the non-context nodes, the Bes statuettes are the best connected features. This is significant, especially as not many have been found in Pompeii. Could this imply that this type of statuettes contain a central concept which is capable of connecting other related objects carrying weaker links? Could the Bes statuette, as it has more connections, have a stronger perceptual association with Egypt? As Bes statuettes also belong to one of the cliques and because it appears to be an important player within this group, a section (4.4) will be dedicated to Bes as a figure, concept, and object.

With respect to the network as a whole it can furthermore be noted that not all nodes and vertices are of a similar kind or quality. This means that a node with many links and a centrality degree does not necessarily render them well connected in terms of the complete network.[329] Certain nodes may count fewer links but those links may be key bridges between subgroups in the networks. This measure is called *Betweenness centrality* and indicates an important degree potential for control. A node with a high betweenness degree is able to act as a so-called gatekeeper, a controller of the connections between different subgroups. What can be inferred from the network is that

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[328] Physical spaces presumably express a higher degree of connectedness in this case. Because the contexts are the parameters on which the relations are based, it stands to reason they are key players in the network.
[329] See Newman 2003, 190-1.

there are in fact only a few gatekeepers with a very high betweenness degree. They are the only nodes connecting the two subgroups of the network. The first represents a context, shops, because sistra as well as Bes statuettes are found there. However, while these artefacts appeared in different shops this observation does not in effect constitute a very strong gatekeeper. Stronger are the Nilotic scene and the sphinx, which connect both subgroups as they are found in the cultic context of the Isis temple, and also in gardens. Nilotic scenes are even stronger in this respect, because the animals depicted on Nilotic scenery also occur in the form of statuettes in the other subgroup. Additionally striking is that the two object-gatekeepers themselves are unrelated. With the exception of the Iseum, sphinxes and Nilotic scenes are never found in one and the same context.

The gatekeeper represented by the Nilotic scenes seems to be of special significance. Without it there would be no connection between the two subgroups. This means that the concept of Egypt was either not apparent in one of the groups, or that the concept functioned on different levels. However, Nilotic scenes represent the connection between the garden group and the domestic shrine group artefacts. Why is this the case? Has it to do with the context in which Nilotic scenes are used or with the way in which they are created? What do they depict iconographically? And how does this translate to the way in which their users perceived them? The Nilotic scene as a seemingly central actor in the relations between the artefacts is worthy of further exploration. Their role could indeed point to Nilotic scenes functioning as some kind of a conceptual bridge between the concept of Isis and that of 'Exotic Egypt'. However, it is at present not known in which fashion and context the Nilotic scenes played a role in both settings, and in which chronological frame. Another subpart will therefore be devoted to the concept of Nilotica and their particular place in the network of Aegyptiaca in section 4.6.

As to the network visualisation of fig. 4.4, the complexity witnessed between different objects and their iconography is informative. Although they appear to picture the same subjects, such as in the case of Bes paintings, the sistra, and Bes statuettes, they are far removed from each other in the network and therefore unrelated contextually. A shortest path between paintings and statuettes consists of four steps in the network, which calls into question whether they were conceptually related at all. Such inferences provide some

insight into the complexity of Bes as a concept and his relation to Egypt (see also 4.4) but also into the relation between concepts and object in general.

Fig. 4.4) Network displaying paintings and statuettes of Bes. Although concerning in our view the same subject, these kinds of objects are in fact quite far removed here.

4.1.4 Research objectives

This first exploration into relationships, albeit representing a simplified and static image of something which in reality is far more complex, show that many issues can already be indicated from a network visualisation of Aegyptiaca and their contexts, leading to clear directives concerning the coming sections of this chapter. However, it must be noted in this respect, that not all issues relevant to the deconstruction of Aegyptiaca were clarified by means of the network. As argued in chapter 3, a clear disadvantage of networks is that while the analysis proves to be a powerful means of describing social or material interactions, it is less convincing when explaining interaction or accounting for change.[330] For instance, it does not take any account of the actual quantity of objects which is important when agency is concerned on a larger level. The statuette of Horus from the network for example is well connected within the subgroup of Isis-cult.

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[330] See Knappet 2011, 49.

However, this example only concerns one statue found in a domestic shrine and is therefore conceptually actually quite a weak link. Another drawback is that the actor of 'context' is applied in this network in a too uncomplicated manner. The house is a multidimensional artefact in itself with its own dynamics composed of numerous artefacts, people and stylistic, physical and spatial features. This should also be reflected in a network approach if it is used in an analytical way. A further issue that did not become completely clear (because it was not taken up as a node) from the network as it was employed here, is the way in which style operates in relation to contexts and various kinds of objects. Some items, as stated above, were rendered in a Roman fashion. However, some were locally made in a distinctly pharaonic style (to the scholarly eye at least), others were imported from Egypt. Style should be considered a significant parameter regarding perception and cognitive associations, especially in finding out whether Pompeians recognised stylistic differences and treated those objects differently. This should be treated with the utmost caution, while separating Roman from pharaonic style in material culture seems to be the result of the perceptions and projections of the present-day observer not of the ancient Roman. Section 4.5 will therefore apply the contemporary label 'Pharaonic-Egyptian Style' as a heuristic device in order to look at perception and use in context. A final drawback of this network and an argument to adopt the relational approach on a more detailed level is: time (use in a diachronic development) is not taken into account. Time should be considered an important factor in micro-scale networks, because meaning changes through the constant re-interpretation and change in use of objects. Especially those changes are considered to be important to trace as they not only provide information on the integration of an artefact but also on a concept into the visual, material and social environment of Pompeii (the so-called concealing or enmeshing as introduced above). Therefore, as mentioned, this particular network is dealt with in the introduction of this chapter, and not in its conclusion, as it merely indicates a way to start an explanation, and is not an explanation in itself.

Nonetheless these shortcomings, the network was in the way in which it was applied here capable of illustrating the way in which humans and non-humans are connected on an everyday micro-scale and gives a first hint on the way in which they perceived their surroundings in relation to Egyptian connected artefacts. It was able to reveal micro-scale interrelations and the

complexities of objects in relations to concepts. The network of this introduction is able to show different interactions and following from that the interactions could be described and interesting questions could be posed, which shows the usefulness of networks even in this static and basic form. These interactions will be provided with a proper dynamic interpretation thereby scrutinising categories five different categories: representations of Egyptian deities (4.2), statuettes (4.3), Bes in relation to blue and green-glazed objects (4.5), objects of Pharaonic-Egyptian style (4.5), and Nilotic images (4.6).

4.2 Representations and conceptualisations of Egyptian gods in Pompeii

4.2.1. Introduction

MATERIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE APPEARANCE OF EGYPTIAN DEITIES									
Deity	Wall painting	Table-ware	Statuette	Jewellery	Mosaic	lamp	Sistrum	Other	Total no.
Isis	12	2	17	4	0	5	0	6	36
Harpocrates	6	0	9	5	0	4	0	1 (relief)	22
Serapis	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1 (relief)	4
Anubis	3	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	8
Bes	0	0	5	1	0	1	3	coins	10
Ptah-Pataikos	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Jupiter-Ammon	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1 herm	4
Horus	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	26	2	36	10	0	15	3	9	87

Table 4.1) Material representations of the 'Egyptian' deities.

The first analysis in this chapter is aimed at the representations and conceptualisations of Egyptian gods in Pompeii. This category forms an initial exploration of the dataset which will focus on how and where the 'Egyptian' deities are located and portrayed in terms of material culture and on how they appear in comparison with each other and with other deities of the Roman Pompeian pantheon. The discussion of this subchapter (see also part 4.3) shall deal with the following issues concerning the Egyptian deities and religion: the first is whether they were still regarded as Egyptian - or as non-Roman- and the way in which this becomes apparent. The second issue, closely tied in with the first, is whether they were conceptually considered to

belong together. Within scholarly research, the Egyptian deities have always been regarded as a conceptual group, as one ensemble of 'the Isiac family'.[331] However, such interpretations were made from a top-down perspective applied to the entire Roman world, and therefore did not take account of local situations. Such a thesis cannot be taken for granted, and needs yet to be determined for the houses of Pompeii. It is therefore deemed useful to analyse the objects and contexts in which representations of these gods appear from a bottom-up perspective. Seven deities said to belong to the 'Egyptian gods' can be witnessed in Pompeii: Isis, Harpocrates, Serapis, Anubis, Bes, Ptah-Pataikos, and Zeus/Jupiter-Ammon. As discussed in 2.4.1, scholars have interpreted the gods as Egyptian (or Oriental) by means of their appearance, but mainly because of their origin.[332] Would this also have been the case for Roman observers? Could that consequently have led to a different treatment when compared with other gods? This is a notably complex query to solve. With regard to Roman religions on a more general level, an important and even defining characteristic could be considered its extreme variation in origin of deities, in cult practices, and the flexibility and variety employed within the integration and adoption of these deities.[333] It is thus impossible to *a priori* assume that Isis would have been treated differently than so many other 'foreign' gods incorporated in the Roman pantheon. On the other hand, it can also not be excluded that there could be situations or cases in which origin did matter, or that foreignness was experienced.[334] Therefore, in 4.2, next to analysing the uses, qualities and materialisations of the Egyptian gods, parallels in use and conceptions shall be drawn from a broader framework of objects and deities. In order to get a better grip on these issues the Egyptian deities from the database shall be compared with each other in order to see if (and how) they could have been related materially and conceptually. Can any structure be discovered in the way in which they appear and where they appear? Subsequently, a comparison will be made between materialisations of Isis and Venus in order to establish if there is a difference in use and perception between that which has always been regarded a 'native' and a 'foreign' deity. A second parallel will be drawn between Isis and Mithras in order to review the differences in use between two deities always deemed 'Oriental'. Such comparisons

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[331] See Malaise 2004, 266-92; Malaise 2005.
[332] As discussed in 2.4.1.
[333] See Price, 1984, 234-48; Beard, North and Price 1998, 362-3; Galinsky 2007, 74-6; Turcan 1996, 12-5.
[334] See Beard, North and Price 1998, 87-98; 211-44; Orlin 2010, 162-90.

arguably create a better understanding of how Isis was employed within Pompeian society. In addition, a deeper conceptual knowledge can be acquired concerning the way Isis (and other deities) were integrated in a place such as Pompeii, because more complexity is allowed within the interpretation by not regarding her as Oriental or non-Roman beforehand. It is the place Isis and other deities took up *as* a Roman deity which is of concern.

4.2.2 Egyptian deities?

Firstly the various deities from the database are compared, focusing on their representation, materialisation, and the context in which they are attested. The tables 4.1 and 4.2, and fig 4.5 illustrate that the deities not only show similarities but also differences in the way in which they were represented in Pompeii. As to the overall quantity, materalisations of Isis are the most numerous, together with those of Harpocrates. Characteristically both appear in the form of wall paintings or statuettes.
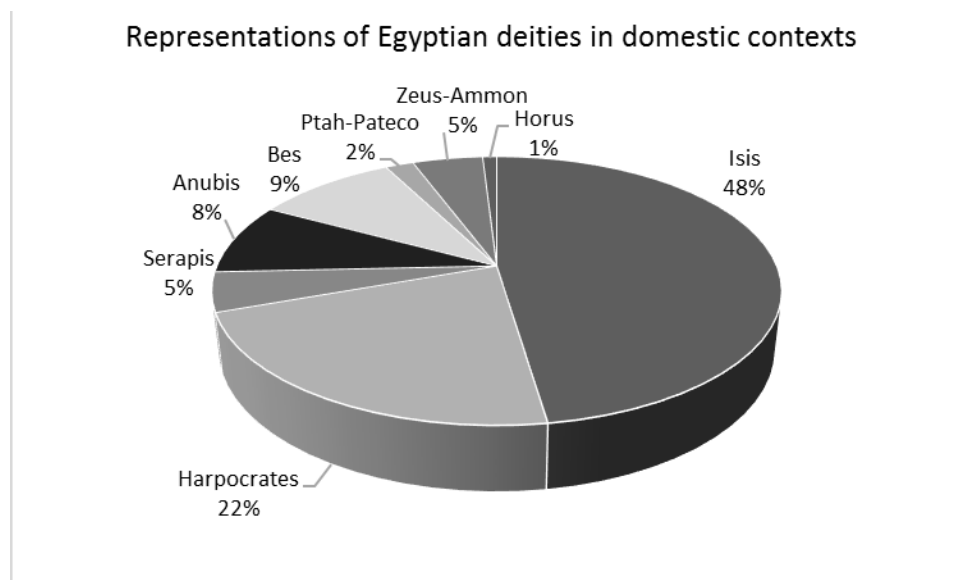
Fig. 4.5) Pie chart of the material presence of different Egyptian deities in Pompeii based on the numbers in table 4.1.

EGYPTIAN DEITIES FOUND IN POMPEIAN HOUSES DIVIDED BY CONTEXT						
Deity	Atrium	Peristyle	Garden	Domestic shrine[335]	Triclinium	Other
Isis	1 (statuette)	1 (statuette)	1 (statue)	4 (3 wall 1 lamp)	0	2 (shop, bust)
Harpocrates	0	1 (statuette)	0	5 (3 wall 1 lamp 1 statuette)	0	0
Serapis	0	0	0	2	0	0
Anubis	0	0	0	4 (3 wall 1 lamp)	0	0
Bes	0	0	2	0	0	Bottega
Ptah-Pataikos	0	0	1	0	0	Caupona
Jupiter-Ammon	1	1	0	0	2 (wall painting)	0
Horus	0	0	0	1 (statuette)	0	0

Table 4.2) Egyptian deities and their find contexts in Pompeian houses. This time, instead of the total number of representations as used in table 4.1 and fig. 4.5, only those objects and paintings with a clear find context are taken into account.

Serapis, on the other hand, is hardly represented in any form. This is remarkable given the fact that, next to Isis, he was the most important Egyptian deity to be integrated into the Roman world.[336] The cult of Serapis developed into an official, independent example and temples dedicated to him are seen throughout the Roman world.[337] It is difficult to get a grip on this issue without a broader comparison. The reason why Serapis might occur less frequently in Pompeii is the absence of a Serapeum in Pompeii. It might also be connected to the specific characteristics of the deities, which made Isis and Harpocrates - as protectors of the home, children, and family - more appropriate to venerate in a domestic context than Serapis, which cult

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[335] Note that the context of 'domestic shrine' serves here to denote a general religious domestic location where household gods were venerated. These spaces can be regarded in various categories and with various appearances and applications (e.g., sacella, lararia, niches, aediculae etc). In 4.3 a more comprehensive definition will be provided. For further reading, see Laforge 2009, 19-42.

[336] Serapis was a god of the Underworld but also to no lesser degree a god of (oracular) healing. As heir to Osiris he was a god of fertility, symbolising the agricultural cycle. For this reason he often carries a cornucopia, see Alvar 2008, 60-1. Serapis inherited the Pharaonic traits associated with the protector of the kingdom from Osiris. At the same time, he became the consort of Isis. This change of divine partner allowed them to be represented in a specifically Hellenistic iconographical form and explains the reason why they also shared temples, see Steurnagel 2004; Hornborstel 1973.

[337] Initially revered as patron of the Ptolemaic dynasty and Alexandria, Serapis's power became acknowledged and extended throughout the Hellenistic world, see Stambaugh 1972, 1-2. As many as 1089 'monumental' finds of Serapis are listed, see Kater-Sibbes 1973. See also Hornbostel 1973; Takács 1995; Alvar 2008.

was more important on a public level, as he was associated with the Ptolemaic dynasty, the underworld, and agriculture.[338]

The deity Anubis next, has the head of a jackal and the body of a human being. Judging from the results of the database the god seems to be conveyed and displayed in similar contexts as Isis and Harpocrates. We see portraits of Anubis in paintings in the temple dedicated to Isis, on domestic shrines, and once on a lamp. Objects linked to Anubis only originate from cultic contexts, the lamp was found in a domestic shrine, too.[339] We come across Anubis on a much smaller scale. Noteworthy is that he never shows up alone, but always in the presence of Isis and Harpocrates. Concerning his limited presence within material culture one could wonder if this had anything to do with his zoomorphic appearance. Was Anubis too deviant as an animal-headed god to be venerated without the presence of other gods from the Isiac pantheon?[340] From various literary sources it was known that Romans were not accustomed to worshipping animals, as it was considered abnormal and uncivilised.[341] Although clearly now and again present within cultic contexts, the minor role Anubis played within the Roman-Isiac pantheon may in part be explained this way.[342]

In addition to the differences between Isis, Harpocrates, Anubis and Serapis there seems an even greater divergence between these three gods and the deities Bes and Ptah-Pataikos (as noted by means of the network visualisation in section 4.1 (especially figs. 4.2, 4.3). The two latter Egyptian dwarf deities are remarkably similar in both execution and in their find context. Both Bes and Ptah-Pataikos are never found on wall paintings within domestic contexts, but mostly in the form of statuettes and in a few instances in the guise of small amulets. When comparing the statuettes, their average height is considerably larger (*c.*40 cm.) than that of Isis, Serapis, Harpocrates or Anubis (*c.*12 cm.). Furthermore the statuettes portraying Bes and Ptah-Pataikos from Pompeii never consist of metal (as is the majority of the statuettes of Isis, Serapis, Anubis, and Harpocrates), but

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[338] Kater-Sibbes 1973 mentions many large statues of Sarapis. However, within Household religion, he is found less often when compared to Isis and Harpocrates. See also Dunand 1990; Bailey 2008.

[339] I.e., the shrine of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati (VI 16,7-35).

[340] Anubis only once appears outside a lararium context, in a Nilotic scene in *Casa di Ma. Castricus* (VII 16, 17), see Versluys 2002, no. 54, 133-4. This particular Nilotic scene is found in a room designated as a palaestra.

[341] See Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984, 1852-2000.

[342] For a further exploration hereof, see 5.2.

are instead made of terracotta and finished in a blue-green glaze.[343] Their bodies are mold made and there is a strong suggestion they were produced in the same workshop or that a similar mold was used.[344] Lastly, the use-locations of the two groups of statuettes also differ considerably. Whenever a clear find spot was located, Isis and Harpocrates (and in a lesser quantity Serapis and Anubis) were are all attested within a lararium context, whereas Bes and Ptah-Pataikos were found twice within garden contexts and twice in a bar, or *caupona* (inn). As suggested in 4.1, judging from the contexts and objects it seems indeed to be a correct claim that these two gods were seen and used as a distinctly other category than the Isiac deities. For this reason it is considered suitable to analyse the appropriation and perception of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos in a different framework of concepts and objects in Pompeii, as will be explored in a separate subchapter (4.4).[345]

The last deity sometimes deemed Egyptian by scholars on the basis of its origin and found in Pompeian material culture is Zeus- or Jupiter-Ammon. This manifestation of Jupiter is characterised by means of ram horns and a beard and embodied an amalgamation of the Aethiopian-Egyptian deity Amun-Ra and Jupiter.[346] As Zeus-Ammon he became adopted by Alexander the Great and the Ptolemies in Alexandria. The deity might have travelled to Rome in this guise, where he is frequently attested in lamps, medaillons, architectural elements, funeral monuments, as well as through inscriptions and theophoric names. Although his relation to the Isiac deities and to the concept of Egypt in the Rome is difficult, scholars studying Isiac deities and Egypt in the Roman world frequently included him as Egyptian or Isiac.[347] For this reason it was decided to study the relation between Jupiter-Ammon and Egypt for Pompeii as well.[348] Representations of this divinity in Pompeii

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[343] Two bronze statuettes of Bes were found in Herculaneum (not from a lararium context), but not one in Pompeii, see Tran tam Tinh 1972, 76.

[344] See 4.4 for a more elaborate treatment of these objects.

[345] The statuette of Horus had a similar size to those of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos, but was found in a domestic shrine devoted to Isis. As this find is unique to Pompeii it was chosen to deal with its find context (*in casu* the Casa degli Amorini Dorati) as a case study in chapter 5. Therefore it will not be discussed here in 4.2.2.

[346] Although it is also sometimes stated that his image was influenced by Ba'al-Hamman, who had been worshipped in Carthage. Jupiter-Ammon is generally considered to be of Aethiopian or Libyan origin. His worship subsequently disseminated not only across Egypt but also into part of the northern coast of Africa and many regions in Greece. The Greeks referred to him as Zeus-Ammon and the Romans as Jupiter-Ammon.

[347] According to Bonnefoy and Doniger he remains outside the circle of Isiac divinities, except for his rare association with Serapis. Bonnefoy and Doniger 1991, 251.

[348] Malaise (2007, 27) includes Ammon as one of the '*compagnons de la gens isiaque*'. Bugarski-Besdjian, when discussing 'traces of Egypt' in Roman Dalmatia, interprets lamps

seems to have deviated from both discerned 'groups' discussed above, as both the materialisations and the contexts in which Jupiter-Ammon's representations are found do not seem to bear any relationships with the other gods. His image is attested once in the shape of a bronze lamp. Furthermore, heads of Jupiter-Ammon now and again appear as minor and small decorative elements of wall paintings (e.g., in the atrium of the Casa del Menandro - I 10,4). Furthermore, within wall painting a difference between the portraying of other gods and of Zeus-Ammon is noted. Jupiter-Ammon paintings always comprises of a minor part of the wall decorations, while other deities (such as Venus, Dionysus, Apollo) when portrayed take in central positions. It should also be noted that as with Ptah-Pataikos and Bes and in contrast to Anubis, Jupiter-Ammon is never found within a cultic context. This renders the deity notably different from all the other deities from the database and in fact concurs with the arguments of Bonnefoy and Doniger that his role in a Roman context was decorative, apotropaic, and eschatological, but was largely unconnected to the Isiac cults.[349] While Isis, Harpocrates, Anubis and Serapis never serve as decorative parts of walls, and Ptah-Pataikos and Bes are never occur in a wall painting, Jupiter-Ammon seems to have had an exclusively decorative function in Pompeii. This does of course, not say anything about the deity not being seriously venerated elsewhere.[350]

From this brief overview the assumption arises that Isis, Harpocrates, Serapis and Anubis somehow formed a conceptual group for its Pompeian users. This is sustained when other material categories are consulted. For instance, whenever lamps were attested with one of the Egyptian deities they often depict three deities as a combination: Anubis, Isis, and Harpocrates (not Serapis). Table 4.2 illustrates that Isis, Serapis, Anubis and Harpocrates appear together in a wall painting in lararia on four occasions.[351] Due to the difficulties in archaeological contextualisation, it can hardly ever be deduced

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showing Jupiter-Ammon as a 'motif isiaque' and 'thème exotique ou orientaux' (317), and architectural features displaying Jupiter-Ammon as egyptian motifs and pharaonic elements (322-23), Bugarski-Besdjian 2007, 289-328. DellaCorte includes the bronze lamp of Jupiter-Ammon (fig. 5.19b) found in the Casa di Octavius Quartio in Pompeii (discussed in part 5.3) as an Isiac feature.

[349] Bonnefoy and Doniger 1991, 251.

[350] Indeed, it seems that many Roman gods which were worshipped could also have served as decoration. For example, Venus, Apollo, or Dionysus, as will be discussed in 4.2.3.

[351] In various combinations they are all found in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati (VI 16, 7.38) and the Casa di Giuseppe II (VIII 2,39); Isis, Harpocrates and Serapis are found in the Casa delle Amazzoni (VI 2, 14) and Isis Harpocrates and Anubis in Praedia di Giulia Felice (II 4,1-12).

if statuettes are found together. However, in the Casa di Memmius Auctus (VI 14, 27) a statuette of Isis, Anubis (in fact the only statue of Anubis in Pompeii) and Harpocrates have been attested together. Anubis and Isis are of the same height, are executed in the same archaistic way (resembling the style of the Isis statue from the Iseum), and both were made out of bronze.[352] The context strongly suggests that Pompeians experienced a connection between these gods.[353]

Now that it can be established with reasonable certainty that Isis, Harpocrates, Anubis, and Serapis were indeed conceptually linked in Pompeii, questions concerning their function and use arise, such as a division between a cultic or decorative use of objects. This is an interesting subject to explore which might be able to offer further clues on the conceptualisation of the Egyptian deities. However, such a separation also counts for an extremely problematic issue. Is it possible to speak of a secular application of certain imagery as for instance, Dunbabin does?[354] The distinction between a secular and spiritual world as it is implemented nowadays did not exist in the Roman world and such concepts such as 'secular' seem to have been absent. It is thus notably difficult to create this division. Religious practices in the Roman world formed a part of the cultural practices of nearly every realm of everyday life.[355] This being said however, there does seem to be some kind of a disparity experienced between the two concepts, as the database shows a clear difference in the application of various 'Egyptian' deities with respect to that which is displayed in furniture and wall painting and that which was appropriate in lararium contexts. Certain material renderings do indeed seem to suggest that images of several gods serve in more decorative ways. The questions that arise is whether specific deities are more likely to have functioned as decorative

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[352] Harpocrates is much smaller and consists of silver. They are found amongst many other statues, of which five are in bronze (Isis, Anubis, an old seated man and two Lares), one in marble (Venus Anadiomene), one in silver (Harpocrates) and one of terracotta: a female deity lying on a couch., see Boyce 1937, 53, no.202.

[353] However, while all these examples of statuettes clearly show conceptual associations, many finds include only one of these deities. A related question now emerges in this case: if the deities together signified something else to an audience when they were found alone or with other deities than the Isiac ones. Therefore it is decided to devote a subsection to statuettes and their use; not in a broader comparative manner as will be carried out in this part, but especially focused on their contextual meaning.

[354] See Dunbabin 1999, 137, 231.

[355] Rüpke 2007, 5 characterises Roman religion as an "embedded religion". It is also claimed: "*at the way in which religion and society interacted, we do not find special institutions and activities, set aside from everyday life and designed to pursue religious objectives; but rather a Situation in which religion and its associated rituals were embedded in all institutions and activities.*", see Beard, North, and Price, 1998, 43.

representations and, more importantly, why? And does the observed dissimilarity between a decorative and a cultic use depend upon the object (the form in which the deity is depicted) or the subject (the deity itself)?[356] What becomes apparent is, when looking at the objects and contexts in more detail, that the deities as they are represented in the database should not be considered one and the same conceptual group. Bes and Ptah-Pataikos seem to belong to one group, Isis, Anubis, Harpocrates, and Serapis turn up in similar guises and contexts, while Jupiter-Ammon seems to be an isolated feature seemingly unconnected, at least in Pompeii, to both groups. All gods except for Jupiter-Ammon seem to share their absence in the shape of furniture decoration and mosaics. They are also largely absent from tableware with the exception of one terracotta and one bronze vase depicting Isis. Finding a clear explanation for the above observations is not without difficulty. Discussing the database generates several issues, themes, and questions worthy of further exploration in this chapter. For example, when Isis, Harpocrates, Serapis and Anubis are really considered to be one and the same conceptual group, were they regarded as Egyptian? Could it be that the deities such as Harpocrates, Serapis, and Isis were conceived as more cultic-related phenomena and Bes, Ptah-Pataikos, and Zeus-Ammon as 'secular' decoration? A study of the deities in a broader framework should provide these answers, both by means of including other Roman deities as well as the range of objects and their contexts that expanded outside those objects scholars believed to be Egyptian. The first analysis consists of a comparison between the use of the goddess Isis and Venus.

4.2.3 Isis versus Venus

Venus and Isis are both prominent and important goddesses in Pompeii, who were worshipped in public sanctuaries and within domestic contexts (fig. 4.6). These two deities are selected for comparison in order to illustrate the way in which Isis and Isiac deities functioned in Pompeii, by studying how she might have been treated similarly or differently to Venus, a goddess that was never questioned to be 'exotic' within a Pompeian context. Furthermore, while these deities in scholarly literature sometimes seem to epitomize the contrast between 'East' versus 'West', Isis being the Oriental deity while Venus embodies the Graeco-Roman perspective, a comparison from a

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[356] One cannot conclude from the object alone that because Isis, Anubis, and Harpocrates appear on a lamp together it has a religious purpose. Even if its owner was a follower or initiate of the Isis cult it might have served as a decorative item. Only contextual treatment can determine this.

bottom-up perspective might show a more nuanced image of this contrast. A comparison between the contexts and materialisations in which these two goddesses appear can therefore elucidate if and how Isis differed from Venus, which can subsequently provide valuable insights on the conceptualisation of Isis in Pompeii.[357] By means of this specific comparison, the function and concepts regarding Isis become clearer because she is specifically *not* regarded as an example of the 'embodiment of the East', but as a Pompeian deity (just as Venus) studied within a Pompeian network of values, concepts, and objects.

Fig.4.6) Venus versus Isis. Two statuettes from Pompeian domestic contexts with Venus (left) and Isis (right). Pictures taken by the author.

Venus, a time-honoured Italic goddess of vegetation and gardens, who became equated with the Greek Aphrodite, was known as the goddess of love and beauty during the Roman era. She was also considered one of the most important deities in Pompeii. Her temple and material manifestations are conspicuously visible and widespread.[358] Venus was of special significance to the town of Pompeii in particular as she was the patron deity, the town being

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[357] Issues to be dealt with are: in which way do the two goddesses manifest themselves within these specific contexts and in which manner? In which forms are they portrayed inside houses? What material is used? Which contexts do we find the deities? How often do we see Isis represented in comparison to deities of non-Egyptian origin e.g., Venus and Dionysus (Greek origin), Jupiter (Italic origin), or Mithras (Persian origin)?

[358] Venus was associated with the Greek goddess Aphrodite since at least the 5th century BC. She also took on certain traits from the Etruscan goddess Turan, see Lloyd-Morgan 1986, 179; Schilling 1952, 160-1. Fusions between Aphrodite and Isis also exist, for instance, on Delos, see 4.3.4; Kleibl 2009, 111-25.

named: *Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum. Venus Pompeiana* as is referred to was a special identification of Venus who became the official patron and received a celebrated cult ritual in Pompeii after the colonisation by Sulla in 80 BC.[359] After taking the form of both Fortuna and Venus, her appearance differs from the Venus associated with Aphrodite.[360] Both types, Venus-Aphrodite and Venus Pompeiana, were widely disseminated throughout the town and bear witness of a varied and dynamic way of visualisation and materialisation, as they were conveyed in diverse forms of material culture, such as marble statues, mosaics, wall paintings, and figurines. As to the contexts in which the representations of Venus occur they can be likewise characterised as heterogeneous. Objects and images related to Venus can be found plentiful in the living spaces of the Pompeian domus (e.g., in gardens, cubicula, triclinia, or peristylia).
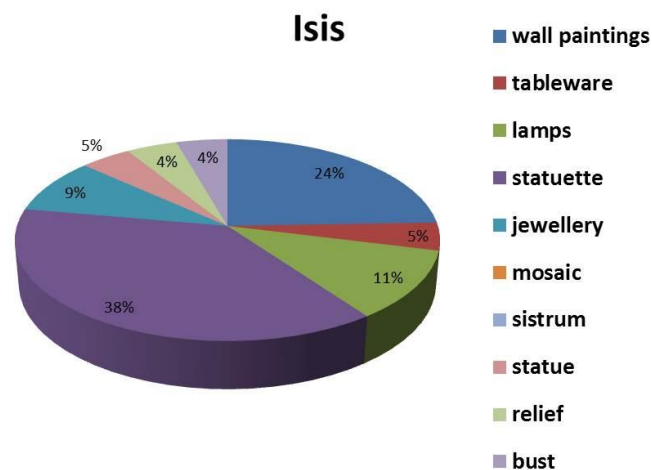
Fig. 4.7) Pie-chart of the different material representations of Isis in Pompeii.

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[359] After Sulla, the colony was named *Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum,* derived from the Sulla family name (Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix) and from the deity to whom he paid special honours. See Swindler 1923, 304-5. About the date of installation and construction of the temple of Venus itself remains debate. Curti (2005, 2008), proposes a construction in the second or early first century BC, seeing the temple as a reflection in the as an expression of political self-presentation and economic prosperity in Samnite Pompeii (Curti 2005, 51-76; 2008, 47-60). Carrol however, believes that the temple was constructed after Pompeii became a Roman colony under Sulla in 80 BC (Carrol 2008, 37-45; 2010 63-106-especially pages 65-74). In the first century AD, the temple was refurbished in marble but remained its original orientation (Wolf 2004, 193).

[360] Venus Pompeiana, the patron goddess of Pompeii, wears a long chiton and a cloak. Her body is completely covered. Now and again she holds a scepter and wears a crown of the urban goddess (*Mauerkrone der Stadtgöttin*). She can be found in domestic shrines as a wall painting (as many as six times, see Fröhlich 1991, 148-9), in the form of statuettes and once also on a gem, see Della Corte 1921, 87 no. 4. Fröhlich 1991, 148-9; For representations of Venus Anadyomene specifically, see Wardle 2010, 201-26.

In contrast to Isis, Venus occurs abundantly in wall paintings, more than 100 paintings feature her. However, when portrayed in domestic shrine contexts, Venus is attested only five times as Venus/Aphrodite and five times as Venus Pompeiana.[361]

Isis, as already stated, was as far as we know the only Egyptian deity to whom a sanctuary in Pompeii was dedicated. In addition, she acquired the largest number of material attestations within domestic contexts out of all the Egyptian gods. As can be extracted from the database, Isis is most profusely represented in houses in the form of statuettes (seventeen times). In addition, she appears on lamps (five), wall paintings (twelve), jewellery (four), and reliefs (six), see fig. 4.7.[362] Two observations become notably apparent from an analysis of the database: she was never depicted on mosaics or in the form of larger statuary than a lararium statuette and she is hardly ever found outside lararium contexts.[363] This fact does not seem to be restricted to Pompeii, tracing mosaics in the wider Roman Empire depictions of Isis on mosaics depictions are generally lacking. Venus was, on the other hand, apparently a popular subject used as decoration on mosaics. It seems that Isis could only carry out a cultic function. As to wall paintings depicting Isis, this can be confirmed, as only one example hereof these is attested outside a cultic context.[364] In statuary there is only a single exception: in the garden of the Casa dell'Efebo (I 7, 10-12) a (headless) statue was found portraying an Isis knot.[365] This would imply that Isis in at least one instance served as an element to adorn a garden, although it is not clear

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[361] See Hodske 2007; Fröhlich 1991, 146-9.

[362] Isis occurs twice as tableware i.e., in the form of two vases, in one of which she appears as a handle on a bronze and a bust. The bronze vessel originates from VII 7,5.2 14,15 -Casa di L. Calpurnius Diogenes e di Cissionius.

[363] One mosaic depicts a woman with a sistrum. It hails from El Djem, is currently on display in the El Djem Museum and measures 3,5x3,5 m.). However, this representation is part of an allegory of Rome and its provinces and the woman represents the province of Egypt, see Blanchard-Lemée 1999, fig. 6, 26-7, and fig. 9, 30. This mosaic is significant as it illustrates that such representations can serve to symbolize Egypt in the sense that a sistrum refers to Egypt, or that Isis is a reference to Egypt without being religious. It is furthermore interesting to learn from such images that a sistrum and Isis, although integrated as a Roman feature, are still recognised as markers of Egypt, see Dunbabin 1978.

[364] In the atrium of the Casa del Duca di Aumale (VI 9,1), which will be discussed below.

[365] Significantly, the house is more renowned for its Nilotic scenes as attested in the same garden, on the wall and on a *stibadion* (Versluys 2002, nos. 98, 101). The more 'secular' decorative Isis would fit within this context. However, a statuette of Isis also occurs. This interesting example informs us that the categories we have created are not exclusive.

if in this case it did indeed concern a statue of Isis, or a priestess active in her cult.

Not only the way in which Isis and Venus were used, but also their contexts differ significantly. Where could this difference stem from? Why are there so little decorative representations with Isis as a subject? To give an example, the *purgatorium* of the Isis temple in Pompeii was decorated with portraits of Mars and Venus alongside cupids. That was a perfectly acceptable way to adorn parts of temple. It had a primary decorative function, never associated with veneration. Why was Isis never attested the other way around? Such observations require further analysis. Therefore, this general overview will be followed by means of an investigation into specific categories (*in casu* paintings, mosaics, statuettes) in order to study these noted discrepancies in more detail.

Paintings

When compared to Venus, how is Isis depicted on paintings? As to the iconography of the wall paintings, the first remarkable difference is that while Venus not only expresses an incredible versatility within the context of her paintings but also in the way she is conveyed (to be dealt with in more detail below), Isis seems to uphold an image almost entirely opposing Venus.

Fig. 4.8) A garden painting of Venus. Adorning the Casa della Venere in Conchiglia (II 3,3), it covers the entire rear wall of the garden. The picture on the right represents the same scene, but now conveyed in a mosaic in the top of the nympheum in the Casa dell'Orso Ferito (VII 2, 45). These are popular scenes in such contexts because of the connection with water. From *PPM* vol. III and VI.

Isis had only a few depiction-types and was moreover always found in a cultic context, whereas paintings of Venus can be attested in numerously varied poses and with many attributes. The most common paintings portray

her naked and accompanied by one or more cupids.[366] Notably, in addition to this common way of representation, the variety of ways to convey Venus in Pompeii is considerably larger. No less than eleven variations among a total of eighty-three paintings have been counted.[367] All contain narrative scenes from the mythical life of Venus-Aphrodite and are found in all kinds of contexts, inside the house as well in the form of garden decorations. Taking the well-known portrait of Venus in the shell as an example (see fig. 4.8) the difference within wall paintings in which Isis appears (fig. 4.9) immediately becomes apparent. She is either nude or semi-nude, has a large and varied number of attributes, colours, in many variable body positions, and actively captured within a narrative context. When looking at wall paintings of Isis (fig. 4.9), these come across as much more static. According to the database, she appears on thirteen wall paintings in Pompeii (twelve are derived from a domestic context).[368]

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[366] See Thibaut 2008, 295-334.

[367] We find: Venus as a fisher, Venus on a sea centaur, Venus putting makeup on, Venus in her shell, Venus with cupids, Venus and Adonis, Venus punishing Eros, Venus and Ares, Venus reaching the shore, see Hodske 2007, 321-2. The entire number of representations of central mythological paintings are: Apollo on twenty seven paintings in ten varieties; Dionysos in twelve varieties, totalling twenty-two; Hercules in fourteen varieties, totalling fourty. Venus is attested in the form a statue or statuette in but a few instances e.g., in houses II 9,6 and I 8,16.

[368] This number differentiates: Fröhlich notes only three for Isis (but more for Isis-Fortuna). On the other hand, according to Fröhlich, Venus only appears in five lararium paintings (whereas Venus Pompeiana appears in seven). Fröhlich 1991, 147.

Fig. 4.9) Representations of Isis, The portrait (above left) is a lararium painting of Isis Fortuna found in the corridor leading to the latrine of IX.7.21/2. Caupona of Tertius (Naples Archaeological Museum. Inv. no: 112285). The second (right above) representation of Isis originates from the lararium in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati (VI.16.7, in situ). The scene (below) includes Isis and is from the Casa delle Amazzoni (VI.2.14) is part of a wall painting depicting a lararium. Illustrations from *PPM* vol. X; VI and Versluys 2002.

All these paintings depict Isis standing, wearing a long garment and holding a sistrum or a helm. In the case of Isis-Fortuna a cornucopia is included. Isis seems to have been portrayed in order to resemble a statue of the goddess, not a 'living' goddess. The absence of this liveliness within representations of Isis is confirmed by the fact she is never portrayed within a mythological or narrative framework. Even when Isis becomes part of a larger image, in the wall painting from the Casa delle Amazzoni in fig. 4.9 (see below), she is not a living goddess as is Venus in the shell, but portrayed as a statuette as part of a lararium.

Observations on the contexts and guises in which representations of Isis occur, have only one notable exception. In this case the painting was found in the sanctuary of Isis. Here she is represented as a living creature in a mythological composition which is worth a further discussion, as it might provide additional clues on the way in which she could have been received in relation to her portrayal. The painting visualises the myth on the arrival of Io in Egypt where Isis welcomes her at Canopus (see fig. 4.10). It is found in the so-called *Ekklesiasterion* on the centre of the south wall in the Isis temple,

together with a second mythological painting on the opposite wall. Here the frame on the centre of the north wall depicts Argus protecting Io and Hermes showing his syrinx to Argus. What is especially remarkable to observe in this respect is the fact that (a) this is the only mythological painting in all of Pompeii to convey within a Greek myth about Io, (b) a choice to portray Isis seems to be clearly linked to the context of the temple dedicated to Isis, (c) Isis plays only a secondary role in a myth revolving around Io. Of course, in Egypt Isis is endowed with her personal mythology. Nonetheless, even in this temple (housing priests with an intimate knowledge of Isis) this is not reflected on the walls.[369] What is the rationale behind such a decision?

Fig. 4.10) The arrival of Io at Canopus. The painting on the left is derived from the so-called *Ekklestiasterion* in the sanctuary of Isis; the painting on the right was found in the atrium of the Casa del Duca di Aumale (VI 9, 1). Io is lifted out of the water onto the rocks by a river god (Nile), and taken ashore by Isis. Behind her we see a priest and the god Mercury. On her right sits Harpocrates and to his right an Egyptian sphinx statue consisting of red granite. Isis's feet rest on a crocodile. From PPM vols. VII and VIII.

Could Campanian artisans not carry out an Egyptian mythological scene, or did the specific function of the room in this sanctuary not allow for this? The function of the *Ekklesiasterion* in the Iseum is not completely clear. However, because of its portico it is visually open and embodies the most publicly accessible space of the entire precinct.[370] Therefore it is argued that the *Ekklesiasterion* most probably had a public character which was used for

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[369] In contemporary Roman Egypt, references to Isis's mythology are abundant. For instance in the adornment of temples and of tombs found in Alexandria, Dakleh, or Tuna el Gebel. Popular themes as to tomb decoration were: Isis mourning over the death of Osiris, Isis performing libations for the deceased, Isis and Nephtys venerating the sun disc, etc., see Venit 2010, 89-119; Kaper 2010, 149-80.

[370] Which public this was also remains unclear. However, we should probably consider here a select public of followers and initiates. The interpretation on its function range from a general meeting place, initiation room to a space for ritual banquets.

ritual dining and other more community-related cult practices.[371] Within dining contexts in general it was appropriate to showcase mythological scenes, as witnessed throughout Pompeii during this period. But why then not a myth about Isis? Although we are warned not to rely too severely on the *interpretatio graeca* with regard to the risk of overseeing the Pharaonic aspects of this fresco, the paintings in the room centre on the representation of Io's life and only in one instance does Isis play a role.[372] Regarding the room's public character it does indeed seem to be reasonable to argue that the specific way of referring to Egypt and Isis by way of Greek mythology could in this case be explained as a means to render it understandable to a larger audience: Isis became accessible thanks to the mythological framework associated with Io.[373] Also, the myth of Io arriving in Egypt is not those among the very well known, meaning that it was specifically chosen in order to portray Isis. In this iconographical representation Isis initiates and non-initiated visitors would realise the myth dealt with Isis and Egypt, even if they did not recognise all the Egyptian elements.[374] An explanation for this choice of myth may therefore be found in a mythological knowledge and conceptualisation. This is relevant as it informs us of the reason behind the limited presence of Isis in visual material culture and furthermore reveals the boundaries of material and visual integration of a deity such as Isis. In order to visually communicate stories or myths, they needed to be recognised and understood on a notably deep level. The reason for this is that the visual clues presented within mythological paintings that reveal specific characters, their states of being, and storylines were transmitted by means of very subtle clues.[375] As knowledge of Io (and more generally Graeco-Roman mythology), in contrast to Egyptian mythology, was present

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[371] This painting thus crossed boundaries between cult and decoration by means of the function of social gathering. The social aspect of the paintings with regard to their functioning was the fact they portrayed the succession in power of the son (depicted as the young Harpocrates) of Numidius Popidius, the benefactor who financed the restoration of the temple, see, Balch 2003, 48.

[372] See Bianchi 2007, 502-5. A landscape painting on the west wall includes the sarcophagus of Osiris. Isis and Io are represented on the central panel on the north wall of the Ekklesiasterion. On the south wall we see Io protected by Argus and Hermes showing Argus his musical instrument by means of which he will put Argus to sleep in order to rescue Io.

[373] Initiates could comprehend Pharaonic aspects, while the non-initiated visitor could also grasp the image.

[374] In contrast to the sacrarium, which was only meant for initiates or even just for priests living in the temple area. It is suggested that a believer instead of a painter created the frescos in the sacrarium, causing the decorations to have a distinct Roman and Egyptian face, see Moormann 2007, 152.

[375] This will be further elaborated upon in 4.5. For more information on mythological scenes in Pompeii, see Hodske 2007; Muth 1998; Lorenz 2008.

within the collective memory of the inhabitants of Pompeii, it was the only visual way to transmit the story and make Isis recognisable. The portrait is chosen because it links to Egypt. However, the mythology could only be represented and recognised within the framework of Graeco-Roman mythology, not that of Egypt.

Another interesting aspect of this painting of Isis and Io is the fact there is an exactly similar version in one of the more modest houses of Pompeii: the Casa del Duca di Aumale (VI 7, 15) as depicted in fig. 4.10 (right). Unfortunately, we do not have much information on the context of this painting (allied forces bombed it during the course of World War II); however, it is known it was found in a room north of the atrium. A similar template was available, but being not only a copy (of the same example) of the painting of Isis, but also the only version of this myth ever found in Pompeii, one could suggest it was a deliberate attempt to create a link with the temple of Isis. The use of a version of the painting of Isis and Io instead of the one that depicts Isis being imprisoned by Argus may point to a specific cultic decision.[376] This suggestion is a mere assumption and quite difficult to falsify, however, if this was indeed the case, it would imply that even if Isis is conveyed within the myth of Io, the focus in this particular context lies on Isis and not on the narrative. This example, in combination with the afore-mentioned, illustrates that Isis, within a domestic context at least, was not meant to serve as decoration, but that she always somehow carried out a specific cultic function.[377]

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[376] This implies that while the painting in the temple is chosen with an aesthetic view in mind, the same painting for the Casa di Duca di Aumale is chosen from a religious viewpoint. The opposition of aesthetic preferences in religious spaces is not uncommon. Moormann opts for an aesthetic interpretation when regarding the purgatorium, thereby following Egelhaaf-Gaiser. The Nilometer is adorned by means of Perseus and Andromeda, Venus and Mars as well as erotes They seem to carry out a primarily decorative function, see Moormann 2007, 149-50; Egelhaaf-Gaiser, 188.

[377] What can be said on contexts outside the domestic contexts of Pompeii? Ornamental portraits of Isis are present in the Villa della Farnesina (the so-called House of Agrippa) as well as the House of Livia on the Palatine in Rome (Mols and Moormann 2008). In both cases Isis forms a part of wall painting inside the representational parts of the house. Domestic contexts, however, also represent the only settings in which Isis is attested in a decorative manner. This example should be considered exceptional. In the context of the emperor Augustus, it appears there were various rules, and it was appropriate to utilise Isis in this way. However, this could only be carried out within the imperial context of Augustus and his inner circle. This imperial phenomenon, however, never disseminated. The reason presumably being the fact that Isis in this particular case (i.e., the context of Augustus) was not taken seriously as a cult deity. Instead it should be regarded within the context of her role as wife of Osiris and mother of Horus as a strong symbol of power in dynastic succession, as also occurred in Ptolemaic Egypt (de Vos 1980, 1984, 1999). In this sense, within the larger frame of Alexandrian aesthetic references as a symbol of political power, Isis should be regarded as particularly purposeful as an adornment. However, it is thereby

Mosaics

In addition to paintings, mosaics also form a category interesting to consider, as they represent a notably different form of material culture. It has already been noted that while Isis is never represented on mosaics, Venus is one of the most popular deities to be found on mosaic pavements in the Roman world where especially the theme of Venus rising out of the water and Venus fishing occur frequently as mythological motifs.[378] In order to explain this divergence between the divinities it is helpful to first understand how mosaics were used and conceived in general. Scholars claim mosaics were a medium with a non-cultic and even a purely decorative function within domestic contexts. As a consequence, mosaics of deities should not be considered as carriers of a cultic meaning. As Dunbabin argued: *"The argument that mosaics were rarely used in religious contexts has a further relevance from the consideration of the mosaics that show individual deities, It is not a priori likely that these would be used as cult images indeed I know of no examples anywhere of the representation in mosaic on a floor of the principal deity to whom a shrine was dedicated, on the other hand figures of the gods form part of the general traditional repertory and occur in a wide variety of settings of which some can certainly be considered secular."*[379] Although already discussed, applying the term 'secular' is highly problematic within the context of the Roman world. Reviewing the overall choice in motifs and iconography it can nevertheless be concluded that the medium of mosaics does seem to point to a use that can be regarded as 'non-cultic' or 'decorative'. Considering the fact that they were both deities, why was Venus more suited to be playing a role in mosaics than Isis? This is not only the result of Venus' supposed dynamics and 'vivacity' as observed in paintings,

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exclusively associated with the imperial, creating a boundary for social emulation. We find here a very fine line concerning the rules of social emulation. Although the elite copied the imperial house in order to adhere to a certain status, there were certainly limits. Another example, in the context of Egypt, is the obelisk. It becomes a very strong symbol, not merely imperial in this case but one of the emperor himself (even in a religious context), see Curran et al. 2009, 49. This made it impossible for the elite to copy, even in lesser forms. We thus do not come across any in Pompeii, neither as copies within a garden context, nor depicted on walls.

[378] They frequently appear in mosaic pavements of maritime towns as well as in locations in the interior, see. Blanchard-Lemée 1995, 147-8, fig. 108-9, 112, 113-5. In Pompeii, representations of the fishing Venus is the most popular, see Hodske 2007.

[379] See Dunbabin 1987, 141. Although in a few instances mosaics can point directly to cult behaviour (e.g., the mosaic from the Caserna of the Vigiles at Ostia, including episodes from a bull sacrifice (Becatti, Ostia IV no.76, p. 61 207 AD) or the mosaic from the Kornmarkt (Trier) which combines mythological scenes with cult deities, a cult scene and a procession of figures with vessels (Parlasca 1959, 56), see Dunbabin 1978, 140-1. These are very rare examples. In addition to Venus, mosaics often include images of deities (e.g., Dionysus, Hercules).

the various aspects of her mythology and character also contributed to her popularity as a decorative theme. Moreover, her naked body and allusion to love and sexuality rendered her an appropriate choice as an adornment in the more leisurely spaces within houses.[380] Furthermore, the image of Venus rising out of the water was very suited to embellish garden and water contexts.[381] This again points to much more diverse and elaborate conceptualisations in comparison to Isis. Significantly to note with regard to the discussion of Isis' 'Egyptianness' and if this may have mattered within the use of material culture, is that by means of this last example it seems that Venus's nature and the way she was conceptualised within a narrative structure made her suited for these contexts, and not strictly the fact that she was a (more) Roman divinity.[382] The other way around it can thus be argued that although Isis could never be an option when decorating gardens, this is not because she was considered to be non-Roman, but because of something more inherent to her character.

Statuettes

A final comparison between Venus and Isis is established on the basis of statuettes. It seems to further confirm the arguments concerning the appropriation and use of these deities. Tables 4.3 and 4.4 depict the statuettes of Venus and Isis from Pompeii respectively. It is difficult to carry out any quantitative analyses, because in Fröhlich's catalogue Venus statuettes only concern a selection of the finds and not the total number of statuettes found, the goal is to look at the stylistic, material, and contextual differences between the deities. The iconography teaches, as with the paintings, that Venus appears in numerous poses: leaning, as Venus Anadyomene, naked, or seated on a lion. Several representations are even modelled after renowned statues such as the Venus of Arles.[383] Isis's only

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[380] See Wardle 2010, 201-26.
[381] Another option in water context and gardens is for example Nilotic scenes; this is imagery we do find in these settings.
[382] Indeed strictly, as the suggestion might be raised that the way in which Venus has been conceptualised and subsequently materialised could have to do with a more intimate knowledge originating from a 'deeper integration pattern' because of the fact she has been around longer (and could be captured more intimately). This, however, needs to be further examined by means of the example of Mithras.
[383] Venus Anadyomene (meaning Venus Rising from the Sea) represents the most iconic representation of Venus. The Venus of Arles is renowned marble sculpture on display at the Musée du Louvre. It is 1,94 m. high and dates to the end of the 1st century BC. However, this particular version of Venus is earlier. The Venus of Arles is even presumed to a copy of the Aphrodite of Thespiae by Praxiteles, see Ridgway 1976, 147.

variations occur when she is identified with other deities (such as Fortuna, Hygeia, and Demeter).

STATUETTES OF VENUS FOUND IN POMPEII					
Type	House	Location	Material	Ref. no.	Notes
Venus Anadyomene	V 1,18	Tablinum	Ivory	110924	
Venus leaning	I 11,12	Edicola in garden	Marble	12164	Painted
Venus Anadyomene	Isis temple	Portico	Marble		Painted
Venus Anadyomene	V 4,3	Lararium niche?	Marble		Painted
Venus	II 3,6		Marble	9926	Painted red
Venus Pompeiana	II 9,4		Marble	37999	
Venus Anadyomene	VIII 3,6		Marble		
Venus nude	1 7,19	Garden niche	Marble		In two pieces
Venus	II 1,1	Lararium	Pseudo alabaster		Only fragments
Venus on a lion	VI 16,28	Tablinum	Terracotta		
Venus with sandals	I 11,6		Marble		
Venus leaning	I 2,17	Edicola shrine	Marble		
Venus Arles type	II 3,4		Marble		Red paint present
Venus Anadyomene	VII 3,6		Marble		
Venus	I 6,12		Marble		
Venus	V 3,11	Room left of fauces			
Venus	VI 14,27	Atrium	Marble		
Venus	VII 15,3	Atrium			
Venus	I 7,10	Peristyle niche	Marble		
Venus	III 2,1	Peristyle cubliculum			
Venus	V 3,4	Atrium shrine	Marble		

Table 4.3) A selection of statuettes of Venus found in Pompeian houses.[384]

Her outward appearance and postures are always identical as also witnessed in the paintings. Her attributes clarify with what kind of representation of Isis we are dealing with. On average, the statues of Isis are smaller than those of Venus. However, the most striking aspect of the statuette comparison is that the materials applied in order to portray the divinities diverge profoundly. Whereas almost all statuettes of Venus are conveyed in marble (often with traces of paint), Isis is never made out of marble. The majority consists of bronze (65 %), and the remainder of silver.[385] Not a single statue of Venus is cast in bronze. Although we find little

[384] This selection is assembled from Fröhlich 1991, Boyce 1937 and Giacobelli 2008. As these sources did not all specify the material, position or location of the statues, the table is incomplete. As to the table of Venus statuettes it must be noted that it comprises only a selection of those statuettes with a clear find context, whereas the table of Isis provides all the finds for Pompeii, implying that the actual number of Venus figurines must be higher than indicated on the table.
[385] One marble statuette in the the domestic shrine in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati was said to represent Isis. However, considering its iconography, it is more likely portray Fortuna, not Isis-Fortuna.

standardisation as to domestic shrines in Pompeii, generally speaking the statuettes manufactured for these contexts are mainly made of bronze.[386]

STATUETTES OF ISIS FOUND IN POMPEII					
Type	House	Name of House	Location	Material	Cat. no.
Isis	I 7,7	Casa di Sacerdos	Atrium	Bronze	65
Isis	VI 16,7	Casa degli Amorini dorati		Marble	70
Isis	VI 3,7	Casa di Memmius Auctus		Bronze	68
Isis	VII 2,18	Casa di C. Vibius Italus	Peristylium	Bronze	71
Isis	VII 3,35	Shop		Bronze	72
Isis	VII 4,11	Shop		Silver	73
Isis-Demeter		Villa rustica		Bronze	78
Isis-Fortuna		Pompeian countryside		Bronze	81
Isis-Fortuna		Unknown		Bronze	82
Isis-Fortuna		Unknown		Bronze	83
Isis-Fortuna		Villa rustica		Bronze	77
Isis-Fortuna		Villa rustica of Asellius		Bronze	79
Isis-Fortuna		Villa rustica of Asellius		Bronze	80
Isis-Fortuna	IX 3,2			Bronze	74
Isis-Fortuna	V 3,3			Bronze	66
Isis-Fortuna	V 6,			Bronze	67
Isis-Hygie	IX 8,6	Casa del Centenario		Bronze	75
Isis-Panthe		Villa rustica di Cn. Domitius Auctus		Silver	76
Isis	I 7, 11	Casa dell´Efebo		Bronze	142

Table 4.4) Statuettes of Isis found in Pompeii, assembled from the database.

This led Dwyer to the idea that they were in the first place produced as decorative statues, and only later in their existence received a votive purpose in a lararium.[387] Such a presumption, however, is difficult to maintain, as it argues that none of the statuettes were initially created with the intention of becoming cultic objects, as not a single Venus statuette was cast in bronze. This seems at odds with the popularity of the goddess with regard to cult practice, paintings, and temples. A more reasonable suggestion might be that marble was merely the manner in which Venus was perceived and thus the natural way in which she came to be venerated. The marble, paint, and size do not say anything about a 'secular' function per se. They are part of Venus' traits. The marble and paint add to her erotic and visual appeal. Even when venerated Venus remained to be appropriated aesthetically.[388] With

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[386] As can be seen in the lararium statuettes in the catalogue by Fröhlich, Fröhlich 1991.
[387] See Dwyer 1982, 124.
[388] On the other hand, the marble might not only have added to the decorative functions or erotic connotations ascribed to Venus; Venus Pompeiana, known for her more 'modest' and covered appearance as the town's tutelary deity is also primarily attested in marble.

such a close cognitive association between marble and the concept of Venus, it would be difficult if not impossible, to venerate or even recognise her when rendered by means of another material. It is important to stipulate, as scholars often disregard this when studying such objects, that material in this sense forms a deity's attribute equal to a cupid, cornucopia, or a helm.

To conclude, after comparing the materialisations and contexts in which Venus and Isis appear, several striking differences have emerged. Whereas Isis, in all forms is mainly found in a lararium context, Venus is predominantly attested in leisure spaces and considered a popular decorative element in Roman houses. Her direct appearance was abundantly visible on mosaics and her marble statuary was often painted. The birth of Venus seemed to have been appropriate for a fountain context, whereas the nude Anadyomene frequently occurred in the form of statuettes. In wall paintings she could appear throughout the house in a varied number of mythological renderings. The difference could not be any greater when comparing the dynamic, animated, aesthetically appropriated Venus with the static, cultic, statue-like portrayal of Isis. Whereas Isis appears statically and seemingly conceptualised an icon of sorts, Venus is depicted as active, lively, and with human features. The static and principally cultic associations with Isis might be caused by the fact she never became a part of the mythological narratives present in the collective memory of the Romans of Pompeii. She therefore never had the chance to develop such characteristics. This disparity in the way in which deities were materialised and visualised in Pompeii however (with regard to the discussion on object agency as discussed in chapter 3) resulted in essential consequences as to the way in which deities were conceptualised within Pompeii. Should the cause of this be sought in her Egyptian character, her un-Romanness? Portraits of Apollo, Dionysus, and Mercury appear in contexts deemed decorative. Whereas Isis, Harpocrates, and Serapis were almost exclusively found in cultic settings. Then again, Apollo is not of Roman origin, nor is Dionysus. Is it the different function of the deities or the way in which Isis is integrated? This may have something to do not with the supposed Egyptianness, but with the integration process in conjunction with the way in which deities can be materialised. In order to ascertain whether a link can be established between the origin, integration into the Roman pantheon, and the absence of the gods in more ornamental ways, a brief and final comparison will be made with

However, this might be explained as marble became an intrinsic part of the broader concept of Venus, not only of Venus as a goddess of love.

another deity of an ostensibly 'exotic' origin as are Isis and her consorts: Mithras.

4.2.4 Mithras

As to the 'Oriental' aspects of Isis it interesting to compare representations of her with a deity belonging (as a scholarly classification) to the group of 'non-Roman', Oriental, or mystery cults.[389] It must be specified here that it is not automatically assumed that Isis and Mithras both belong to the category of Oriental cults and that they, for that reason, were differently treated than a Venus or Dionysus. However, by taking Mithras as an example the difference in use and perception between a deity adopted relatively late during the Roman world (Isis and Mithras were integrated in around the 1st century BC) and a deity known to the area for a longer period (such as Venus) can become apparent. In this way it might be possible to establish a firmer grip not only on the concept of Isis, but also on the possible limits of her material integration. Mithras is a Roman adaptation of the historically Persian god Mithra, which became a popular Roman cult during the 1st century AD, especially within the Roman military.[390] Significant aspects concerning the material culture of this cult are the specific cult buildings or Mithraea, which do not denote a real sanctuary but rather an underground, windowless, cave like structure notably different from any Roman temple form, and the fact he is worshipped not in the shape of a cult statue, but as a relief depicting Mithras slaying a bull.[391] It is interesting to observe the way in which this god came to be established and blended into the material culture of the Roman world, although it is difficult to find any research focussing on representations of Mithras outside the study of Mithraea. It seems that the

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[389] See 2.4.1 for the categorisation of deities as being Oriental. For a discussion or overview on mystery cults, see Burkert 1987; Boyden 2010.

[390] Renowned for its complex and mysterious initiation system and the characteristic form of iconographical imagery and cult buildings, the so-called Mithrea did not consist of 'usual' Greaco-Roman temple styles, but cave like, underground and windowless structures. For general publications on the Roman Mithras cult, see Cumont 1894-6; Vermaseren 1963; Merkelbach 1994; Turcan 2000; Beck 2004.

[391] In the centre of each Mithraeum a representation called the *tauroctony* (a modern term) of Mithras killing a sacred bull is located, see Beck 2006, 17. It basically depicts Mithras in the centre, kneeling near the bull (its tail consists of a sheaf of corn). He holds it by the nostrils with his left hand, stabbing it with his right hand. A dog and a snake jump up to the dying bull licking its wounds, while a scorpion grabs the bull's testicles. On either side of the scene we see torchbearers (a cautes with a torch pointing up, a cautopates with a torch pointing down). All this takes place in a cave, the roof of which is above Mithras's head. Woodland scenes occupy the space above the roof. In the top left we see the sun, Sol, with a crown of rays. A long ray streaks down in order to throw light on Mithras. A raven sits nearby. In the top right is the moon, Luna, is depicted. Side panels include mythological events from Mithras's life.

majority of research on material culture aims at either the dissemination of Mithraea or on objects attested at Mithraea, and generally not consider the influence of Mithras as a decorative manifestation. Moreover, it is impossible to assess Mithras within an intra-site comparison, as this cult is not clearly present at the site of Pompeii (Roman Ostia counts at least eighteen Mithraea, whereas Pompeii so far counts none). This has most probably to do with the fact that the cult became popular amongst a larger audience after Pompeii was already destroyed.[392] In order to ascertain the way in which Mithras was integrated within domestic contexts, other sites than Pompeii will be explored.

A first question to arise is whether images of Mithras were found within domestic contexts and in which forms. According to Richard Gordon Mithras is attested both in domestic and temple worship. Within the domestic contexts the material culture varies and its applications reach beyond the scope of pure cultic uses: "*And many small images take the form neither of cult- nor secondary reliefs but function as markers or labels for cult-vessels and other property, the scene of Mithras bull killing came to be used for many other purposes than are covered by the conventional notion of cult-relief.*"[393] How large or small is the variety in objects in which the presence of Mithras is attested within these contexts? First of all, within this range reliefs could be found depicting Mithras or Mithraic attributes (such as the so-called *cautes* and *cautopates*, the torch bearers of Mithras, the bull killing ritual and smaller icons -e.g., lions, scorpions, snakes). These reliefs in all probability served as votive gifts, either as fixed into side walls of temples and shrines or used as reliefs inside houses for private worship.[394] Reliefs seem to a more common type of Mithras renderings, as the majority of the finds appear to consist of reliefs and plaques.[395] However, in other parts of the Roman Empire, the finds, although not always from a secured find context, seem to be more varied.[396] For instance, (glazed) reliefs, statuettes, and decorated vessels (*terra sigillata*), were attested in several Mithraea at Carnuntum, Rome, and Lezoux. Objects that could be ascribed to domestic contexts were found too. These latter contexts include artefacts with Mithraic imagery in bronze and terracotta (such as stamps, plates,

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[392] Between the 1st and the 4th centuries AD the cult is visible in the material record. However, its popularity began to rise only after the 2nd century AD.

[393] See Gordon 2004, 260.

[394] See Gordon 2004, 260.

[395] See Tran tam Tinh 1972, 177-84.

[396] Therefore, as was done with Isis, it often taken as evidence for the existence of a Mitraeum rather than a Mithraic find within a domestic context.

medallions, or brooches).[397] Jewellery depicting Mithras can be found throughout the Roman world in the shape of amulets and gems, which had led to the view that certain followers of the Mithras cult wore jewellery in order to reflect their belief.[398] As to the iconography of Mithras it does not include imagery as varied as with Venus and solely depict either Mithras or the bull killing.[399] This means that although in a way it could be argued that Mithras was worshipped in a more dynamic way (because the relief shows an action instead of a static interpretation), there is never an image found of Mithras that diverged from this very particular iconography. Never was a representation of Mithras found that diverged from this specific iconography. This constitutes quite a different image than could be witnessed in the example of Venus. In fact, it largely resembles the static manner that Isis and the Isiac divinities were portrayed in material culture. That material culture confirms this observation, which is not as varied as was observed with Venus. Being of a very specific nature, it is therefore more comparable to Isis. Mithras was also not to be found in mosaic renderings, but does occur in the shape of statuettes, reliefs, jewellery and wall painting. As with Isis, small finds do manifest themselves within domestic contexts. However, they never seem to lose their direct cultic reference and display only a limited iconographical variability. When reviewing the contexts in which Mithras is found and the variety of material culture in which he or his cultic attributes appear, it seems that they are indeed comparable to the portrayal of Isis within domestic settings.

4.2.5 Icons and idols

This first exploratory section on Aegyptiaca has brought to the fore interesting results regarding the adaptation and perception of deities with a historically Egyptian origin. It has become clear that objects belonging to the group: 'deities with an Egyptian origin' from the database, should be regarded and analysed within more conceptual categories than just one ensemble of Egyptian gods, for the use of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos and Jupiter-Ammon are crucially different from that of Isis, Anubis, Harpocrates and Serapis in terms of find contexts, objects, and material. However, not

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[397] For the glazed reliefs and statues, see Wulfmeier 2004, 89-94; Hensen, 2004, 95-107. For other small finds e.g., the Mithras brooch from Ostia now exhibited at in the Asmolean Museum in Oxford, see Weiss 2004, 319-26; Sas 2004, 359-62; Oikonomedès 1975.

[398] See Sas 2004, 259. This might resemble the amulets related to Isis found within the context of Pompeii.

[399] See Gordon 2004, 259-78.

only was Isis differently regarded when compared with other Egyptian deities. Research into Isis and her representations in a wider material framework indicates she also notably differed in use from Venus, one of the other popular female deities in Pompeii.

Several valuable deductions can be made with regard to the concept of the Isiac gods by means of studying the contexts and objects. Having assessed paintings, statuettes, and mosaics representing Isis it can be stated that it is not her Egyptian origin which makes it unlikely she would appear outside the cultic context of the house altar. It is because of the fact Isis and her mythology are not embedded in the collective memory in a narrative way, as is Venus (and Dionysus, Mercury, Apollo, Jupiter etc.), that Isis remained more statically engaged. Because Venus was part of a narrative, she was recognised in different and more complex ways. Because of the narrative recognition she could be ascribed with a personality, a life story, and allegoric qualities. Venus could be more dynamically applied and was therefore appropriate in a larger number of contexts than Isis. Venus could be a kind of decoration, too, whereas Isis could not be conceived of outside a cultic context. Although it has been argued that Harpocrates was used decoratively in certain instances it is also argued that it always revolves around a cultic motif.[400] This, as a comparison illustrated, is very similar to the way Mithras becomes used in material culture. The question as to why Isis and Mithras never penetrated beyond cultic materialisations is difficult to answer within the scope of this research. It might be linked to the rather late integration of the cult in the Roman world, after certain pivotal boundaries on the cultural and religious identity of the Empire had been established.[401] Moreover, the fact that Isis and Mithras are both mystery cults only accessible to initiates (and Mithras much more than the Isis cult), had implications concerning the way they could be integrated into wider networks of material culture.[402] The iconography was not widely spread, less

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[400] "*Der Typus ist weit verbreitet und hat auch in die dekorative Wandmalerie Eingang gefunden, wie ein Fragment aus Pompeii in Londen* (Tran tam Tinh 1964, 153 no. 71) *und eine heute zerstörte Darstellung in VIII 4, 12* (Tran tam Tinh 134 no 26) *belegen.*" However even in these cases Harpocrates is depicted as a cultic image. See Fröhlich 1991, 156.

[401] As argued in Orlin 2010, 162-90.

[402] Mithras remained a mystery cult throughout its Roman existence. We read: "*It is conceivable that there was a connection between the foreign origin of Roman Mithras and the fact that his cult in the Roman Empire was represented only in the form of a mystery cult. The case was different with the Metroac (Cybele and Attis) and Isiac cults. In the second century AD these solidly incorporated into the Roman religious nomenclature and could assume, in certain cases, the said characteristics of mystery cults. In the case of Mithras, in the Roman Empire, this background and long-lived familiarity with the Roman religious atlas was completely lacking.*" Bianchi 1990, 9.

known, and therefore less manageable to serve as decoration. Furthermore, it might not have been appropriate to make both cults more 'human' and it may even have been considered important to allow them remain static in imagery. The limited number of representations of Isis also seems to be related to her role in Roman society and her function as a deity. Considered a goddess of fertility and marriage, she is often portrayed as a mother nursing her son. Bacchus/Dionysus was associated with wine, Venus with love and Apollo with music. They could therefore be integrated into the decorative scheme not only within leisure and garden contexts, but also into places concerning feasting.[403]

However, when taking the example of the integration of Venus compared to that of deities such as Mithras and Isis and their supposed foreignness further (although we cannot speak about un-Romanness), there are clearly differences between the materialisations of the cults which are not only explainable on a cultural level. Taking an interpretative leap forward it could be argued that something was able to become Roman when it developed into a narrative and could therefore be integrated more dynamically (and subsequently cognitively become stronger). This might however, not specifically have to do with Isis' (or the Isiac) origin and her Egyptianness, as Mithras showed similar patterns. Nonetheless the experience of Mithras, it could be observed that the way in which Isis was understood in Pompeii differed from other deities there. This also partly answers the question why Isis could not be found as a decorative item on a temple part whereas Mars and Venus could. This does not imply she was not seen as a non-Roman deity. Isis was integrated, as was Mithras. However, their integration within Roman material culture knew boundaries. Even the Isis temple had a refer to a Graeco-Roman myth rather than anything with a pharaonic subject (see also 4.5). This phenomenon in material culture must have had an effect as to how Isis was experienced and conceptualised in Pompeii.

While this part was able to create a more embedded picture of how materialisations of Egyptian were perceived and used in Pompeii, there are some unsolved issues left regarding this subject. For instance the context of domestic shrines and the different identifications of Isis in relation to the material, styles, and contexts require elaboration. The contexts of these

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[403] Furthermore, looking in more detail to the integration with reference to supposed Egyptianness, another argument against this (or at least making the matter more complex than just 'Egyptian') is that whereas in decorating watersettings such as fountains it was not appropriate to adopt Isis, Nilotic scenes were profusely utilized for this. They have a similar (or similar lack of this) 'Egyptian' association.

elements and their relationship with Isiac attributes need to be scrutinised further. This will be pursued in the next section on Isiac statuettes.

4.3 Statuettes of Egyptian deities within the context of domestic religion

4.3.1. Introduction

In 4.2 it was concluded that the material expressions of Isis and of deities belonging to the Isiac pantheon (e.g., Harpocrates, Anubis, Serapis) in Pompeian houses should be primarily related to cultic contexts. Studying the statuettes embedded in these contexts can therefore be considered an interesting target, because it is able to inform us about the preferences, choices, and traditions regarding the Isiac deities in order to subsequently add valuable insights to the existing knowledge of the domestic religion of Pompeii. Focusing on statuettes observed in wider social and cultural networks could provide another view on local preferences and perceptions of Isis and Egypt. Furthermore, it provides insights on the cultic and aesthetic values of the statuettes as discussed in 4.2.5.[404] Section 4.3 will therefore analyse a specific category of material culture to then focus on statuettes and to wall paintings representing Isis, Harpocrates, Serapis and Anubis not only within the context of domestic religion, but also within the wider context of non-Egyptian statuettes and Egyptian statuettes originating from contexts other than Pompeii. Domestic religion is a subject widely discussed, as is the site of Pompeii.[405] Within the discourse on domestic religion, however, statuettes seem to be somewhat taking a back seat in the discussion, especially when compared to lararia and wall painting studies. As yet no comparative research exists that targets statuettes in Pompeii. Nonetheless, valuable information can be acquired with regard to the current investigation taking into account figurines as part of the material culture belonging to domestic worship. Relevant questions are for instance how many statuettes of the Egyptian deities were found in comparison to the wider group of objects related to domestic religion. Did they vary in appearance or material? Which domestic contexts did Isiac statuettes

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[404] As was established here, Bes and Ptah are not regarded within the Roman framework of domestic religion, as they were never found in domestic shrine contexts. Their perception and use are discussed in 4.4.

[405] For general studies on Roman domestic religion, see Orr 1978; Bodel and Olyan 2008; Lipka 2006, 327-58; Laforge 2010; Clarke 1991, 1-29; Kaufmann-Heinimann, 2007, 188-201. For studies specifically aimed at domestic shrines, see Fröhlich 1991; Giacobello 2008; Brandt 2010, 57-117.

possess? Can we observe a patterning as to with which combinations they appear with other Pompeian deities? On a larger level, when statuettes are compared to other contexts (such as Egypt or Delos) can differences in iconography or style be noticed?

Analysing 'Egypt' within the context of domestic cult practices does not imply that the interpretation is carried either from a religious or a decorative framework; both concepts are heavily intertwined and it is primarily their interaction which plays an important role in the final use and meaning of the statuettes under discussion. Although the domestic shrines predominantly served as places of worship, the way in which they were decorated, the array of statues and other paraphernalia of high quality and their positions indoors also touches upon issues of representation.

4.3.2 Statuettes and Roman domestic worship

Statuettes in general constitute a category of objects made out of marble, wood, terracotta, bronze, or silver and provide a heterogeneous array of deities connected to household religion and specifically to domestic shrines. They were attested in nearly every house in Pompeii and are often referred to as 'lararia'. The importance of these contexts, objects, and associated cultic practices is demonstrated by means of a profound number and variety of ancestral gods, offerings, and shrines in all Pompeian homes, modest or wealthy.[406] Those involved with domestic ritual practices were members of Pompeiian families, which comprised of a *pater familias* or *dominus*, his wife and children, and if he was able to afford it, his slaves.[407] All upheld a relationship with the divine and certain ways to act this out on a daily basis in the harmony of their homes. As not each member of the houseful played a role in the public arena, a great portion of one's religious activity was more personal and individually oriented within the walls of the *domus*.[408] A central part of any Roman dwelling therefore was the household shrine, located either indoors or in the garden. Here the family prayed and offered small gifts consisting of food such as fruit or wine to the spirits every morning. The most important household gods were the *lares*, protectors of the house and the household, and the *penates*, protectors of the household provisions and kitchen. They were complemented by Vesta (Goddess of the Hearth), the genius (the family's tutelary spirit), the *manes* (ancestral spirits) and Janus,

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[406] Frankfurter 2010.
[407] In literature this is expressed as 'a houseful', See Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 103.
[408] See Bodel 2008, 249.

the spirit of doorways. Daily rituals were performed in order to keep the *Pax Deorum*, and special rituals were carried out at important events revolving around the household, such as marriage, birth, and death.[409] The deities found at the domestic shrines in addition to the afore-mentioned general household spirits, reflect gods that were venerated in the community, but were limited to those considered appropriate for domestic worship.[410] Not all were suited for this purpose, although the variety of deities is large. In terms of the statuettes within these contexts, it is interesting to observe that, while *lares* and *penates* are portrayed in a consistent way of portrayal, the other deities, heroes, ancestors, and cult objects adorning these shrines had quite a heterogeneous nature in combinations as well as appearance. Their selection seemed to be entirely subjected to individual choices and preferences of their owners. In any case the variety of house spirits, shrines, locations, and rituals gives a strong indication of a complex and embedded religious framework.[411] In addition to using statuettes in order to venerate, shrines could furthermore include paintings of deities instead. Traditional views have always linked the difference between these two types of materialisation to wealth and status whereby the poorer families could not afford statuettes and therefore painted their lares on the wall. However, throughout Pompeii it could be seen that small houses contained architecturally complex shrines and statuettes and not only simply painted shrines, while the affluent households owned painted sanctuaries as well next to statuettes, or elaborate shrines.[412] It seems that the use of paintings opposite statuettes is thus not a way of distinguishing oneself within social strata. However, studying the difference between paintings of the Isiac gods and statuettes may nevertheless be relevant when establishing the way in which they were regarded in various media.

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[409] The most significant studies on the subject of domestic religion and its materialisations are provided by Boyce, Orr, Fröhlich, and Foss. In their catalogues on the sacred spaces in Pompeii they created and epitomised the concept of the lararium.

[410] See Bassani 2008, 33.

[411] For gods to move from public to private worship was the practice of representing deities in the same way in public as in private contexts and in conceiving them in various fluid combinations and groupings in the household lararium, see Bodel 2008, 255.

[412] The homes of the rich would have displayed statuettes as their domestic deities, whereas less lavish homes (or servant's quarters in the homes of the affluent) had to settle with paintings. It is stated: "Painted lararia were not the real thing; they were the servant's substitute of the sanctuary with bronze statuettes worshipped by the dominus … the painted lararium served to stress status distinctions while being at the same time an effective means of ensuring the servant's loyalty to the master and its house." See Tybout 1996, 370.

A last point to consider within this general section on Roman domestic religion is the lararia and the contexts in which they appear. Firstly, applying the term lararium as the designation of domestic shrine has certain issues, as this is a rather particular term for what in fact consisted of a large variety of shrines (e.g., aediculae, altars, lararia, shrines, portable altars, paintings, niches).[413] According to Giacobello, the Roman term and concept of lararium actually referred to a shrine primarily dedicated to the lares, and lararia were therefore only those shrines located within or surrounding kitchen areas.[414] In order to allow the full complexity that such places of worship in houses this thesis will refer to them as 'domestic shrine', instead of lararium. The number of domestic shrines within the houses of Pompeii is large, according to Giacobello in Pompeii 114 *'larari principali'* and 156 *'larari secondari'* could be found.[415] Their locations as table 4.5, illustrates were also notably wide-ranging. We find them throughout the house, although they are clearly more numerous in the atrium, peristyle, viridarium, and kitchen. These spaces seem to not only denote a separation between the more public and private rooms but also between work-related and representation rooms. The majority of domestic shrines are found in the more private spaces of the house. Therefore, although often publically displayed, they were largely a private affair concerning use and appreciation.[416] Although the domestic cults might have predominantly private in practice, the locations where the domestic shrines and subsequent statuettes were mainly found, were often public and well visible, for example, at the ends of deep view axes through the house i.e., at the rear wall of the peristyle in which a view-axis emerges from the entrance to the end of the house.[417]

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[413] See Boyce 1937; Orr 1978; Fröhlich 1991; Foss 1997; Bassani 2007; Laforge 2009.

[414] Giacobello 2008; See also Mols 1999, 60-1.

[415] Two types of domestic shrines are distinguished: lararia for lares specifically and so-called secondary shrines which housed deities in accordance to individual preferences, see Giacobello 2008, 65-7. Such a rigid distinction however, might be arguable.

[416] This follows Wallace-Hadrill's distinction between the public and the private within the social organisation of the house totalling 74% of which 62% falls under 'private private'. Brandt 2012, 73 after Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 38. However, it must be noted here that although Brandt places shrines found in peristylia into the category 'private', they were frequently located in the view-axis of houses and therefore well visible to passers-by and visitors of the atrium. With this statement he somewhat contests the earlier made assumption by Fröhlich 1991 that: "*Die große Mehrzahl der in Privathäusern gefundenen Statuetten stammt aus repräsentativen Räumen. Die einzige Verbindng eines einfachen Genius/Larenbildes mit einer Statuettenaustattung ist in VIII 5, 37* (L96) *nachweisbar.*" Föhlich 1991, 30.

[417] Their number gradually grew in importance from the Imperial period on, see Brandt 2010, 93.

DISTRIBUTION OF DOMESTIC SHRINES IN POMPEIAN HOUSES					
Public room	**No.**	**%**	**Private room**	**No.**	**%**
Fauces	8	2	Peristyle	58	16
Atrium	66	18	Triclinium	5	1
Tablinum	3	1	Cubiculum	7	2
Cubiculum	11	3	Viridarium	59	16
Alae	5	1	Kitchen	88	24
Sacellum	2	1	Other rooms	46	13
			Sacellum	9	2

Table 4.5) Domestic shrines in Pompeian houses (after Brandt 2010).[418]

This does indeed imply the existence of an important visual and social aspect with regard to these domestic shrines, which is interesting to explore in connection to the Isiac deities. To which extent do paintings of Egyptian deities occur at these shrines as opposed to non-visible shrines placed in kitchens for instance? This may present us with interesting insights into the understanding of social preferences of the use of these deities. First, however, their position within the Pompeian community should be elucidated, as attempted below.

4.3.3 Isis and domestic religion in Pompeii

Previous research carried out on the Isiac deities and domestic religion in Pompeii is not very abundant. As to studies on the Egyptian statuettes specifically, the majority hereof is has been catalogued in Tran tam Tinh's *Essai sur le culte d'Isis,* as was mentioned in chapter 2.[419] Concerning the contexts in which the deities appear, Beaurin furthermore, applied a more contextual approach from which it was concluded that although paintings and statues of Isis and Isis-Fortuna were found in service areas of Roman houses, the majority of the finds originate from more public and representative spaces.[420] These are valuable notions to start with, as they indicate that Isis possessed qualities rendering her unsuited for regular 'kitchen-shrines'. Moreover, they illustrate that displaying Egyptian deities had a representative function in addition to their cultic importance. As with other deities, Isis played a role within a network of social value-making. A

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[418] See Brandt 2010, 69, table 1.
[419] On the contexts of Isis and Isis-Fortuna statuettes and paintings, see Beaurin 2008a, 267-94; 2008b.
[420] It was also noted that in addition to the fact that paintings of Egyptian deities are largely found in representational areas, they also constituted a considerable 20% of the total. In Beaurin is following Tybout. See Tybout 1996, 360. However, this number could not be verified in the present research.

further significant observation made within the context of prior research concerns the forms in which Isis appears i.e., as the table and charts below indicate - is mainly in the guise of Isis-Fortuna.[421] The shrine context in fig. 4.11 from Fondo d'Acunzo, Boscoreale contained seven statuettes found together in a lararium of a mixed combination of Roman deities, amongst which two statuettes of Isis-Fortuna. This creates an additional argument in favour of the afore-mentioned remark, that Isis and Isiac deities should be considered a Roman phenomenon as they were integrated into the Roman world and embodied a significant part of the pantheon and were not unfamiliar outsiders set apart from other household deities.

Fig. 4.11) Seven statues found together in a lararium. Among which two statuettes of Isis-Fortuna. Other statuettes include two figurines of Jupiter (one sitting on a throne and one standing), Apollo-Helios, a *genius*, and a statuette of a faun. Found at Fondo d'Acunzo, Boscoreale. From Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, fig. 145, 210.

Although this observation and the conclusions from the above section arguing that Isis should be considered a Roman goddess are accurate and important, the acknowledgment of Isis as a Roman phenomenon can only be regarded a first step concerning the exploration of the Egyptian deities, rather than that it provides a satisfactory conclusion. Although the 'foreign' identity of Isis within the domestic cult is rightly deconstructed, it still paints a rather static picture of the Pompeian community. Furthermore, it does not explain her presence nor recognises any variety in use and significance.

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[421] As also showed by Beaurin, noting: "*Dans la majorité des cas cependant, les divinités isiaques sont intégrées sous forme de statuettes au sein de l'unique laraire en compagnie des autres divinités du foyer.*" See Beaurin 2008, 267-94 and 2008b.

There is no such thing as *the* domestic cult, as stated by Barret.[422] When Isis is to be taken seriously as something Roman, her use and perception must be scrutinised beyond a cultural level of Roman and Egyptian. A level of perception should be added which acknowledges the social dynamism in which Egyptian statuettes are regarded within various contexts, and which examines such artefacts within social frameworks of value representation, social status, and aesthetic choices. The next step in this analysis should therefore be to sketch a more detailed picture of the social diversity in the use of these statuettes. The interesting consequences of the above deductions is that, in the following step, the statuettes can be assessed not by means of their so-called 'ethnic' qualities (i.e., something foreign/Egyptian), but that the focus is placed on the inherent qualities of the gods and their specific functioning in a domestic context. The social significance is hereby placed on the foreground. This can provide a clearer picture on the way in which they were used. It must thus be realised, too, that although this section refers to them as 'the Egyptian deities' as a category, this should merely be considered a heuristic solution not an interpretative one.

Therefore, in order to get more grip on the social aspects of Roman Isis and the Isiac deities, an attempt will be made to reveal the way in which Isis functions within the context of domestic religion by means of analysing statuettes. Table 4.6 introduces all the statuettes of Egyptian deities found at the site of Pompeii.[423]

STATUETTES OF EGYPTIAN DEITIES FROM POMPEII				
Genre	Subject	House Name	Location	Context
Statue	Horus	Casa degli Amorini dorati	VI 16, 7	Domestic Shrine
Statue	Isis	Casa dei Dioscuri	VI 9, 6/7	
Statue	Isis	Casa del moralisto	III 6, 2	Garden
Statuette	Anubis	Casa di Memmius Auctus	VI 14, 27	
Statuette	Bes	Unknown	__	
Statuette	Bes	Casa di Acceptus et Euhodis	VIII 5, 39	Viridarium
Statuette	Bes	Casa di D. Octavius Quartio	II 2, 2	Garden
Statuette	Bes	Casa di Marcus Lucretius	IX 3, 5	
Statuette	Bes	Bar	I 14, 8	
Statuette	Harpocrates		V 3, 11	
Statuette	Harpocrates		V 3, 11	
Statuette	Harpocrates	Casa di Memmius Auctus	VI 14, 27	

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[422] As domestic religion is a collection of practices which are differentiated between various households based on socio-economic values, religious preferences, and the roles they take up in society, see Barret 2011, 1-2.
[423] Also when the exact find spots could not be determined.

Statuette	Harpocrates		VII 3, 11	Shrine
Statuette	Harpocrates	Casa di Giuseppe II	VIII 2, 39	
Statuette	Harpocrates	Shop	IX 5, 3	
Statuette	Harpocrates	Villa rustica	__	
Statuette	Harpocrates	Villa rustica	__	
Statuette	Harpocrates	Unknown	__	
Statuette	Harpocrates	Unknown	__	
Statuette	Harpocrates	Praedia di Giulia Felice	II 4, 3	Peristylium
Statuette	Isis	Casa di Sacerdos Amandus	I 7, 7	Atrium
Statuette	Isis	Casa di Memmius Auctus	VI 14, 27	
Statuette	Isis	Casa di C. Vibius Italus	VII 2, 18	Peristylium
Statuette	Isis bust	Shop	VII 3, 35	
Statuette	Isis bust	Shop	VII 4, 11	
Statuette	Isis-Hygeia	Casa del Centenario	IX 8, 3/6	
Statuette	Isis-Panthé	Villa rustica di Cn. Domitius Auctus	__	
Statuette	Isis-Demeter	Villa rustica	__	
Statuette	Isis (priest)	Casa dell´Efebo	I 7, 11	
Statuette	Isis-Fortuna		V 3, 3	
Statuette	Isis-Fortuna		V 6	
Statuette	Isis-Fortuna		IX 3, 2	
Statuette	Isis-Fortuna	Villa rustica	__	
Statuette	Isis-Fortuna	Villa rustica of Asellius	__	
Statuette	Isis-Fortuna	Villa rustica of Asellius	__	
Statuette	Isis-Fortuna	Pompeian countryside	__	
Statuette	Isis-Fortuna	Unknown	__	
Statuette	Isis-Fortuna	Unknown	__	
Statuette	Zeus-Serapis	Basilica	__	

Table 4.6) Statuettes of Isiac deities found in Pompeii.

What percentage did Isis and the Isiac deities constitute with regard to the total amount of statuettes in domestic shrines? The statuettes that could be attested to cultic contexts were listed by Fröhlich and are helpful when making a comparison on the wider scale of domestic deities have been listed.[424] Fig. 4.12a, constructed after Fröhlich's findings, illustrates that relatively speaking, Isis was not very abundantly present. Only 2% of the statuettes represent Isis, whereas Harpocrates covers 6% of the total. Although this may point to an insignificant role of Isis within Pompeian domestic religion, Fröhlich did not include all statuettes of Isis that were found, making the percentage concerning Isis in the pie chart an unrealistic one. The database indicates that Isis (in all forms) is attested at least thirty-six times, of which nineteen in the form of statuettes. This makes it difficult to say anything meaningful regarding Fröhlich's catalogue in comparison with the database finds, although presumptions might be expressed on the basis of the relative numbers of his tables. The Lares, in this case, occupy

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[424] See Fröhlich 1991, 356-8 (Appendix 6).

the largest space. In addition to the Lares, one may reckon Venus, Minerva, Mercury, and Jupiter to occur most frequently within the contexts of Pompeian domestic shrines. Considering the category of statuettes from the database shown in the form of a pie chart in fig. 4.12b, Isis-Fortuna (thirteen), Harpocrates (eleven) take up the largest part of the total followed by Isis (without Fortuna's traits - three in total).
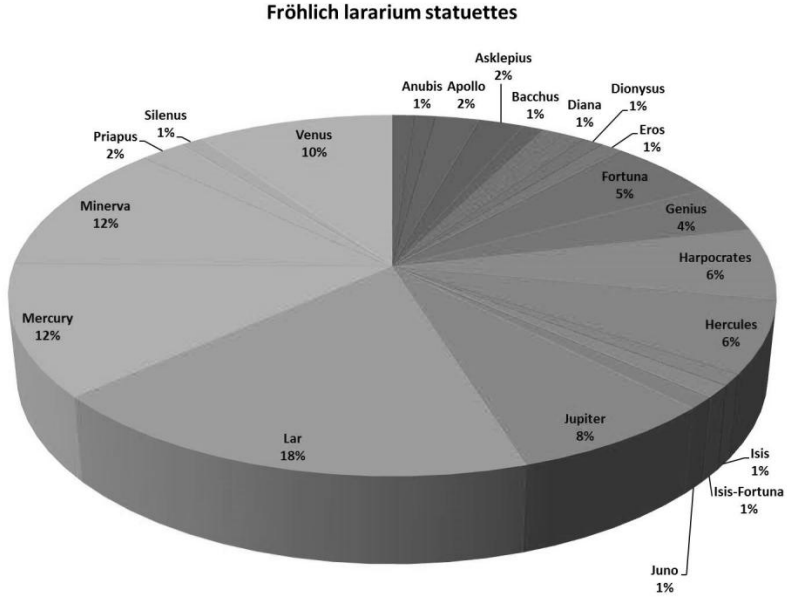
Fig. 4.12a) The division of statuettes based on the catalogue by Fröhlich. Fröhlich 1991, 249-305.
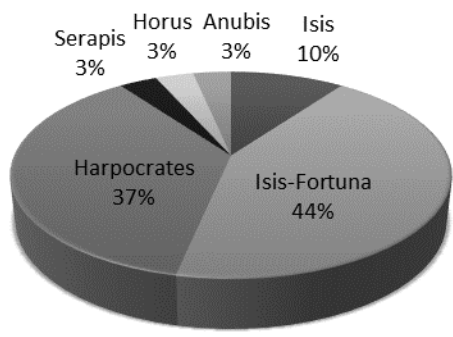
Fig. 4.12b) Pie-chart showing the presence of statuettes of Egyptian deities.

Anubis, Serapis and Horus are only found once in Pompeii. Observing the lower pie chart it is interesting to note that Isis-Fortuna occurs the most and not the 'regular' Isis.

After these general observations on the presence, use, and appearances of Isis and other Egyptian deities in Pompeii and the way in which they have been regarded thus far, there seems to be several specific subjects to explore further. In conjunction with the general aim of this chapter, an attempt will be made to analyse statuettes related to Isis within the wider networks of material, objects, and concepts, thereby creating a more comprehensive and embedded view of Egyptian statuettes in Pompeii. Three particular comparisons were chosen to extract the statuettes and deities from their restraining category of Egyptian deities and study them in the broader perspective of domestic religion and cult statuettes. Firstly, in order to ascertain whether the frequent appearance of Isis and Harpocrates is a common phenomenon, the site Pompeii will be compared to other places and sites, such as Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, and Hellenistic Delos. This comparison then will also serve to compare the various forms, sizes, and attributes shared between statuettes and will subsequently provide an idea about the local preferences, influences, and traditions of Pompeii. In this way it will engage with the difference between global availability versus local choice as discussed in chapter 2. A second comparison will look at these local choices in more detail by means of a studying the use of Isis and Isis-Fortuna. It has been noted that Isis-Fortuna was much more abundantly present than the 'pure' Isis. However, the question is whether there was a conceptual difference between the two or that they could be adopted interchangeably. A third and final comparison will therefore be devoted to a contextual analysis of the Egyptian divinities in Pompeii, their specific iconography and materialisation, and the shrines in which they were found.

4.3.4 Comparison I: form and function in a wider perspective: Isis from a global viewpoint

In this section statuettes from Delos, Campania (Pompeii and Herculaneum), and Roman Egypt are compared in order to acquire a clearer view on the wider availability of statuettes and the subsequent local reasons for particular choices and selections. With regard to the specific catalogues with which to carry out this comparison, Roman Egypt presents a somewhat

complex case, as the provenance of the majority of the Egyptian figurines from the museum catalogues used is largely unknown. However, it is nonetheless considered a useful undertaking, for its large corpus can provide valuable information on relative numbers, style, iconography, and the material of which the statuettes consist.[425] In the case of Delos, a better contextual comparison could be realised, because the statuettes hailing from private contexts are known and studied in detail.[426] It is argued that the three contexts, Pompeii and Herculaneum, Delos and Egypt, together form a geographical and chronological picture of concepts and styles in transit. Comparing them allows us to provide insights into the choices made locally, thereby creating a deeper understanding of the use of the statuettes, the integration of the Isis cult and its influence, and the concepts concerning Isis present in Pompeii. For the sake of presenting an overview and to see whether similar use and perception patterns can be observed within contexts other than Pompeian, the statuettes of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos are included in the comparison between Delos, Egypt and Campania.

SURVEY OF ISIS STATUETTES							
Type Pompeii	No.	Type Herculaneum	No.	Type Roman Egypt[427]	No.	Type Delos[428]	No.
Isis	3	Isis	2	Isis	-	Isis	6
Isis-Fortuna	12	Isis-Fortuna	15	Naked goddess	-	Oriental Aphrodite	26
Isis-Io	1	Isis-Trapezophore	1	Isis Lactans	-		
Isis-Demeter	1	-		Isis Thermouthis	-		
Isis-Hygia	1	Isis-Hygia	2	Isis-Nikè	-		
Isis-Panthea	1	Isis-Panthea	1	Isis-Tyche	-		
Isis-Kourotrophe	1	Isis-Kourotrophe	1	Isis riding a horse	-		
Total number	20		22		-		6/32

Table 4.7) An overview of different types of Isis-statuettes and –if this could be safely retrieved- the number of their appearance in different contexts. As the types for Roman Egypt are gathered from museum collections with an unsure provenance except that they are derived from Roman Egypt, they function solely as a comparison of used types; the absolute numbers of finds are not used.

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[425] The catalogues consulted were: Dunand 1990; Fjeldhagen 1995; Török 1995; Bailey 2008, who made extensive studies to Roman Egyptian terracotta figurines originating from the large collections of the British Museum, the Louvre, the Museum of Cairo and from several Roman sites in Egypt.

[426] See Barret 2011.

[427] Composed from the studies by Allen 1985; Fjeldhagen 1995; Dunand 1990; Bailey 2008; Török 1995.

[428] The entire catalogue served the case of Delos (not merely the finds from private contexts) in order to determine the total availability of Isis or Isiac statuettes. They are surprisingly small. As to Oriental Aphrodite, it is not clear whether a direct relation with Isis did exist. With regard to the other Isis statuettes (mainly fragments) it was noted they could either be statuettes of Isis or of Ptolemaic queens, see Barret 2011.

COMPARISON OF THE TYPES OF EGYPTIANISING STATUETTES				
Type	No. Pompeii	No. Herculaneum	No. Roman Egypt Dunand/BM/Fjeldhagen/Török	No. Delos
Isis	20	22	80 (40)/19/15(12)/5	6
Harpocrates	11	16	52/40/24/46	14
Serapis	1	0	3/7/2/3	0
Anubis	1	0	-	0
Bes	5	2	25/18/5/15	2
Ptah-Pataikos	2	0	-	3
Horus	1	0	-	0
Apis	0	1	-	0
Total number	41	41	-	25

Table 4.8 Comparison of the different types of Egyptianising statuettes in Pompeii, Herculaneum, Egypt, and Delos.

Tables 4.7 and 4.8 present an overview of the variety of statuettes. In table 4.7 include types of Isis with regard to the contexts, whereas table 4.8 introduces the diversity present in figurines within the wider group of Egyptian statuettes. The overall picture illustrates, expectedly, that the Isis types from Pompeii and Herculaneum lie closer together than the ones from Delos and Egypt. What was perhaps less anticipated is that the number of Isis types is notably large in Campania, much larger than for instance on Delos. Furthermore, even if the number of types is as large in Herculaneum and Pompeii as they were in Roman Egypt, they show completely different types. Of interest too regarding the Egyptian deities per find spot (table 4.7), is the fact that the pattern of similarity between Egypt and Campania does seem to repeat itself. In this case Egypt, Delos, and Campania show further similarities, for instance in the popularity of Harpocrates. When looking at the different contexts in detail, more aspects of availability and choice become revealed. To start with Roman Egypt, although absolute numbers from contexts cannot be provided, the assemblages scholars have collected appear to be remarkably consistent. It is noteworthy that, when the general array of statues found in Egypt is compared to that which is found in Pompeii, the presence of deities in form and number indeed display similarities. Harpocrates and Isis are, as in Pompeii, the most abundantly present statuettes.[429] For Egypt, although their provenance remains in many cases unclear, it is quite certain that these figurines were derived from domestic contexts, as many figurines were actually found inside private

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[429] See also Frankfurter 2010, 551.

houses and other house sites have provided evidence of wall niches.[430] These niches in the walls served as house shrines, a familiar phenomenon since Pharaonic times.[431] The statuettes all consist of terracotta (bronze figurines are seldom found during these periods) and were produced in large quantities by hand or casting. They are much cruder than the statuettes found in Pompeii, which were mainly made of bronze. Interesting, in the case of Egypt, is that the existing types of terracottas demonstrate that the most popular figures of gods did not reproduce the official deities worshipped in temples. The child god Harpocrates, for example (the mostly represented type of statuary in Roman Egypt), counted only a small number of cult centres. The same counts for Bes, also strongly present among the household statuettes, but never honoured with a temple and exclusively venerated within private contexts.[432] On the other hand, numerous major gods such as Re, Amon-Re, the many forms of Horus other than Harpocrates, Thoth, Muth, Khnum, Ptah, Nephtys, Seth, and Montu, although officially worshipped in Egypt, were rare in the Graeco-roman terracotta repertoire.[433] Regarding the specific types and combinations present in the contexts of Egypt and Pompeii several noteworthy observations can be made. In addition to Isis-Fortuna, sporadic finds of statuettes link Isis to Io, Demeter, Hygia, Panthea or Koutrophe.[434] Only one Isis-Tyche has been found in Egypt, whereas Isis-Fortuna (i.e., the Roman form of Isis-Tyche) is amongst the most popular deities to occur within household context of Herculaneum and Pompeii.[435] If compared to Egypt, it agrees with the relatively large number of types as seen above, but entirely diverges in the types themselves. In Roman Egypt, we come across Isis-Thermouthis (the Greek assimilation of the Egyptian uraeus-goddess known as Renenoutet in the New Kingdom),[436] Isis-

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[430] Frankfurter 1998, 134. Karanis has yielded many niches which could all be dated to the Roman period.
[431] See Fjeldhagen 1995, 22; Frankfurter 1998.
[432] See Fjeldhagen 1995, 22.
[433] See Bailey 2008, 8.
[434] As to Herculaneum the finds are proportionally comparable, Isis-Fortuna being the most abundantly attested type, see Tran tam Tinh 1971. The proportional numbers apply to types of Isis types as well as to the overall dissemination of Egyptian deities. Apart from Isis, statuettes of Harpocrates are the most numerous (sixteen).
[435] See Giardina 2000, 225-7. Fjeldhagen lists the Egyptian find: Isis-Tyche-Fortuna (no. 41). She carries a cornucopia, the distinguishable attribute of respectively the Greek and Roman goddess of fortune: Tyche and Fortuna. Both Isis and Tyche Fortuna were goddesses of individual destiny, of agriculture and women, their fertility and offspring. On Delos no statues of Isis-Tyche are found. However, two dedications to Isis Tyche Protogeneia occur in Serapeion C, see Coarelli 1994, 126 (ID 2072-2073).
[436] During the Graeco-Roman period, Isis-Thermouthis was an important agrarian goddess who watched over harvests and storage of grain.

Aphrodite, Isis-Nikè, and Isis in the form in which she is feeding Horus (Isis-Lactans), which are completely absent in Herculaneum and Pompeii.[437] Moreover, considering the amount of appearances, although the numbers lie close together, Isis statuettes occur more often than Harpocrates in Herculaneum and Pompeii, whereas Harpocrates is the most frequently encountered household deity in Roman Egypt and on Delos, where Isis is seldom found. Deities in Egypt who play a role in household religion but are completely absent in Pompeii are for instance Beset (the female version of Bes) Hathor and Osiris. Remarkably, again in the case of Pompeii, the Egyptian deity Anubis occurs as a statuette, while he was not attested in Egypt. The variety in the appearance of Harpocrates is also larger in Egypt. Unlike Pompeii and Herculaneum, which only possess the standing/leaning version of the god, Harpocrates counts a large array of variations in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. He is portrayed seated, standing, enthroned, in a solar boat, with a goose, ram, cornucopia, lotus, in arms, a chariot, with an enlarged phallus, or on a horse. Furthermore, although a similar popularity to Isis and Harpocrates can be observed, the position of Bes in Pompeii and Herculaneum differs from Egypt and Delos. Bes is attested in Pompeii, however, in Egypt he clearly forms part of the mass-produced household deities, whereas in Pompeii Bes (and Ptah-Pataikos) are never encountered in cultic contexts and seem to consist of specially produced and 'luxurious' garden decorations. According to the collections the figurines of Bes found on Delos and in Roman Egypt consist of simple terracotta statues and are more comparable to each other than to those attested in Campania. Bes in Egypt occurs mainly in the guise of the so-called 'armed Bes', a figure common in Egypt. He is also known to dance, hold a tambourine, or appear together with Beset. A similarity shared between all three contexts is the relatively small number of Serapis figurines in popular religion, such as Pompeii. They too are seldom attested in Egypt and Delos.[438]

A closer look at the types and fusions on Hellenistic Delos presents an interesting picture as it is an island that was culturally, politically, and religiously influenced by many cultures (such as Greece, Phoenicia, Syria,

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[437] See Bailey 2008, 9-11. Especially the absence of Isis-Lactans, one of the most dominant types throughout the Graeco-Roman world, is striking. In Herculaneum, only one statue from a shop (5, insula Orientale II) has been noted, see Tran tam Tinh 1973, 73, no. A-25. In Italy, Isis-Thermouthis is seldom found. One such image has been found on a marble altar from a Hypogeum in Porto Torres, see *Iside* 1997, no. IV 194, 214.

[438] Dunand 1990.

and Egypt), thereby creating a highly 'syncretic' religious community. Presumably, as a cultural hub and important trading centre, ethnic identities played a more prominent role on Delos than was the case in Pompeii. On the other hand, although Delos might present a more concentrated case when cultural interaction is concerned, the processes and mechanisms behind objects in motion and of the material and cultural consequences of increased connectivity can certainly also be witnessed in Pompeii.[439] Egyptian figurines were well integrated into the domestic community of Delos. In addition to Bes, the Memphite dwarf god Ptah-Pataikos is also attested at Delos (3 fragments), however, in all the different catalogues Ptah-Pataikos never appears in a Roman Egyptian context. Isis next, mainly appears in the guise of a Ptolemaic queen. She is further sometimes connected to a statue classified as 'Oriental Aphrodite' (also 'Naked Isis' or 'naked type'), a figure with ample examples in Egypt, but completely lacking in Pompeii.[440] This naked female with a rigid, frontal pose seems to continue a Pharaonic tradition of fertility figurines revered by women who wished to have children. Now and again adorned with the symbols of Isis and Hathor, these figures can be linked to Isis. However whether it was really perceived as such by the inhabitants of Delos cannot be determined.

Anubis furthermore is, as in Roman Egypt, not encountered amongst household deity-statuettes on Delos. A preference for Harpocrates could be attested however, just as in Egypt. However, compared to Pompeii, although present in both contexts, they diverge strongly when regarding form and attributes. For instance, on Delos hHarpocrates is often represented as a solar deity. This is never the case in Pompeii or Herculaneum.[441]

The great variety witnessed between the presence and appearances of these deities for the contexts of Delos, Egypt and Campania show interesting processes regarding local decisions and integration patterns. Witnessing the

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[439] The spread of finds suggests a comparable use by all social groups: *"The broad distribution of Egyptianising figurines all over Delos, as well as their typical associations with otherwise non-Egyptianising assemblages, suggest that these terracottas were not the exclusive preserve of some small expatriate group."* See Barret 2011, 346.

[440] Does the fact that Isis was as yet not integrated as a household deity to do with the dissemination the Isis cult. This would imply that the Roman Egyptian case and Campania dealt with a similar conception of a 'Romanised' Isis which did not yet exist in the time that the Egyptian cults were introduced on Delos.

[441] See Barret 2011, 261. After an ancient Egyptian tradition, Harpocrates is related to the sun and is sometimes portrayed seated in a flower, an allusion associated with the sun god's emergence from a lotus.

changes in use between the different sites, Pompeii creates the suggestion that the statuettes were incorporated in Pompeii within a tradition that already existed before Isis was worshipped on a large scale, resulting in an amalgamation of innovative Mediterranean-wide trends and local preferences. It seems apparent from the occurrence of types and ranges of deities that Pompeii had much in common with Egypt, but also with Delos, as both display a comparable presence and absence (relatively) of certain deities. As to Delos, the assemblage in style, material, and attributes seems to stand much closer to the Egyptian tradition than to the Italic. Whereas Delos was closer connected to the Egyptian and Ptolemaic tradition these resemblances in the collection cannot really be considered surprising.[442] However, this implies that while the *object* might have travelled, it was subsequently shaped according to local preferences and within the incorporation of Isis on the Italian peninsula. Isis and all other Egyptian and non-Egyptian deities were conceived and integrated in existing material and conceptual networks already present in the socio-cultural environment. The concept changed, which subsequently shaped the object again. As a further consequence not every concept was transferable, as could for instance be seen with the Oriental Aphrodite type which was completely absent in Italy.[443] This is probably also the case for Isis-(and Serapis)-Thermouthis, a form of Isis in which she is half human, half snake. Although serpents were also considered sacred animals within a Roman perspective, and well suitable for protecting domestic shrines (as illustrated by means of the many shrines in Pompeian domestic contexts), providing a deity with zoomorphic characteristics was less conceivable for Pompeians, at least to worship. This might also count for Anubis and Apis.

Why did Ptah-Pataikos end up in Pompeii while he was not a common deity the terracotta domestic figurines in Roman Egypt? The non-cultic adoption of Ptah-Pataikos may explain this (to be elaborated in 4.4). Although Egypt does not provide many clues concerning the archaeological context of Bes, on Delos two figurines were found in a private house (in the so-called theatre quarter). Of these eighty-two Egyptianising figurines, two terracottas

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[442] It is noted that statuettes did not travel only via Ptolemaic Egypt but also via Hellenistic Delos.

[443] An presumption could be made that the iconic perception of Isis (as discussed in 3.2.1) and the local focus on purity which prevailed over fertility prevented the conceptual syncretisation of Isis with Aphrodite in this specific form. Therefore the 'Oriental Isis' together with 'Isis-Aphrodite', both often nude or semi-nude female figures with features of Isis could not be mentally integrated into the Roman world.

depicted Bes, and three represented Ptah-Pataikos.[444] The increased presence and distribution of forms and subjects may thus be part of a similar impetus, of a larger trade network which became intensified during the Roman Empire. However, the use and conception of deities such as Bes were different in a site like Pompeii than in Egypt and on Delos.

As in Egypt and Pompeii, a similar absence of Serapis within domestic contexts on Delos despite his important role in public religion (temples) has been mentioned.[445] This makes the absence of Serapis in statuette form apparent at all four sites and thus sheds an interesting light on the presumption of the absence of Serapis as noted in 4.2. In all probability, this absence is explained by means of the limited value Serapis had for household religion. Not all deities were suitable to function within domestic religion. Their characteristics typically had something to do with the house or with family and family virtues. Isis and Harpocrates possessed appropriate qualities and could therefore well be integrated in the households of different cultural contexts whereas Serapis was not suited for this purpose.[446]

When Isis in Pompeii is observed in more detail it can also be noted that some of her 'inherent' qualities and characteristics remained the same (also for Egypt) –these were the characteristics that made both Isis and Harpocrates attractive to use in the context of the household. However, integrating the deities in a Roman Italian context they did become associated with different concepts than in Delos and in Egypt. This made the appearance of Isis, Harpocrates, Anubis and Serapis in Pompeii different, which again catered for a change in the character of the deities, as can be seen clearly in the identifications of the deity. Isis becomes mainly associated with Fortuna in Campania. In Egypt and on Delos she is merged with quite another range of deities. Noteworthy is that a domestic religion has its own unique dynamics, parallel to those of the public and official cults. This seems to be the case for all the analysed contexts. Moreover one could argue that, in addition to different networks and dynamics, the subtleties of domestic religion might be more subjective to an augmented cultural

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[444] See Barret 2011.
[445] See Barret 2011, 415 where this is explained as a preference of Isis because of her authenticity. She was a millennia old goddess, while Serapis was regarded as new and an artificial creation of the Ptolemaic court. (416). However, this does not completely explain the divergence between his absence in private worship and popularity in the public sphere.
[446] It thus seems that, from this specific example, in certain instances concepts and characteristics seem to have beenwere experienced in different cultural contexts.

connectivity than that it would be for public cults, while domestic religion did not thrive on official rules or authorised structures but worked in a more bottom-up, intuitive, and flexible fashion.

Within the increased connectivity during this period in history, Hellenistic Delos can be considered an important nodal point, in which local traditions became meshed with innovative global (Mediterranean-wide) understandings of practices and ideas. Whereas Hellenism as a process initiated a shift in the spatial-temporal constitution of human societies, the consequence for religion was profound in its changes with regard of venerated deities, use, and perception.[447] Within this process domestic religion in Italy was also affected, incorporating new deities and innovations within existing structures. This is the reason why combinations start to appear in which Isis is linked to Fortuna on the Italian peninsula, while she appears as Isis-Thermouthis in Egypt. Isis represents the global element in this process, possibly because of her transferability, being possessed with certain characteristics which could be shared on a global scale as social universals suiting a household deity (such as birth, family, and matriarchy). As to the context of domestic religion, there were more important qualities to pharaohs than her power. This perception made her appealing to domestic spheres. As can be observed, this latter notion of the rise of Isis within domestic contexts is a perfect example of the way in which the process of object and concept distribution works. It may even be the reason why Isis in particular was vulnerable to global fluxes, but it does not fully explain the cause of the local preference of Isis-Fortuna and its integration in Pompeii and Herculaneum. As this broader comparison with Delos and Egypt dealt with Isis as global phenomenon, the next comparison tries to bring a better understanding of the workings of Isis on a local level.

4.3.5 Comparison II: Isis and Isis-Fortuna: Isis from a local viewpoint

Three questions are central for the next comparison: first, why is Isis-Fortuna so popular in Pompeii and Herculaneum? Secondly, is there a conceptual difference between the two goddesses and is the 'pure' Isis in this respect differently perceived (i.e., as more Egyptian) than Isis-Fortuna by the inhabitants of Pompeii? Thirdly, can the contexts in which they were found shed any light on these issues? A graffito on the temple of Isis provides a first start in an inquiry into the perception of Isis in Pompeii. The graffito

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[447] Potter 2003, 407-30.

reads: Εἰσιτύχη σώζοσα; which considering the location, links Isis to Fortuna (Tyche) in Pompeii.[448] Although the graffito dates from after its reconstruction in 62, the connection between Tyche and Isis is probably of an earlier date.[449]

ISIS AND ISIS-FORTUNA					
Object	Material	Location code	house name	Room name	Cat. no.
Isis bust	Terracotta	I 2, 17	Shop		85
Isis bust	Terracotta	I 2, 20/	Shop		86
Isis head	Marble	VI 9, 6/7	Casa dei Dioscuri		69
Isis statue	Marble	I 7, 11	Casa dell'Efebo/di P. Cornelius Tages	Garden	146
Isis statuette	Bronze	I 7, 11	Casa dell´Efebo		142
Isis statuette	?	I 7, 7	Casa di Sacerdos	Atrium	65
Isis statuette	Bronze	VI 3, 7	Casa di Memmius Auctus		68
Isis-Fortuna statuette	Bronze	__	Pompeian countryside		81
Isis-Fortuna statuette	Bronze	__	Unknown		82
Isis-Fortuna statuette	Bronze	__	Unknown		83
Isis-Fortuna statuette	Bronze	__	Villa rustica		77
Isis-Fortuna statuette	Bronze	__	Villa rustica of Asellius		79
Isis-Fortuna statuette	Bronze	__	Villa rustica of Asellius		80
Isis-Fortuna statuette	Bronze	IX 3, 2			74
Isis-Fortuna statuette	Bronze	V 3, 3			66
Isis-Fortuna Statuette	Bronze	V 6			67
Isis-Fortuna statuette	Marble	VI 16, 7	Casa degli Amorini dorati		70
Isis-Fortuna statuette	Bronze	VII 2, 18	Casa di C. Vibius Italus	Peristylium	71
Isis-Fortuna statuette	Bronze	VII 3, 35	Shop		72
Isis-Fortuna statuette	Silver	VII 4, 11	Shop		73
Isis wall painting		II 4, 3	Praedia di Giulia Felice	Peristylium	174
Isis-Fortuna wall painting		IX 3, 10	Pistrinum		194
Isis wall painting		IX 3, 15		Cubiculum	195
Isis wall painting		VI 16, 7	Casa degli Amorini Dorati	Peristylium	136
Isis wall painting		VI 2, 14	Casa delle Amazzoni	Viridarium	22
Isis wall painting		VI 9, 1	Casa di Duca d'Aumale	Triclinium	189
Isis wall painting		VIII 2, 39	Casa di Giuseppe II	Atrium	192
Isis-Fortuna wall painting		IV 4, 9		Cubiculum	188
Isis-Fortuna wall painting		IX 7, 22		Corridor leading to latrine	196
Isis-Fortuna wall painting		V 4, 3/5		Atrium	187
Isis-Hygieia wall painting		VII 9, 1	Edificio d'Eumachia		191

Table 4.9) The materialisations of Isis and Isis-Fortuna in Pompeii and their contexts.

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[448] See Tran tam Tinh 1964, 78-81.
[449] The cult is dated to Republican period as the Fortuna cult has been attested in Rome, Praeneste, and perhaps also at Puteoli, see Coarelli 1994, 120.

Fortuna is originally an Archaic Latin deity who became identified with Tyche in the wider Mediterranean. Mediterranean-wide she is however shaped differently according to local preferences and artistic traditions.[450] In Italy, important cult centres dedicated to Fortuna were attested at Praeneste, Antium and Rome.[451] Especially in the Republican era she was a popular deity, however, with the passing of the Republican period in that of the imperial system, Fortuna soon became less customary in favour of Venus. Why did Fortuna/Tyche become linked to Isis? This may go back to Ptolemaic Egypt. The Ptolemies promoted the idea that the Ptolemaic queens Arsinoe Philadelphos, Berenice, and Arsinoe II were associated with Agathe Tyche (the goddess who ensured the rule of the Ptolemies) and with Isis. These Greek models were followed in Rome because of the late Republican need to promote the idea of Fortuna as guarantor of dynastic succession.[452] It might therefore have been the concept of successive power that linked Fortuna to Isis in Italy.[453] Another connection is made by Coarelli, who specifically links Isis to Fortuna Primigenia, as they are both nurturers- Isis with Horus and Fortuna Primigenia with Jupiter Puer-, and as the Egyptianising finds in Praeneste –the Nile mosaic and the obelisk- would testify. A further theory specifically linked to the Pompeian conception of Isis-Fortuna which connects Fortuna directly to Venus and then to Isis is constituted by means of the association of Venus Pompeiana, (see 4.2) with Fortuna.[454] Venus Pompeiana shared characteristics with both deities and through her, Fortuna and Isis could also be associated with Venus. This does however not explain the equally abundant presence of Isis-Fortuna in Herculaneum, a town not linked to Venus in the same way as Pompeii was. Further, although Isis is indeed connected to Fortuna, and Fortuna has a connection with Venus, this latter link is specifically restricted to Venus Pompeiana who seems to be in fact conceptually different from the other

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[450] See Barret 2011, 235 note 857. On Fortuna-Tyche, see Champeaux 1987, 132-69.

[451] The cult of Fortuna Primigenia spreads throughout the Hellenistic world, including Delos, see Champeaux 1982, 119-23.

[452] Arya 2002. See also Pollini 2003, 875-82.

[453] Isis-Tyche might have played a role in the Fortuna cult, dating her syncretic form to Republican times. However, this is debatable and it seems to be more likely that Isis as Isis-Fortuna appears no earlier than Imperial times, see Arya 2002, 243-4.

[454] Venus Pompeiana was the tutelary deity of Roman Pompeii. She was worshipped in the temple of Venus, the tufa-built principal sanctuary of the city built in c.50 BC, see Arya 2002, 91; Meyboom 1995, 89-90. The Venus of Pompeii had two features of Tyche, namely a rudder and a mural crown.

types of Venus, whereas Isis equally differs from Venus (see 4.2.2).[455] Perhaps a more reasonable explanation for the presence of Fortuna in Pompeii than her link to the Venus temple is the general popularity of Fortuna in harbour towns. This also strengthens the connection between Fortuna and Tyche, because both were associated with seafaring and a common presence in the form of sanctuaries in harbour towns (e.g., Alexandria, Syracuse, Antioch, Delos, Praeneste and its port Antium, Ostia, Puteoli, Pompeii).[456] Although this does not clarify her presence within domestic contexts, it may explain the availability of the concept of Fortuna.[457] Ultimately it seems that Fortuna's presence in the Roman world is principally characterised by means of a highly eclectic interpretation, she appears in many forms, different towns, and is used in very different social strata. Fortuna in the Roman world can for these reasons be considered to embody a broad concept of 'fortune' of which her ultimate identity, associations, and materialisations are highly subjective to the environment in which she was worshipped.

Because the Egyptian Isis possessed magical powers was able to see the future, and influence birth and death, this Isis type might have been considered to be somewhat impersonal, detached goddess.[458] For this reason it can be argued that the Roman Isis-Fortuna was more suitable to play a role within household contexts, as she embodied a more personalised and familiar goddess. Fortuna with her power over individual luck, love, and good fortune, added qualities to Isis which did indeed make her attractive for household practices.[459] But in which way does the materialised version of Isis-Fortuna appear in comparison to the 'pure' Isis? Fig. 4.13 depicts the two deities in the form of statuettes. Isis-Fortuna can be recognised by the fact she holds a helm (a feature derived from Tyche) in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left arm, with fruits hanging out. The Roman Isis loses her

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[455] The connection with Fortuna might even be stronger at the temple of Fortuna Augusta (VII 4,1) - by means of the dynastic powers of Fortuna linked to the deified emperor - than the Venus temple. See also Kleibl 2009, 111-25.

[456] See Arya 2002, 179.

[457] A second reason why we still lack a proper explanation of the presence of Isis-Fortuna besides availability is: although Alexandria is a harbour town, Isis-Fortuna never seemed to have been very popular in Alexandria, nor Egypt. Albeit that appearances of Isis-Fortuna in Pompeii in Herculaneum are significant, Isis-Fortuna seems to have been prevalent mainly on the Italian peninsula. There is one statue from the Cairo Museum in terracotta, see Dunand 1979 189-1, no. 48;. See *LIMC* Tran tam Tinh, *LIMC, V,* 1990, s.v. for isis and Isis-Fortuna.

[458] See Alvar 2008, 118 note 286. In Egypt Isis was closely connected with magical practice and could foresee and control the future. Apparently the magical healing powers ascribed to Isis, were hardly recognised outside Egypt, see Alvar 2008, 332-3.

[459] See Tran tam Tinh 1972, 13.

crown, throne and the Hathor emblem consisting of a large solar disk with two cow horns. The Isiac emblem of the statues in Pompeii and Herculaneum is normally composed of a small solar disk topped by two large feathers carried by two small horns and ears of wheat. The character in this way forms a mix of symbols: the feathers stand for justice and truth, the disk represents the house of the sun and the ears are an agrarian symbol.

Fig. 4.13) Bronze statuettes of Isis-Fortuna and Isis. To the left: Isis-Fortuna (from a Villa rustica near Pompeii, see Tran tam Tinh 1964 no. 92, 159 and Isis (right) from the Casa di Memmius Auctus (VII 4, 27). Pictures taken by the author.

This latter symbol is new to Isis.[460] The 'proper' Hellenistic Isis without any features of Fortuna is portrayed in fig. 4.13 (right). She wears a Hellenistic dress, as Isis knot, has a stiff 'hieratic' posture with one foot before the other, wears a crown, and has corkscrew curls. In her hands she holds a situla and sistrum.[461] Whereas the first question asked why Isis-Fortuna was especially popular in Pompeii, the second question was whether these two deities were conceptually interchangeable. Apart from the graffito in the Isis temple there is apparently little connection between Isis and Isis-Fortuna and the presumption could be made that they were experienced as

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[460] Tran tam Tinh 1972, 14.
[461] Tran tam Tinh 1964, no. 75, 155.

different deities. Comparing the two alleged types several notable dissimilarities can be observed. The first thing to be discerned is that statuettes representing (pure) Isis compared to those of Isis-Fortuna are rare. Of the three instances where Isis is portrayed without Fortuna's attributes, two are not sure to represent Isis, to wit in the case of the Casa dell'Efebo (I 7,11) which is a marble statue, and the Casa di Sacerdos (I 7, 7).[462] The third instance concerns the bronze statue from the Casa di Memmius Auctus (see fig. 4.13) depicting the Archaic image of Isis, comparable to the statue in the Isis temple.[463] It is evident that in the case of domestic worship and statuettes, Isis-Fortuna was predominantly employed in Pompeii, and that the Hellenistic Isis was an exception. Such a presumption subsequently indicates that the conceptual link with Egypt or even with Isis might be questioned in the case of Isis-Fortuna. This idea concurs with the fact that the Romans never applied the term Isis-Fortuna. Not a single notion has ever been made to Isis-Fortuna in either text or epigraphy. The name Isis-Fortuna is a modern invention. It is therefore not known whether Pompeians consciously identified her with the Egyptian Isis.[464] Notwithstanding the mentioning of Tyche on the Isis sanctuary, it could well be that from a Roman viewpoint, Isis-Fortuna might not have been classified as a type of Isis, but rather as a type of Fortuna with certain additional traits of Isis. What would happen if Isis-Fortuna is regarded within the context of 'proper' Fortuna representations (i.e., paintings, statues)? Looking at the materialisations and contexts in which Fortuna and Isis-Fortuna appear, these do also not seem to carry overlapping features to an extent that one would presume they were experienced as similar concepts. Comparing Fortuna to Isis-Fortuna, sixteen paintings of Fortuna (against four of Isis-Fortuna) can be found, whereas we encounter only five statuettes of Fortuna against thirteen of Isis-Fortuna.[465] It seemed to be more common to portray Isis-Fortuna in statuettes when compared with Fortuna, whereas Fortuna was portrayed more frequently in wall paintings. Moreover, the material applied for statuettes of Isis-Fortuna diverges from those of the 'pure' Fortuna. Isis-Fortuna is either made of bronze or terracotta (one instance even in blue-glaze) whereas Fortuna mainly consists of marble (as with Venus, see 4.2). Statuettes of Fortuna may have benefited

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[462] However, the marble statue from the Casa dell'Efebo may represent a priest of Isis instead of Isis herself.
[463] On archaic images encountered in Roman statuary, see Fullerton 1990.
[464] See Arya 2002, 54, notes 148, 245.
[465] For more on these numbers, see Fröhlich 1991; Boyce 1937.

by adding qualities of Isis, but Isis-Fortuna was another deity. Was Isis-Fortuna unconnected to the concept of Fortuna and that of Isis? [466] Notwithstanding the possibly small connection there may be between Isis and Isis-Fortuna, they are not absent. In the Casa degli Amorini Dorati a shrine was located in the peristyle, of which the back walls are decorated with paintings of Anubis, Serapis, Harpocrates, and Isis in a Hellenistic rendering (without features of Fortuna). An alabaster statuette of Horus was placed in the shrine together with a marble seated statuette of Fortuna (without any characteristics of Isis). This means that even if Isis was presented in her Hellenistic form, she could be linked to Fortuna. In this case the deities were separated for aesthetic decorative reasons (i.e., in order to portray the Hellenistic Isis on the wall painting) rather than that a conceptual difference between Isis and Isis-Fortuna existed. However, in addition to this connection the evidence for a conceptual overlap is lacking.

This leads us to the third issue of this part on the contextual analysis of the statuettes, because an even more striking observation was made by means of a contextualisation of the iconography of wall paintings depicting Isis and Isis-Fortuna (table 4.9).[467] In addition to the contexts in which Isis and Isis-Fortuna appeared, the accompanying deities on the paintings next to Isis and Isis-Fortuna were studied. From this comparison a quite remarkable divergence between the two goddesses became apparent. It seemed that all the wall paintings depicting Isis without Fortuna's features also contained other deities with an Egyptian origin, such as Anubis, Serapis, and Harpocrates. On the other hand when shrine paintings of Isis-Fortuna were considered, they were either displayed alone, or together with other non-Egyptian deities (see table 4.10). Whether this is the same for statuettes is difficult to say, their exact find context can hardly be ascertained in Pompeii. Furthermore, the number of Isis statuettes is low. Notwithstanding the archaeological difficulties however, the theory does become endorsed by the

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[466] Is this an exclusive interpretation? If it is the case in Pompeii and even in Herculanuem it does not seem to hold ground in other contexts. In Rome region V, close to S. Martino ai Monti, a large private aedicula was found. It housed a statue of Isis-Fortuna in addition to smaller statues and busts of Serapis and a Ptolemaic Egyptian import of a stela depicting Horus standing on crocodiles, see Vittozzi 1993, 221-43; Marroni 2010, 100-5. Looking at assemblages such as the Casa dell'Efebo (see also 4.2.1) which combines a statue of Isis, Nilotic scenes, and a statue of Isis-Fortuna this may not even be an exclusive feature in Pompeii. We must exclude here those who adhere to Isis or those who value Isis-Fortuna for Fortuna. The household practices are much more diverse than previously thought.
[467] All paintings from the database can be linked to a lararium context except (a) no. 189, the copy of the Isis and Io painting from the Isis temple and (b) no. 200, a painting on a frieze from the Casa delle Nozze d'Ercole, depicting a festival procession. Although both can be regarded in a religious context they are omitted from the lararia paintings.

mixed domestic shrine context containing Isis-Fortuna and other non-Egyptian deities at the shrine in Fondo d'Acunzo, Boscoreale from fig. 4.11 and by the figurines in the Casa di Memmius Auctus (VI 14,27) that next to the archaising statuette of Isis also contained statuettes of and Anubis and of Harpocrates.

ISIS AND ISIS FORTUNA AND OTHER DEITIES IN WALL PAINTINGS				
Isis wall painting	II 4,3	Praedia di Giulia Felice	174	Anubis
Isis-Fortuna wall painting	IX 3,10	Pistrinum	194	Luna
Isis wall painting	IX 3,15		195	Harpocrates-Helios
Isis wall painting	VI 16,7	Casa degli Amorini Dorati	136	Anubis, Harpocrates, Serapis
Isis wall painting	VI 2,14	Casa delle Amazzoni	22	Serapis, Harpocrates
Isis wall painting	VIII 2,39	Casa di Giuseppe II	192	Serapis, Harpocrates, Anubis
Isis-Fortuna wall painting	IV 4,9		188	Alone
Isis-Fortuna wall painting	IX 7,22		196	Young man with snakes
Isis-Fortuna wall painting	V 4,3/5		187	Venus Pompeiana, Mercurius, Hercules, Minerva, Nikè
Isis-Hygieia wall painting	VII 9,1	Edifice d'Eumachia	191	Unidentified male and female figure

Table 4.10) Wall paintings depicting Isis and Isis-Fortuna, and their location.

This comparison provides a valuable insight on the perception and the use of Isis in Pompeii. While Isis-Fortuna reflects the integrated Roman goddess, Isis without Fortuna's traits seemed to have been applied as something Egyptian, as she was consciously linked to deities who also originated in Egypt. Could Isis really have been perceived as Egyptian or 'more' Egyptian? In order to clarify this further, the final part of this section will contextually analyse the deities and subsequent materialisations.

4.3.6 Comparison III: contextual analysis of the diversity of domestic religious practices and preferences

Not only did cult practices between communities differ, domestic religious behaviour had wide-ranging engagements within communities too. In order to get a better grip on the diversity and flexibility in the use of Egyptian domestic deities within domestic contexts, and to add an argument to the discussion on social differentiation within the use of paintings or statuettes mentioned in the introduction, the final part will contextually compare the use of deities within different forms of material culture. As a case study the two most frequently occurring Egyptian deities in Pompeii are chosen:

Harpocrates and Isis. In order to better understand the social applications and conceptions of the statuettes, it is considered helpful to look especially into the contexts of the paintings, while their provenances are much clearer than those of the statuettes. How did the house owner enact his household cults? The way in which shrines are distributed throughout the house varied as also indicated in part 4.3.2. The questions now rise: did the location in the house in any way prescribe the way in which these shrines were used. Did the deities and their positions of the deities alternate? Can we observe a social difference between the application of Harpocrates and Isis inside the opulent opposed to the more modest houses? Table 4.11 indicates in which contexts Harpocrates is attested. As to the results there seems to be no clear correlation with house size and wealth compared to the use of statues or paintings. For example, two of the most precious bronze statuettes within the database, representing the Archaic Isis and Anubis, were found inside the modest house of Memmius Auctus.

HARPOCRATES					
Object	Location	House name	Room name	No.	Size[468]
Harpocrates statuette	IX 5,3	Shop		93	Small
Harpocrates statuette	V 3,11/			87	Medium
Harpocrates statuette	V 3,11/			88	Medium
Harpocrates statuette	VI 14,27	Casa di Memmius Auctus	Atrium	89	Small
Harpocrates statuette	VII 3,11	Casa del Doppio Larario	Lararium	91	Medium
Harpocrates statuette	__	Villa rustica		94	
Harpocrates statuette	VIII 2,39	Casa di Giuseppe II		92	Extra large
Harpocrates statuette	I 10,4	Casa del Menandro	Cubiculum	141	Large
Wall painting	IX 3,15		Cubiculum	195	Medium
Wall painting	VI 16,7	Casa degli Amorini Dorati	Peristylium	136	Large
Wall painting	VI 2,14	Casa delle Amazzoni	Viridarium	22	Medium
Wall painting	VIII 2,39	Casa di Giuseppe II	Atrium	192	Extra large
Wall painting	VIII 4,12		Cubiculum	193	Medium

Table 4.11) Different materialisations of Harpocrates in Pompeii.

In contrast, the small bronze statuette of Harpocrates which is attested in the Casa del Menandro is argued to be from a chest which fell from an upper floor from a room which could be designated as either a store room or a slave

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[468] The houses are classified as follows: Small (51-150 m²), Medium, (151-450 m²), Large (451-850 m²), Very large (850-1800 m²), and Extra large (1801-6000 m²), see Brandt 2010, 96.

quarter.[469] Moreover, statuettes are not only encountered in private contexts but also in shops.[470] This means that there does not seem to be any correlation between the use of statuettes and paintings and the wealth of the owners.

SHRINES HOUSING PAINTINGS OF EGYPTIAN GODS								
Deities[471]	Location	House name	Room name	Type	Wall	H. Size	Pub/priv	Vis[*]
Isis, Anubis	II 4,3	Praedia di Giulia Felice	Peristylium	Sacrarium	S	Extra large	Private	no
Isis	IX 3,10	Pistrinum						
Isis-Fortuna, Harpocrates	IX 3,15[472]	House of Philocalus	Cubiculum	Lararium painting	N	Medium	Private	no
Isis, Serapis, Anubis, Harpocrates	VI 16,7	Casa degli Amorini Dorati	Peristylium	Aedicula	ES	Large	Private	No
Isis, Serapis, Harpocrates	VI 2,14	Casa delle Amazzoni	Viridarium	Lararium painting	E	Medium	Private	Yes
Isis, Serapis, Anubis, Harpocrates	VIII 2,39	Casa di Giuseppe II	Atrium cubiculum	Lararium painting		Extra large	Private	No
Isis-Fortuna	V 4,9		Cubiculum	Lararium painting	S	Small	Public	Yes
Isis-Fortuna	IX 7,22	Caupona	Latrine[473]	Lararium painting	S	Medium	Private	No
Isis-Fortuna	V 4,3/5		Atrium	Lararium niche	W	Medium	Public	yes
Isis-Hygia	VII 9,1	Edifice d'Eumachia						
Harpocrates	VIII 4,12		Cubiculum	Lararium painting	W	Medium	Private	
Egyptian attributes[474]	I 13,12		Atrium	Lararium niche	W	Large	Public	Yes

Table 4.12) Shrines found in Pompeii housing one or more Isiac deities. *The final column (vis. – visibility), indicates whether the shrine was visible from the street and entrance level.

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[469] See Allison 2006, 119. For a discussion on Room 35, see Allison's 'Pompeian Households: An On-line Companion'. The casket fittings of the chest suggested it was not of very high quality. Its contents, however, were all bronze and silver objects.

[470]Two statuettes of Isis are found within a shop context but are quite different to the other statuettes, which consist of terracotta busts. I 2, 17 and I 2, 20 nos. 85 and 86 of the database.

[471] One painting includes an image of Anubis Casa di M.A. Castricus (VII 16,19) was omitted from the table because it is not a religious painting, but part of a Nilotic scene.

[472] The painting comes from shop IX 3,7, see Fröhlich 1991, 294, L101.

[473] The Latrine painting portrays Isis-Fortuna next to a man who is seated between two snakes. She is giving advice to the person entering the toilet to beware of the danger of the pollution of defecation (the reason for this is an inscription found on the painting stating: *Cacator cave malu(m).* [CIL IV 3832]). It may, however, also concern a general warding off the evil eye while involved in a potentially dangerous act or as protector of cleanliness, see Hobson 2009, 111; Jansen, Koloski-Ostrow, and Moorman 2011, 167–70

[474] The lararium is decorated with a floral motif in red in which isiac attributes are included (situla, sistrum). The mosaic timpanon also features a sistrum, cista, and situla. This is the only lararium displaying things in such a manner, see Fröhlich 1991, 262, L32.

Nonetheless, a correlation can be observed between the sizes of the house, the type of shrine, and the deities. The previous section indicated a difference between the employment of Isis-Fortuna and Isis concerning the presence of other deities (here Isis-Fortuna appears alone or with many other deities whereas the 'pure' Isis only seen with other Egyptian deities). Comparing these two categories contextually (i.e., Isis-Fortuna and Isis with other Egyptian deities) there seems to be another difference as well. As table 4.12 illustrates, although wall paintings and statuettes can be encountered invariably in houses, it could be noted that it were the richer estates in Pompeii which housed Isis in her Hellenistic guise accompanied by other Egyptian divinities, whereas the middle-class and smaller houses contained Isis-Fortuna types. Furthermore, the Hellenistic Isis category occurs in more elaborate domestic shrine settings, such as *aediculae* (the Casa degli Amorini Dorati) and larger shrines (Praedia di Giulia Felice), while Isis-Fortuna only appears on simple frescoes. Lastly, compared to the other shrines inside houses, in case there are more than one, the domestic shrines including Egyptian gods seem to occupy a less visible and therefore a more private space, either because they are located in a more private location (in the case of the Casa di Giuseppe II, Philocalus, and Amazzoni) or because they were moved away from direct sight lines. Even when two shrines are encountered in the same room, such as in the case with the Casa degli Amorini Dorati and the Praedia di Giulia Felice, the Egyptian altars were placed further away from the major visual axis of the house and from the main interaction areas than other altars, as is the case in the Praedia di Giulia Felice and the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. The 'Egyptian' shrines are more elaborate, and at the same time seem to be less publically visible.

These contextual notions of the use of Egyptian deities form an important addition to the above interpretations on the presumed dissimilarities between Isis and Isis-Fortuna. A dichotomy can indeed be witnessed between them, but they must be viewed in the social domain rather than that they represent cultural or religious differences. Isis without the physical characteristics of Fortuna seems to be a statement with respect to social distinction, status display, aesthetic appreciation, and self-representation for

a distinctive audience, and did not denote a strict conceptual difference.[475] This observation first of all indicates a warning to be careful when labelling Isis and Isis-Fortuna as *either* Roman *or* Egyptian. In whatever way they were represented, the dynamics of their employments is much more complex and should be studied from a social context and bottom-up perspective. In this respect it must also be noted that Isis or Isis-Fortuna should not be regarded as rigidly socially divided choices in the sense that the lower social strata venerated Isis-Fortuna whereas the Hellenistic Isis was associated with the elite. This seems to be purely a matter of representation. Though Isis was always considered to be a cult for the lower classes, recent research has proven that all layers of the Roman social strata included followers of the Isis cults.[476] In spite of a supposed preference for Isis-Fortuna in the more modest houses, this only counts for paintings as Isis-Fortuna statuary is found in larger houses as well.[477] This could also point to a difference in utilisation of statuettes of Isis-Fortuna and paintings, and it adds to the argument that similar looking gods might be perceived and applied differently within domestic religious practices. A painting of Isis-Fortuna on a wall painting in a kitchen does not function in the same ways as a statuette of Isis-Fortuna in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. However, it does mean that displaying Egyptian deities in the fashion of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati or the Praedia di Giulia Felice (in a particular style, elaborate shrine, and with other Egyptian deities) was a statement of the elite. It can be noted, in addition, that the three largest houses in this category also had supplementary objects in their shrines such as imported or expensive and precious artefacts, expressing both prosperity as well as a personal preference for Isis.[478] Isis in the Hellenistic fashion emitted a strong social message: a household's wealth (it could dedicate an entire shrine to a typical form of a deity), but also maybe a sign of intellectual stature (knowledge of Isis and her Egyptian origin). However, what remains unsolved is the issue concerning the audience such messages were communicated to, and why the

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[475] This thought can be reinforced by means of the addition of a statuette of Fortuna in the shrine dedicated to the Egyptian gods in the afore-mentioned Casa degli Amorini Dorati indicating that Fortuna could indeed also be linked to Isis.

[476] Petersen 2006; Gasparini (forthcoming 2015).

[477] Other material categories associated with religious preference, such as jewellery, are not encountered in very small houses, and once in a very large house (Casa dei Vetti VI 15,1) was a ring found depicting Isis. However, only little can be said about loose finds in Pompeii and jewellery. If preserved it is usually of such a high quality we may consider it a valuable object. In Pompeii jewellery related to Isis-Fortuna is found as well.

[478] The Casa degli Amorini Dorati housed an alabaster statue of Horus and the Casa di Giuseppe II three silver plaques depicting Isis. The Praedia di Giulia Felice possesed a silver amulet of Harpocrates.

shrines dedicated to the Egyptian divinities were seemingly located in more private areas of the house. In order to contextualise and unravel these last issues the Casa degli Amorini and its shrine was chosen as a separate case study in part 5.2.

4.3.7 Conclusion

First of all, it can be concluded that it has proven helpful to analyse the Egyptian deities in wider material, social, and conceptual networks instead of only observing them from the rather restraining ethnic category 'Egyptian' or from the category of 'Aegyptiaca'. From the survey of statuettes and domestic shrine paintings it has become evident that Egyptian gods were used in diverse ways. On a general level this points to a view which argues for more dynamism in private religion than is yet accredited for Pompeii. Furthermore, an important observation made was that there were clearly rules apparent regarding what was appropriate to display in domestic shrines. Whereas Bes was never displayed in cultic contexts, Isis, Harpocrates, Serapis and even Anubis could be found. Isis and Harpocrates form the bulk of the Egyptian deities used in domestic religious practices, which concurs with other sites in both Roman Egypt as in Hellenistic Delos. Isis had global potential within domestic religion, and local preferences shaped her form, identity, and function between different sites.

In Pompeii and Herculaneum an inclination towards Isis-Fortuna can be witnessed, which she may have lost her Egyptian connotations and become more associated with her powers and the specific uses within a household context than with her cultural identity. Lastly, an important finding was made regarding the aesthetic appreciation and social use of Isis and the Isiac gods. The Pompeian elite could very well employ the Hellenistic Isis as a means of self-representation. They gave voice to Isis with her original Egyptian/Hellenistic context, either because they had the room to make this (aesthetical) decision or wished to flaunt knowledge and wealth.

4.4 Bes and Ptah-Pataikos in networks of being and becoming
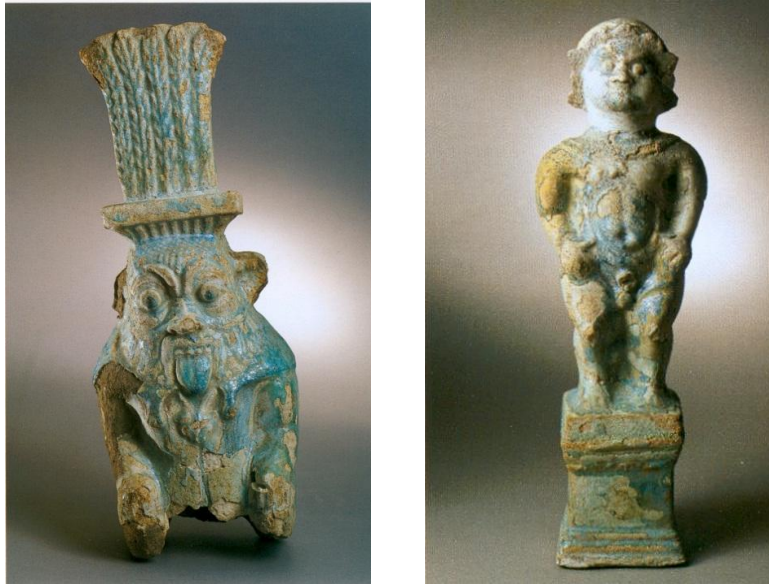
Fig. 4.14) Statuettes of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos. To the left: a 33, 8 cm. high portrait of Bes from Pompeii (MNN Inv. no. 22583). Its exact find location is unknown. To the right: Ptah-Pataikos (MNN Inv. no. 22607) from a Caupona (VI I, 2) It is 48 cm. high. Illustrations from Di Gioia 2006.

4.4.1. Introduction

Table 4.13 includes the objects found in Pompeii connected to Bes and Ptah-Pataikos, examples of the figurines of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos can be seen in figure 4.14. They consist of three sistra displaying Bes on the handle, two necklaces with one of the deities as a pendant and several *c.*50 cm. high statuettes executed in a blue-green glaze (as fig. 4.14 shows). The meaning of Bes in the Roman world was summarised as follows by Tran tam Tinh: "*En dehors de l'Egypt, à l'époque romaine, on rencontrait ses* [Bes] *images surtout dans les villes où florissait le culte d'Isis, ce qui permet de croire qu'il fut vénéré comme un 'sunnaos theos' aux côtés de la famille Isiaque.*"[479] Bes unquestionably belonged to the Isis cult according to Tran tam Tinh – because Bes originated from Egypt- although it was admitted that the deity could not have been a fully accepted member of the Isiac family, but only a secondary god of sorts.[480] Nonetheless the two concepts were confidently

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[479] See Tran tam Tinh 1986, 108.
[480] Malaise 2004, 266-92; 2005; 2007. This was similarly noted for Ptah, Ammon, Thoth and Sobek. A problem with the function of this deity was noted: "*S'il est clair que Bès a été associé à la gens isiaque, il est plus difficile de savoir s'il mérite vraiment le titre de sunnaos theos, objet d'un culte. Le silence des sources épigraphiques n'est guère favorable à cette hypothèse. Bès fut plutôt un compagnon de la souche isiaque. Il reste que sa présence sur un site n'est pas négligeable pour les isiacologues dans la mesure où elle peut être l'indice de*

connected. Hence, following from this theory, each material attestation of Bes in Pompeii was linked to the Isis cult. In fact, reviewing the material evidence for the Italian peninsula, only one object in featuring Bes seems to confirm this idea: a relief on a vase depicting Bes on one side and Isis, Harpocrates, and Serapis on the other.[481] The lack of material evidence for the connection between Bes and Isis calls for reconsidering their conceptual relation. What will be the goal of this part therefore, is to break down the *a priori* connection between different categories of material culture and cultic behaviour. Even when Bes is related to Isis as a god, which in some instances is the case as Tran tam Tinh's vase relief proves; does this imply that the green-glazed figurines in Pompeian gardens can automatically be conceptually connected to Isis as well? The reason for this hesitation is based on the contexts in which statuettes of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos are attested and their material appearance. Section 4.2.2 has observed that Bes and Ptah-Pataikos are never encountered together with the other Isiac deities within the same context. When a secure find spot could be deduced, they were found in garden settings or in *tabernae*, whereas Isis, Harpocrates, Serapis and Anubis characteristically occur within domestic shrine contexts. Moreover, there is not a single house in Pompeii with figures of all the Egyptian deities; they either include Isis and Isiac imagery or Bes and Ptah-Pataikos.[482] Looking at the style, material, and execution of the figurines of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos it can be determined that they deviate from the Isiac category. This is first and foremost visible in the way in which they are decorated, namely by means of a blue glaze (see fig. 4.14) other than the small bronze figurines which made up the bulk of the Isiac statuettes.

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l'existence de cultes isiaques en ce lieu.", see Malaise 2007, 27. When depending the definition of Bes purely on the strict Isiac framework, it does not solve the problems witnessed in its application. Why not try to see what Bes did in wider frameworks than the Isiac one? In this way it may also be possible to obtain more clarity on his role within the Isis cults.

[481] Tran tam Tinh 1972, 328-32; LIMC III, I, 1986, no 12, 99. The original find spot of the object (currently on display in the Museum of Brussels) unknown.

[482] Except perhaps in the house of Acceptus and Euhodia (VIII 5, 39) Its south wall of the kitchen includes a lararium painting of the deity Fortuna, or Isis-Fortuna, together with two statuettes of Bes and Ptah found in the viridarium (Inv. nos.: 117178 and 116666). At present, the painting has almost entirely disappeared. Boyce interprets it as Isis-Fortuna (see Boyce 1937, 78). Fröhlich believes it to be a painting of Fortuna (see Fröhlich 1991, 293, tab. 46, 2). Mau 1902 also states it is Isis-Fortuna.

BES AND PTAH-PATAIKOS IN POMPEIAN DOMESTIC CONTEXTS								
Subj.	Object	Material	Loc.	House name	Room	Cat. no.	Height	Inv. no
Bes	Lamp	Terracotta	I 18, 4			100	16	Antiq. Pompeii, 11843
Bes	Necklace	Bronze, glass, bone	I 10, 7			102		Antiq. Pompeii 5332
Bes	Sistrum	Bronze		Pompeian countryside		156		MNN 2391
Bes	Sistrum	Bronze	VII 2, 18	Casa di C. Vibius Italus		149		MNN 76.947
Bes	Sistrum	Bronze	VII 4, 13	Shop		150		MNN 2386
Bes	Statuette	Terracotta		Unknown		114	34	
Bes	Statuette	Terracotta	I 14, 8	Bottega		178		
Bes	Statuette	Terracotta	II 2, 2	Casa di D. Octavius Quartio	Garden	176	51	Destroyed
Bes	Statuette	Terracotta	IX 3, 5	Casa di M. Lucretius		177		
Bes	Statuette	Terracotta	VIII 5, 39	Casa di Acceptus et Euhodis	Viridari um	175		MNN 117178
Ptah-Pat.	Necklace	Agata, corniola, bronze, ivory, coral, glass	V 3, 11			112		MNN 129488/ 512
Ptah-Pat.	Statuette	Terracotta (glazed)	VI 1, 2	Caupona		113	48	MNN 22607
Ptah-Pat.	Statuette	Terracotta	VIII 5, 39	Casa di Acceptus et Euhodis	Viridari um	179	27,3	MNN 116666

Table 4.13) Materialisations of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos in Pompeii.

The Bes and Ptah-Pataikos figurines are also significantly larger than those in the other group of statuettes, which confirms their absence from domestic shrine contexts.[483] Thus even if the popularity of Bes was somehow fostered by means of the presence of the Isis cult, the deity seems to have been conceived in another way. It was therefore decided to not only deal with Bes and Ptah-Pataikos as a separate category of Aegyptiaca, but also analyse it within different material and contextual networks as well as with a different set of questions. Because there are notable difficulties in the contexts where we find Isis statuary together with Bes, what exactly was the connection

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[483] The average height of the statuettes associated with domestic worship contexts is between 12 and 15 cm., The height (which is difficult to establish as many are damaged) of the Bes and Ptah statues varies between 30 and 50 cm.

between Bes, Ptah-Pataikos and the Isis cult? Did the connection between Bes and Ptah-Pataikos and Egypt actually (still) exist in Pompeii? Concerning use and perception, could the find spots of Bes statuettes in a garden or peristyle point to a more secular appropriation? Were they considered exotic to a Roman audience? As in the above sections, the objects and concepts of Ptah-Pataikos and Bes are again reviewed in wider networks of material culture and concepts.

Enlarging the material and conceptual networks in order to explain the presence of these objects can immediately be proven useful when the category of statuettes is concerned. The statuettes of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos belong to a larger group of objects which can be characterised as 'blue/green-glazed terracottas'. These comprise, for example, lions, rams, iguanas, frogs, crocodiles, statues of females, a negroid figure, a pharaoh, and elderly people. Within the material spectrum they also accounted for lamps and drinking vessels. Di Gioia, in *La ceramica invetriata in area vesuviana* (2006), made a detailed study and catalogue of all the so-called green-glazed objects found in Campania. She deals with the types as well as the manufacture, and discusses the provenance of the objects. Di Gioia classified the manufacture of the statuettes to which Bes and Ptah-Pataikos belong as either faience-imitation ware or blue/green-glazed ware.[484] As scholars considered the material in this case to be a faience imitation, it poses an additional question concerning the material with regard to the central research query of the present thesis. If all these blue/green-glazed did belong to the same conceptual category, was a connection between Egypt and these objects created by means of the material? Did the blue glaze *itself* did already evoke a sense of Egypt and would this make the category

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[484] Di Gioia 2006. Technically, there is a difference between traditional Egyptian 'faience' and 'glazed terracotta' found in Pompeii (although the designation faience remains to be used for these objects). The glaze of the former includes natron in the glaze and a sintered-quartz ceramic displaying surface vitrification which creates a bright lustre of various colours, with blue-green being the most common. It is therefore not properly pottery, until later periods it contains no clay and, but the major elemental components of glass (silica). Faience manufacture declined in quality during the Third Intermediate Period (21st to 25th Dynasties: 1069-664 BC), with a return to the traditional methods and the loss of much of the technical knowledge. Although theLate Period (664 BC until 332 BC) saw a revival in faience production in the Greaco-Roman era faience production shows close relations with regular pottery manufacture which includes throwing faience vessels on the wheel and applying glaze as slurry. The latter late faience production, consists of a combination of either lead or alkalis in order to obtain the glass-like finish. The faience link to pottery in the Roman period probably caused a shift towards glazed pottery production and gradually led to the decline of faience. For a detailed discussion of Roman feience production, see Nicholson 2013. In order to avoid a direct connotation to Egypt, in this dissertation the decoration will be referred to as green or blue glaze, instead of using the term faience.

Aegyptiaca even larger than previously thought? In addition to the contexts, objects, and iconography used to discuss the concept of Egypt in the above sections, this section will also study material properties in relationship with the perception of something Egyptian. In order to answer these questions the figurines and other materialisations of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos will be reviewed on several levels, i.e., as material, as concepts, and within contexts.

4.4.2 Bes and Ptah-Pataikos and the Isis cult

First, more clarity is required on the assumed connection between Bes, Ptah-Pataikos and the Isiac cults. The contexts of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos statuettes seem to point to a different use and therefore different perception of these gods than when compared with concepts of Isis. However, certain objects are link with the cult and Bes. This must be scrutinised first in order to get a better grip on the role Bes played within the cult.[485] Michel Malaise, following Tran tam Tinh, considered Bes associated with the so-called '*gens isiaque*' and as was already briefly pointed to above, although they are few, connections between the Isis cult and Bes are not completely lacking.[486] In Egypt Bes was a popular household deity with a long history as a god that warded off evil in the home.[487] Furthermore Bes was connected to music and dance, and to Hathor the goddess of childbirth, dance, and music. In ancient Egypt Hathor was strongly linked to Isis as she was associated with her, there is however, no material or visual evidence that this was also done in Pompeii. The connection between music and Bes is however, attested in Pompeii in one example, within the category of *sistra*, where the figure of Bes

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[485] To start with Bes, he was known as a dwarf god in Egypt but concerned a rather complex type of deity or deamon conceptually. Next to his apotropaic qualities as a fighter (portrayed with swords) and protector in warfare, he was also a patron of childbirth and the home, and associated with fertility, sexuality, humour, music, and dancing. Bes became very popular amongst the Egyptians because he protected women and children. He seems to have had no temples until the Graeco-Roman period, the sanctuary at Bawiti in the Bahariya Oasis discovered in 1988 and the shrine of Bes in Abydos are one of the very few attested (on the Abydos-shrine, see Frankfurter 2006, 549). No priests were ordained in his name. Nevertheless Bes was one of the most popular gods of ancient Egypt and often depicted on household items (e.g., furniture, mirrors, cosmetics containers and applicators, magical wands, knives), see Dasen 1993, 55-83.
[486] Although Malaise admits the iconographical evidence is scant, see Malaise 2007, 27.
[487] Bes was responsible for killing snakes, fighting off evil spirits, watching after children, and assisting women in labour. He never received an official cult or sanctuaries. In Egypt, because of his apotropaic qualities, he was often depicted on household items such as furniture, mirrors and cosmetics containers.

in three cases (out of eleven sistra found in Pompeii) forms part of the decorative part of the handle.[488]

In addition, a painting of Bes decorates one of the walls of the *sacrarium* (fig. 4.15), the most inner part of the temple of Isis.[489] In this particular room the paintings are said have been created by an adept of the cult, probably an initiate or a priest, not by a professional painter.[490] The reason for this assumption is the detailed level of rendering Isiac elements together with the poor quality of the paintings depicting Isiac deities (e.g., Isis in a boat, a seated goddess accompanied by cobras), and several kinds of sacred animals (e.g. an Apis bull, snakes, ibis, lion).
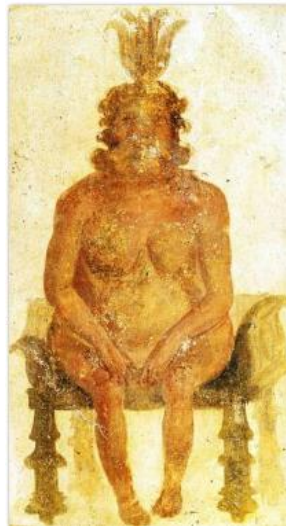
Fig. 4.15) A portrait of Bes. It is from the *sacrarium* in the sanctuary of Isis in Pompeii. MNN Inv. No. 8916.

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[488] Nos. 149, 150, and 156 of the database, found in Casa di C. Vibius Italus (VII 2,18): a shop (VII 4,13), a shop were three other sistra were attested and the Pompeian countryside respectively. Another three are known from Rome, rendered differently but with similar attributes: a cat seated on top of the sistrum, the handle consists of a Hathor head below which a Bes figure. See Manera and Mazza 2001, nos. 18, 19, and 21 (19 and 21 are identical, 18 also has a Harpocrates figure on the handle), 61-3.

[489] Malaise further mentions the so-called *Ariccia* relief: a marble fragment from a tomb on the Via Appia with Isiac cult scenes (dated *c.*100 AD). The upper frieze of the relief probably represents the interior of an Isis temple dedicated to an enthroned and crowned goddess (Isis). The side chapels are dedicated to the dwarf god Bes, flanked by the seated baboons of the god Thoth. From Museo Nazionale Romano - Palazzo Altemps Inv. 77255.

[490] A clear connection can be made between the Isis cult and therefore to the Egyptian reception of Bes who may even serve to enhance the Egyptianness of Isis, see Moormann 2007, 152.

As to Ptah-Pataikos (in scholarly literature either referred to as Ptah-Pataikos or Pataikos-although the connection to the official Ptah-Pataikos is difficult to understand), the connection with Isis is even more obscure. The name *Pataikos* is first mentioned by Herodotus (*Historiae 3.37*) in order to differentiate him from the normal Ptah-Pataikos, the demiurge of Memphis, or referring to the temple of Hephaistos.[491] In Egypt *Pataikos*, just as Bes, was considered a protector of the house, children, and pregnant women. Also similar to Bes he never became part of an official cult. Any evidence about him is even scantier as there is no Egyptian text or myth that speaks of Ptah-Pataikos nor does he ever appear in official iconography.[492] Ptah-Pataikos can be recognised by means of his achondroplastic dwarf appearance with bandy knees, small genitals, and a large head. His head was furthermore shaven or covered by means of a skullcap, the traditional headdress of the official public Ptah-Pataikos. In the New Kingdom he mainly appears in the form of small amulets, in which manner he also becomes popular in the rest of the Mediterranean from the Bronze Age onwards. First in Phoenicia and then into current Palestine/Israel, Rhodes, Cyprus, Greece, Malta and Sardinia.[493] From the 7th century onwards Ptah-Pataikos can be encountered in Italy, predominantly in Etruria.[494] In Pompeii Ptah-Pataikos is attested in the form of statuettes resembling Bes, and also appears once in the form of a pendant.[495] A precise date for the appearance of Ptah-Pataikos in Pompeii is difficult to determine as the statuettes cannot be dated accurately, they fall somewhere between the 1st century BC and 1st century AD. Whether the Ptah-Pataikos necklace has to do specifically with the Isiac cult or that it served as a more general protective amulet is also difficult to say, although the necklace included a pendant in the form of Harpocrates, Aphrodite was present on the necklace as well.

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[491] Herodotus described Pataikos as the dwarf figure connected to the temple of Hephaistos. In book 3.37 he describes the encounter with images of dwarfish deities which he related to the images of the Phoenician *Pataicoi* (which the Phoenicians carry on the prows of their boats) during a visit of Cambyses to the temple of Hephaistos in Memphis (Egypt).

[492] See Dasen 1993, 84-98.

[493] Dasen 2008, 1-6, entry in the *Iconography of Deities and Deamons online pre-publication*, University of Zürich.

[494] See, Höbl 1979, 101-3; 112-8.

[495] The pendant belongs to a necklace which includes other Egyptian deities: Harpocrates and a cat (Bastet) found in house V 3, 11. This necklace had been placed in a chest in a small room located to the left of the entrance corridor of the house. This chest also contained two statuettes of Harpocrates and one of Venus Anadyomene, see Boyce 1937, no. 2, 108. Bes is also encountered once in this way, i.e., as a pendant in a necklace with Isis-Fortuna, Harpocrates, and a lotus flower in I 10, 7 (database no. 102). In fact two necklaces were found with Egyptian imagery, the other (no. 103) consisted of pendants of Isis-Fortuna and a snake.

Looking in more detail at the connection between Bes and Isis, the evidence appears to be difficult to generalise with regard to more universal meanings of Bes. While there is a link between the painting of the figure Bes in the sacrarium of the Isis temple, the room where he was housed was not meant for public eyes. In fact, it was the storeroom for sacred cult objects and probably only utilised by priests living on the sanctuary terrain, which makes it unlikely that an average Pompeian would have learned of the connection between Bes and Isis by means of this painting. Supposedly, although knowledge concerning the connection between Bes and Isis existed, Bes was never conveyed to domestic worship the way that Isis, Harpocrates Anubis and Serapis were. Regarding the specific category of figurines representing Bes and Ptah-Pataikos, the link with Isis appears to be completely absent. There are no figurines (or paintings) of Bes or Ptah-Pataikos found in domestic shrines. Not a single house exhibited figures of Bes in combination with a clear veneration of Isis in the form of domestic shrines. The figurines of Isis, Harpocrates, Anubis, and Serapis are made of another material and vary in size when compared with the figurines of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos. The only supposed link is derived from the catalogue of Tran tam Tinh, who lists two Bes figurines found at the temple of Isis in Pompeii.[496] According to Tran tam Tinh both the statues are made of '*porcelaine verdâtre*' a description which might point to the green glazed wares. However, the objects that Tran tam Tinh refers to -deduced from the notes made by the excavators of the Iseum which were published by Fiorelli in 1860 in the *Pompeianarum antiquitatum historia*– appear not to concern statues of Bes, but are actually two faience statuettes of naophori. It is unclear why Tran tam Tinh identified these as being Bes statuettes, neither of the descriptions of Fiorelli mention the word Bes, the statues were referred to as an '*idolo Egizio*'. Tran tam Tinh most probably based his conclusions (for 115b) on the green paint and on the annotation Fiorelli made of the object: "*Questa figura e molto informe e ridicola*".[497] The other alleged statuette of Bes, found in the *sacrarium* of the temple, appeared to actually be a faience statue of a male divinity currently displayed in the *Museo*

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[496] According to Tran tam Tinh 1964, two green glazed statuettes are found in the area of the Isis temple (no's 115a and b), not taken up in the catalogue of Di Gioia 2006.
[497] See Fiorelli, 1860, *Pompeianarum antiquitatum historia* vol I, 192. Fiorelli notes the following concerning the figurine found at the temple site:"*nello stesso sito* [the temple of Isis] *si è trovato un idolo egizio di gesso, o di qualche al- tra mistura bianca dipinto di verde, alto on.8 Vs, e rotto nel- la parte superiore.*

Nazionale di Napoli (inv. no. 430), a piece dating from the Ptolemaic period and one of the imported artefacts from Egypt that were stored in the sacrarium.[498] Reviewing the evidence it can be established that although a connection between Bes and the Isis cult is present in a few instances, it seems to have concerned only a small and very specific audience not existent by the larger community. Moreover, although there existed a link between a painting of Bes and the Isis cult, the green glazed figures that depict Bes and Ptah-Pataikos at least did not have any direct connection to the cult. In order to obtain a more embedded knowledge of the interpretation and uses of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos in Pompeii and their presence in domestic contexts one must carefully disentangle the image, the objects, and concepts of Bes.

4.4.3 Subject: the concept of Bes and its perceptual networks

Whenever the iconography of the materialisations (paintings or statues of Bes) did not have a conceptual link, in which way did the objects representing Bes and Ptah-Pataikos develop and how were they perceived? As discussed in chapter 3 and in 4.1 this trajectory can be explained as conceptual networks of categories or indexes in which the object becomes of relevance to the viewer. This can be obtained by means of studying the physical context, the type of object, the people applying it, the material of which it was made, its value, style, concept, or the manner in which it was portrayed (iconography). All form a part of the perception of an object and the components of the network interact with one another. It is not within the scope of the present research to look for *the* significance of Bes, but rather to establish the way in which the components of his being and materialisations interact and to study the way they formed a cognitive link with each other and with Egypt within perception. The first component we will discuss within this context is the *concept* of Bes. How well known was Bes in Pompeii? He was said to be present in several types of objects. However, was there a cognitive connection between these objects because of the subject of Bes? Was this image equal in significance and meaning when compared with the statuettes found in garden settings, in other words: did Bes have a univocal meaning as Bes and did it therefore transcend its material embodiment?

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[498] Fiorelli describes a figurine (height unknown) found in one of the rooms in the temple of Isis (probably now known as the sacrarium) which was made of marble and coloured with a green paint, of which the eyelids and lashes were painted turquoise. The figurine is in a seated position and kneels down, on its head it wears a large cap and a beard that falls down in a cylindrical way on the middle of his chest. In his hands he holds instruments (not specified) and is completely covered with hieroglyphs and (made of) green stone. See Fiorelli 1860, 180

Moreover, did Bes create a cognitive link to Egypt? These questions deal with Bes and his appearance within material culture as a concept.

A valid first pragmatic issue related to the idea Bes and conceptual connotations to Isis and Egypt are whether people actually even knew this was the Egyptian god 'Bes' and whether they referred to him as such. For modern scholars the dwarf deity is easily classified as Bes; however as an unofficial deity of the Egyptian pantheon he became widespread throughout the whole Mediterranean and often lost the connection to Egypt. Furthermore, within Egypt itself Bes was not a name commonly used, and it is a designation typically applied by modern scholars to actually refer to a multitude of dwarf-gods.[499] According to Dasen, the identity of the dwarf god was quite complex and his name originally pointed to a general connotation for a range of deities with a dwarf-like appearance.[500] Although the name seems to have occurred once in Roman literature (according to Wilson 1979, 75 without any reference), no single inscription exists which carries his name.[501] Consequently 'Bes' is a concept which should be used in a plural form and it seems unlikely that the word Bes was ever used within the context of Pompeii. This has serious consequences for the concept of Bes as it was experienced by a Roman audience, making apparent the difference between the present-day observer and the past user. It testifies once more the weak link between Bes and Isis and it also once more calls into question the connection between Egypt and the deity. Because if Bes did not existed as a name (not even in Egypt itself), and his conception was plural, on what accounts should he be associated with Egypt?

4.4.4 Form: cultural transmission

In order to obtain a clearer image of the complexities of the concept(s) of Bes as mentioned in the above section, a brief sketch will be composed of the history and the diversity of Bes. A distinction was made between the several ways Bes is iconographically represented by means of no less than thirteen types, of which some occur from the Middle Kingdom onwards, others are only known since the Ptolemaic period, or only appear outside Egypt.[502] The

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[499] See Bonnet 1952, 101; It is stated that the name Bes appears more frequently in the Ptolemaic and Roman period. As to Roman literature which records 'oracles' of Bes no references are provided whatsoever, see Wilson 1975, 77.
[500] See Dasen 1993, 55-7.
[501] See Malaise 2007, 27 for Bes in literary accounts; See Bricault 2005 for the epigraphic evidence. The word ´Bes´ only appears referring to coinage. In this case bes was a bronze coin (two-thirds of an *as*) produced during the Roman Republic.
[502] Wilson 1975.

most common type is the naked, frontal, squatting Bes often with a feather crown and a lion or panther skin around the neck. This rendition is known since the New Kingdom (16th to 11th century BC).[503] Other iconographical types portray Bes dancing, holding one or two swords above his head, winged, playing a tambourine, protecting or suckling Horus as well as a pantheistic Bes and Bes with various animals (as a protector of animals).[504] Some of these types occur mainly in relief form, others in the form of amulets or statuettes. Already in the earliest stages of Mediterranean connectivity in the second millennium BC, different outlines of expansion can be seen concerning these dwarf figures. Some cultures seem to have developed dwarf god-figures independently from Egypt, such as in Babylonian Mesopotamia, others modified the Egyptian figure according to local taste such as occurred on Cyprus, and sometimes Bes was seen imported with its Egyptian features still intact, such as an example of Hittite AlacaHöyük shows.[505] According to Wilson it was the so-called Meggido-Bes type in the form of ivories which firmly established the Egyptian dwarf-god 'Bes' within Syro-Phoenician iconography. Adaptations and subsequent spread of this type can also be witnessed. For instance, a Bes version appears somewhat later in the form of a bronze figurine which shows Bes upright instead of its usual squatting position, and his arms are bent over his chest. This is an early example of a pose which becomes particularly popular on Cyprus.[506] On Cyprus Bes and other dwarf related images become very popular and they are consistently attested from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age onwards, persisting as far as the third century AD.[507]

Although the figure resembling Bes appears in the Levant and Cyprus from the 2nd millennium BC on, it does not reach the Aegean region until the 1st millennium BC.[508] Several forms become more widespread and develop around the Mediterranean into other hybrid forms with functions according to local preferences and tastes. Moving forward in time, the Phoenician Iron Age presents a further good example of the way in which Bes was adapted to

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[503] See Wilson 1975, 78-9.
[504] As listed by Wilson 1975.
[505] During the first Babylonian dynasty (2017-1595) a bearded dwarf god is known with bended legs and a frontal depiction which seems to have developed independently of Egypt, Cyprus on the other hand shows many locally adapted forms such as found on the Malloura wall-bracket or the Limestone cippus with the head of Bes from Palaikastro (Counts and Toumazou 2006, 29809); lastly an example from Anatolia shows a Bes bone sculpture in Middle Kingdom Egyptian guise which was probably imported from Egypt.
[506] See Wilson 1975, 86, and Fourrier 2005, 61-75.
[507] See Counts and Toumazou 2006, 598.
[508] See Aruz 2008, 137.

local preferences while remaining an Egyptian figure at the same time. Bes amulets found in West Phoenician centres were considered to be Egyptian imports; however, more recently it has been argued that those amulets were actually manufactured in Carthage, from which they spread out to Sardinia, Spain, Ibiza, Sicily, Malta, and the rest of the West Phoenician sphere of influence.[509] This implies that amulets and figurines were locally produced in an Egyptian and in a local style at the same time. Another case concerns three figurines from Marathus on the Phoenician coast of which one was imported but the other two were locally produced.[510] Bes was thus perhaps not only an adaptable widespread phenomenon, but also clearly an actor moving in other networks than Isis, and did not arrive at the Italic peninsula together with the Isis cults, but was distributed by means of trade between Phoenicia and Etruria, where Bes had become popular after contact with Punic culture.[511]

In sum, the cultural transmission allowed for the import of statues and iconography of Bes, implying that different cultural centres, reaching from the 2nd millennium BC Levant to the 2nd century BC Phoenicia, all copied the Egyptian style adapting Bes to their own style even millennia before the Bes scholars so confidentially call Egyptian arrived in Pompeii. Furthermore, from the earliest phase of his existence onwards, Bes has supposedly always been part of a much larger spectrum of dwarf figures. In this light, he represents a global concept appreciated for its internal qualities rather than a distinct cultural product of Egypt. Should so many years of adaptation be discarded when looking at Roman Pompeii? Could Bes not as easily have had a Punic association? Or was the subject re-Egyptianised? Reviewing objects encountered at Pompeii in relation to the iconography and find contexts may present us with a better understanding of this subject.

4.4.5 Object: materialisations of Bes

Coins

As to objects, the network leads to a variety of types of materialisation of Bes. In Pompeii, he can be found in the form of pendants, applied on sistrum handles, and as statuettes (see the above introduction). However, there is another category of objects which is also linked to Bes concerning its connection to the armed Bes image known from the Phoenician world and

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[509] See Wilson 1975, 129.
[510] See Wilson 1975, 130.
[511] See Rupp 2007, 52.

Egypt. As mentioned, this armed Bes-rendition does not occur in Roman Italy. Nevertheless excavations in Pompeii have brought to light many coins originating from Ebusus depicting exactly this iconographical type on the obverse and reverse.[512] The images on the products of the original and locally minted coins portray Bes wearing a tunic, his left hand is raised and holds a knife or a sword while a snake rests on his right arm (Campo's group XVIII, see fig. 4.16a).[513] The Ebusan coins were attested at many Italian sites, but predominantly at Pompeii, representing the majority of the non-Roman monetary stock here at the turn of the 2nd and 1st century BC.[514] These Ebusan coins, or pseudo-Ebusan coins, as they are called when a local Italian production, occur from the late 2nd century BC onwards. Here they soon were locally minted to become part of the bulk of the monetary stock during the Republican era and Social War in the end of the 2nd, beginning of the 1st century BC.[515] This is confirmed by means of a find, consisting of the contents of a purse found in a bathhouse, which clearly points to the coins as everyday local currency. The Pseudo-Ebesus coin even seems to be an altogether Italian phenomenon which is not found in the Balearic Islands.[516] The find proves that the representation of Bes was both a wide-spread phenomenon and a daily visual encounter by the Pompeians of the Republican period.

Fig. 4.16a An example of the coins with Bes figures found in Ebusus (*Ebusus* Group XVIII, 50-60, *62-70*, *c. 200-100 BC, unit* 42 Æ 17 mm - 3.13 Pompeii sporadic 59016 *Monetary stock* 7 from Stannard 2005, 63-4).

Fig. 4.16b Classified in Stannard 2005 as pseudo-Ebusus type VIII, a later local mint of the same type where the figure of Bes is more crudely depicted.

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[512] Ebusus, i.e., present-day Ibiza, allegedly acquired its name from the Punic people, who called it the island of Bes. As indicated above he was also a popular deity in the Carthaginian pantheon.
[513] Campo, 1976.
[514] See Stannard 2005, 47-80.
[515] See Stannard 2005, 76.
[516] See Stannard and Frey-Kupper 2008, 371.

This means that the presence of Bes as imagery might predate the arrival of the Isis cult in Pompeii.[517] The conceptual connection of Bes and Egypt during the 1st century AD may therefore be more complex, as a Punic connection can now also be established for Bes.

However, would this mean that Bes in material and visual culture was not regarded as Egyptian at all? Would the people of Pompeii handling these coins have realised Bes was depicted, let alone connect any cultural associations to these coins? Most probably this was not the case. As can be seen from the local minting (fig. 4.16b), the image of Bes is not well recognised and the urge to make an exact copy of the original did not exist. Furthermore, the image was most probably not regarded to be Bes, as the iconography consists of a type of the armed Bes, which was unknown in Central Italy. It never set foot in the iconography of the visual and material culture of Pompeii where only the squatting type of Bes was present. The imagery and the concept of Bes were thus most probably conceptually unrelated. This does not imply that not a single Bes-materialisation was ever experienced as Egyptian, in certain instances Bes was related to Egypt, but the versatility of the figure should be acknowledged, both conceptually and iconographically. It should be realised that the local perception of dwarf gods in Pompeii could occur in diverse guises, functions, and uses. These could be conceptually unrelated and without any cultural connotation. Once more it provides us with an argument in favour of accepting more complexity within the perception and application of objects in relationship with concepts.

Sistra

A further relatively small category in which Bes appears are the sistra, of which only three of the eleven portray Bes in his typical squatting position, always in combination with the goddess Hathor. In Egyptian iconography, Hathor is often depicted as a cow, a woman with a cow head, or with stylised cow horns holding a solar disk. The sistrum in Egyptian mythology is closely connected to the cult of Hathor. It was incorporated into the Isis cult at a later stage, rendering the association with the cow goddess not unusual. In

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[517] Depending on the date of the first Isis temple which only informs us of the time the cult became official and remains a topic of debate. Although Zanker opts for a date in the 2nd century BC (Zanker 1998, 52-3), it is most commonly assumed the first temple was constructed in *c.*100-90 BC (based on the presence of tufa architectural elements). Hoffmann 1993 (PhD-dissertation), Tran tam Tinh 1964, 135-46. There is also evidence of an additional Augustan construction phase. Blanc, Eristov and Fincker 2000, 227-309.

the other examples there are four plain sistra. Only three include cats attached to the top. Outside Pompeii, sistra depicting Bes were found in Rome and Taranto.[518] It is argued that the other Bes-handled sistra (with a dancing Bes) of which one originates from the Iseum Campense whereas the other was found in the Tiber, were produced in Egypt.[519] The handles depicting Bes could thus stylistically be traced back to Egypt, but it is not known whether the undecorated handles were produced locally or were shipped from Egypt.[520] Although decorated handles could indicate an aesthetic choice amongst the available sistra, it seems unlikely that Bes was purposely added to handles when concerning a local Campanian production. It might even be unlikely that handles with Bes were purposely traded, because the connection between Hathor and Bes seems not to have been widely known in Roman Italy.[521] However, notwithstanding the encounter of Bes as a side effect of a sistrum decoration, it did allow for a connection between the dwarf and Isis, at least with regard to the group of people who used the sistra during rituals.

Figurines

The final category featuring Bes and Ptah-Pataikos took the shape of the already mentioned glazed figurines. Di Gioia noted five statuettes of Ptah-Pataikos and seven of Bes, all consisting of a green or blue coloured glaze; Herculaneum counts two more recorded finds of Bes statuettes (no Ptah-Pataikos).[522] Interestingly, these figurines are notably different when compared with statues found in Pompeii, which were significantly smaller (21 and 22 cm.) and made of bronze. It is believed the green-glazed were produced by means of the same mould.[523] Although Pompeii and Herculaneum are not that well comparable because of the larger amount of

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[518] See Malaise, 2004 288-9.
[519] See Grimm 1997, 178; Malaise 2005; Lembke 1994, 36-7.
[520] Two bronze regular (identical) sistra were found in Herculaneum and three sistra amulets of which two consisted of wood, and one of silver. Not one depicted Bes, see Tran tam Tinh no. 53-56, 80-1.
[521] At least in Pompeii and Campania, no depictions of Hathor exist beside these handles in Pompeii. In Rome two Hathor cows are found near the Iseum Campense, see Roullet 1972, no. 266. One is assigned to the Iseum in Region III, see Roullet 1972, 276.
[522] Di Gioia 2006. The Herculaneum Bes statuettes are made of bronze and of exceptionally high quality, see Tran tam Tinh 1972, 22-3; 76-7, see nos. 45-6 for the the two figurines.
[523] Respectively no. 46, Ant. Herc. No. 1429 no. 45 MN coll. égyptienne inv. 184 (autres nos. d'inv. 272-390). Following von Bissing 1925, it has been remarked that the statuettes illustrate the collusion of two artistic traditions i.e., of Egyptian and Greek art, as can also be observed in the Ptolemaic temple of Mut in Karnak.45. (fig. 22), see Tran tam Tinh 1972, 76.

excavated terrain in Pompeii (4/5 compared to 1/3 in Herculaneum), it is striking Pompeii has not a single bronze statuette of Bes, while Herculaneum does not contain any green glazed wares. This may have to do with the difference in wealth between the two locations, or with different trade connections. However, as to the larger group of green-glazed statuettes that the figurines of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos seemed to belong to (see above), their material connections is a subject requiring further attention. The context, provenance, and material of the objects may provide more clarity to the networks of perception of these objects.

4.4.6 Further down the network of perception: blue-glazed figurines

Figurines: provenance

It has been suggested that the statues of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos, because of their specific manufacture and subjects, were not produced in Campania or Rome, but imported from Egypt.[524] Although Tronchin stated that given the fashion for Egyptian and Egyptianising products during the 1st century AD, a Roman industry in the production of these statuettes would not be unexpected, the presence of kiln remains and reject glazed terracotta statuettes of the same type attested at Mit Rahina (Memphis) in Egypt suggested Memphis was the major centre for the industry of these statuettes.[525] Until recently this could only be presumed, but never confirmed. A recent study dealing with provenance determination based on chemical analysis however, was able to determine that several of these statuettes (at least nine from a sample of thirteen) hailed from a location in the close vicinity of Memphis. A multi-analytical analysis was carried out in order to trace their origin, comparing Egyptian faience with thirteen other blue/green-glazed objects found at Pompeii concluded: "*The scatter plot of the scores ... groups in the same cluster of most the finds from Pompeii and Egypt...These results strengthen the archaeological hypotheses of import from Egypt of all faiance from Pompeii except sample 1.*"[526] This means that these nine artefacts were indeed imported to Pompeii from Egypt. Considering not only the sample size, but also the resemblance in material, form, and size of the mould, many other statuettes within the category of green-glazed wares

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[524] See Rossi 1994, 319. It is also stated: "*La preponderanza di soggetti egittizzanti, nonché la diversa consistenza dell'impasto, a base silicea, e della vetrina, in realtà una vera e propria faïance, lascia ipotizzare una produzione non locale, ma presumibilmente egizia.*" see, Di Gioia 2006, 140.

[525] See Tronchin 2006, 48-9; Ziviello 1989, 87.

[526] See Mangone et al. 2012, 2866, figs. 7 and 8.

may have originated from Egypt too. Of interest to consider with regard to perception is not so much the established provenance of the deities Bes and Ptah-Pataikos, but those of the other iconographical types and forms less likely to be linked to Egypt by means of their subject, for instance an *aryballos* and two cylindrical glasses. Could a conscious link to Egypt have existed for the consumers of such objects? This poses an interesting suggestion with regards to linking specific forms or specific material to the concept of Egypt. It is quite common to connect the concept of Egypt to objects on the basis of iconographical features (such as Bes); however, this might have been different. These objects seem to be linked because of their decoration in a green glaze, meaning that if there was a connection to Egypt, it may have reached much further than scholars have accepted thus far. It could even be that the green glaze *in itself* established the conceptual connection to Egypt.

The category of blue-glazed objects: figurines

The category of blue/green-glazed objects in Pompeii consists of cylindrical vases, globular jars, statues of various animals and human figures, and lamps. Interestingly enough, at least quantitatively, they hardly share any parallels on the remaining part of the Italic peninsula. The globular vases are encountered in various places in Rome. However, Bes and Ptah-Pataikos are not attested anywhere within this specific production outside Pompeii. Table 4.14 introduces all the blue-glazed objects from Pompeii.

BLUE-GLAZED OBJECTS FROM POMPEII[527]							
Object	Subject	Inv. no.[528]	Di Gioia cat.	Find spot	Height in cm.	Date	Provenance[529]
Green/blue-glazed figurine	Perona and Micone	MNN 124846	9.1.1	Pompeii, VI 15,5; Casa di M. Pupius Rufus; garden[530]	36,5	1st c. AD	Unknown

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[527] See Grimm 1972, 71-100; Rossi 1994; Di Gioia 2006; Tronchin 2006.

[528] The abbreviation denotes the current location of the artefacts: MNN = *Museo (Archeologico) Nazionale di Napoli* and PMS= *Pompei Magazzino degli Scavi.*

[529] The secured provenances are established according to Mangone et al. 2011.

[530] Mistakenly described as being found in area VI 12 (following the notes presented in NSc 1895, 438), see Di Gioia 2006. However, the exact find location is in the peristyle garden at the west wall at the rear of the tablinum. In the *aedicola* niche here several statuettes were found: *"There were various statuettes nearby. A terra-cotta statuette of a tipsy old woman* [MNN Inv. no. 124844] *was adapted to serve as a jug... A terra-cotta elephant ridden by a Moor and carrying a tower on its back* [MNN Inv. no. 124845] *also served as a jug, the liquid being poured into the tower. There were also a number of objects finished with green glaze: a family group; a little vase in the form of a Silenus* [MNN Inv. no. 124847]*; a little vase in the form of a cock; two small vases in the form of ducks; another in the form of a goose.",* see Jashemski 1993, nos. 279, 156.

Dark green-glazed figurine	Perona and Micone	MNN 22580	9.1.2	Unknown	34,8	1st c. AD	Unknown
Glazed figurine	Old woman	MNN ?	9.2	Pompeii	30,2	1st c. AD	Unknown
Brown-glazed head	Female head of a bust or Greek style (?)	MNN 129400	9.3	Pompeii	18,1	1st c. AD	Unknown
Dark blue-glazed figurine	Ptah-Pataikos	MNN 22607	9.4.1	Pompeii, VI 1,2 Caupona	47,8	1st c. AD	Memphis
Blue-glazed figurine: a fountain	Ptah-Pataikos	MNN 116666	9.4.2	Pompeii	27,3	1st c. AD	Unknown
Blue-glazed figurine	Ptah-Pataikos	MNN ?	9.4.3	Unknown	24	1st c. AD	Unknown
Head of figurine in blue/green glaze	Ptah-Pataikos	MNN ?	9.4.4	Unknown	10,1	1st c. AD	Unknown
Head of figurine in blue/green glaze	Ptah-Pataikos	MNN ?	9.4.5	Unknown	10,1	1st c. AD	Unknown
Figurine in blue glaze	Bes	MNN 22583	9.5.1	Pompeii	33,8	1st c. AD	Memphis
Figurine in dark green glaze	Bes	MNN 116665	9.5.2	Unknown	40	1st c. AD	Unknown
Figurine in dark green glaze, no head	Bes	MNN 117178	9.5.3	Pompeii: VIII 5, 39 Casa di Acceptus et Euhodia	21,5	1st c. AD	Unknown
Figurine in green glaze, head missing	Bes	MNN 13586	9.5.4	Unknown	23	1st c. AD	Unknown
Figurine in blue/green glaze	Bes with a baboon head	PMS 10613 B	9.5.5	Pompeii, II 2,2, the house of Octavius Quartio in the viridarium (alle spalle del recess a Sud del triclinio).	34,5	1st c. AD	Unknown
Figurine in blue/green glaze	Bes	MNN 2897	-	Pompeii, II 2,2, the house of Octavius Quartio, n-w corner of the small peristyle garden	51		
Head of a figurine in bright blue glaze	Bes	MNN 22589	9.5.6	From IX 3, 5, Casa di M. Lucretius (?)	13	1st c. AD	Memphis
Rectangular base of a	Base of a Bes statuette, feet	PMS: 12087	9.6.1	Pompeii I, 14, bottega 8 (in situ	11	1st c. AD	Memphis

statue in blue/green glaze	still present			in lararium (?)			
Round base	Base with griffins, floral motifs	MNN 113021	9.6.2	Pompeii, IX 7, peristyle of a domus	14,1	1st c. BC-1st c. AD	Unknown
Round base in blue glaze	Base with a gazelle, a cat-like creature, floral motifs	MNN 113022	9.6.3	Pompeii, IX 7, peristyle of a domus	13,5	1st c. BC-1st c. AD	Unknown
Round base in green-blue glaze	Human figures separated by means of columns	MNN 113023	9.6.4	Pompeii, IX 7, peristyle of a domus	11	1st c. BC-1st c. AD	Unknown
Fragment of a base in blue glaze	?	PMS 477F	9.6.5	Pompeii, dal recinto ad Ovest della tomba di Esquila Polla	5,8	1st c. BC-1st c. AD	Egypt, but not from Memphis
Figurine in blue-green glaze	Pharaoh	MNN 2898	?	Pompeii, II 2,2, the house of Octavius Quartio n-w corner of the small peristyle garden	54	?	
Figurine in green glaze	Silenus[531]	MNN 124847/103	9.7.1	Pompeii, VI 15,5; Casa di M. Pupius Rufus; garden	14,7	1st century AD	Unknown
Figurine	Silenus	MNN 117291	9.7.2	Pompeii, VIII 7, stanza a sinistra del portico.	21,5	1st c. AD	Unknown
Figurine, no head, in dark blue glaze	Crocodile	MNN 121324	9.8.1	Pompeii, V 2, I, Casa delle Nozze d'Argento	41	1st c. AD	Memphis
Figurine in light blue glaze, no head and tail: a waterspout	Crocodile	MNN 121325	9.8.2	Pompeii, V 2, I, Casa delle Nozze d'Argento	26	1st c. AD	unknown
Figurine in dark blue glaze: a waterspout	Frog	MNN 121323	9.9.1	Pompeii, V 2, I, Casa delle Nozze d'Argento	19	1st c. AD	unknown
Statuette in bright blue glaze: a waterspout	Frog	MNN 22608	9.9.2	Unknown	25,5	1st c. AD	unknown
Figurine in dark green	Frog	MNN 22609	9.9.3	Unknown	26,5	1st c. AD	unknown

[531] *"Rinvenuta in associazione con il vasetto monoansato a forma di anatra (vasi no 15.6) askos no 15.9 e il gruppo raffiguranite Pero e Mikon no 1.1 rispecchia anch'essa quel gusto della recca decorazione di giardini ed esterni che si diffonde a Pompeii a partire dalla fine del I secolo AC, quando, in sequito alla conquista dell'Egitto, comincia a diffonderso la moda ellenistica"*, see Di Gioia 2006, 123.

glaze							
Figurine in green-blue glaze: a waterspout	Frog	MNN 121322	9.9.4	Pompeii, V 2, I, Casa delle Nozze d'Argento	22,5	1st c. AD	unknown
Figurine on rectangular base in blue-green glaze	´Iguana´[532]	PMS 12960	9.10	Pompeii, I 12, 6 sul podio della cucina nell'angolo SO del peristilio	22	1st c. AD	Local production, not from Egypt
Statue in dark blue glaze: a waterspout	Lion	MNN 123981	9.11	Pompeii	26,5	1st c. AD	Unknown
Figurine in dark blue glaze	Ram	MNN 123982	9.12	Pompeii	24,5	1st c. AD	Unknown
Figurine in ochre glaze, ring attached to waer as an amulet	Grotesque negroid figure[533]	MNN 22581/4645	9.13	Unknown	12,4	1st c. BC-1st c. AD	Unknown
Figurine in light green glaze	Seated boy, naked[534]	MNN 188449/13	9.14	Pompeii IX, 8	5,3	1st c. AD	Unknown
Globular olletta dark blue glaze		MNN 22695	7.4.1	Unknown	?	1st c. AD	Local production
Globular olletta in dark blue glaze		MNN 116670	7.4.2	Pompeii	11,5	1st c. AD	Local production
Globular aryballos in blue glaze		MNN 25847	7.12	Pompeii, Bottaro	4,6	1st c. AD	Memphis
Fragmentary cylindrical glass in green-blue glaze	Decorated with gazelles, goat-like animal, floral motifs[535]	MNN 121607	7.13.1	Pompeii	17,4	1st c. BC-1st c. AD	Memphis

[532] Identified by Di Gioia as an Iguana. We read on this object: "*Statuina di iguana poggiante su base rettangolare, l'animale è rappresentato secondo uno schema che richiama l'arte egizia*", see Di Gioia 2006, 127-8. This is particularly interesting when realizing this statue is the only object of which a local production was confirmed by means of chemical analysis, see Mangone et al. 2011.

[533] *Statuine probablimente di divinità a doppia gibbosità, seduta, con foro ad anello sul capo. E descritta come figura scenica negli inventari. I tratti marcatemente negroidi, sottoloneati anche dal colore marronico dell'invetriata, fanno pensare sempre ad un repertorio esotico, di provenienza presumibilmente egizia.* Di Gioia 2006, 130-1

[534] *La capigliatura a grani fa pensare alla pettinatura riccia, tipicamente Africana; anche questa figuretta, dunque, potrebbe rappresentare un riferimento all'Egitto, tanto di moda in quegli anni a Pompei.* Di Gioia 2006, 131

[535] *Si trovano in frammenti dall'Esquilino e da Trinità dei Monti a Rome, (Rossi 1994, 325-32, nos. 1-8), nonché in due esemplari, l'uno conservato al Museo del Cairo e proveniente da Memphis (CG18018) e l'altro conservato al Louvre (E. 11141, Grimm 1972, 94-5 figs. 55-6).* Di Gioia 2006, 54.

Cylindrical glass in turquoise glaze	Gazelle, swan, floral motifs	MNN 117115	7.13.2	Pompeii	16,5	1st c. BC-1st c. AD	Memphis
Fragmentary cylindrical glass	Similar to 13.1 and 13.4	MNN 5260/355	7.13.3	Pompeii	6,6	1st c. AD	Unknown
Fragmentary cylindrical glass[536]	Similar to 7.13.1	MNN ?	7.13.4	Pompeii, VIII 2,7	9,8	1st c. BC-1st c. AD	Memphis

Table 4.14) All the green-glazed figurines from Pompeii and their find contexts.

Was this category of objects associated with Egypt by means of its material? At least there seems to be a connection between iconography and the green blue glaze. Concerning the iconography, it cannot be denied that, at first glance, a certain taste for 'the East' might be suggested. The reason for this is that the majority of the statues represent frogs, crocodiles, statues of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos, creatures often associated with Egypt.[537] This category included a statuette of a pharaoh. However, whether a conscious link was present needs yet to be determined. A start is made with one particular object from this category: a reptile-like statuette designated by Di Gioia as an iguana.[538] From the chemical analysis it was established to be one of the two objects resulting from local production. Iconographically however, it has no clear parallels in Pompeii, except that the pose (i.e., the 'Egyptian guarding pose') is identical to many other animal statuettes from the collection of green-glazed figurines. The parallel for its iconography, strikingly enough, was actually found in Egypt, eliminating the determination of the statuette as an iguana. In Egypt this composite reptile-like creature is known as Horus-Sobek (or *Soknopaios*), a manifestation of Sobek, the crocodile deity, with the body of a crocodile and the head of the falcon god Horus (see fig. 4.17).[539] Soknopaios was worshipped between the 2nd century BC to the 3rd

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[536] Parallel found in Egypt in the form of a small situla from the Roman period, also decorated with leaves, fruit and beads in relief. The object is now displayed in the Windsor Myers Museum at Eton College. In: *Egyptian Art at Eton College: Selections from the Myers Museum.*

[537] References to lions in Pompeian houses can be found on the marble statues in the Casa di Loreius Tibertinus (II 2,2), where a marble statue in a dynamic position kills an antilope. The lion is represented in a mosaic in the Casa del Fauno (VI 12,1). In wall paintings we see lions in hunting scenes as in the Casa della Caccia Nuova (VII 2 ,25). All portray moving animals linked to (Imperial?) hunting scenes. The statuette in green glaze, however, takes a static and classical reclining pose as we see in Egypt.

[538] See Di Gioia 2006, 127.

[539] Parallels of the statue can be found in the Cairo Museum (Inv. No. E 21868), The Walters Art Museum in Baltimore (no. 22.347) and the Egyptian Museum in Berlin. Similarities between the statues of Horus-Sobek found in Egypt and our artefact are numerous: the base, the crocodile body and falcon head with *nemes*-like headdress. However, the Pompeian

century AD throughout the Fayum. A temple dedicated to this deity has been unearthed at Soknopiou Nesos.[540] To have this produced locally is extraordinary, as *Soknopaios* is a completely unknown concept in Roman Italy. However, the similarities between the Egyptian parallels (see fig. 4.17) are too striking to dismiss the qualification of the statuette as a form of *Soknopaios.* This leads to interesting issues concerning its use(r). No comparable examples of the statue could be found outside Egypt. Yet, the clay suggests a local production. What would have been the maker's intention and conceptual reference? Where was it produced? Was it from a local pottery workshop, or traded from Puteoli or Rome, both consisting of places with a larger number of 'foreign production' capacities (i.e., knowledge, technique, resources, etc.) and a larger demand for such objects?[541]

Fig. 4.17) Left: a statue of the falcon-headed crocodile god *Soknopaios* (Metropolitan Museum). Right: the 'Iguana' statue from house I 12, 6 (PMS 12960).

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statue includes a crown the Egyptian examples of this type do not have, except perhaps for one faience amulet, now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.80.202.64). Statues of Horus-Sobek/*Soknopaios* are not widespread in Egypt. They occur from the Late Period/Early Graeco-Roman period on. A larger statue of Soknopaios was encountered in a temple devoted to him in the inner courtyard of the North temple in Karanis. The cult of the crocodile god Sobek/Souchos was very popular here. It centered in Shedyet (Crocodilopolis) but many locales in this region maintained temples in his honour. In the two known temples of Karanis, Souchos was worshipped in three guises: Pnepheros, Petesouchos and Soknopaios. Also of interest to the current inquiry is that in the Fayoum, at Soknopaiou Nesos, the cult of Isis was attached to that of Soknopaios. It seems likely that this was the case at Karanis as well. In addition to the statue of Soknopaios, a statue of Isis was found. Appropriately, in the guise of Soknopaios, the crocodile god took on aspects of the character of Horus, the son of the goddess, see Rondot 2004, 93-6; Widmer 2005, 171-84: de Vos 2006 (*Egittomania*), 207.

[540] The present-day Dima, see Bongionanni and Sole 2001, 556.
[541] The context of the find lies in a small unidentified house (I 12,6) excavated in 1960-2, see *Notizie degli Scavi* 22/09/1960.

Could the buyer of the statue also have made the error in interpreting it as an Iguana? On the account of these findings one can even start speculating about the owner's ethnicity. Displaying such intimate and specific knowledge, he could even have been an Egyptian from the Fayum in need of his own local deity. The statuette was found on a podium of the kitchen in the southwest of the peristyle of a small house.[542] Therefore it could also have functioned as a so-called apotropaic figure, in which his specific identity was not particularly necessary (being interpreted as a strange animal or monster would have sufficed); such were often found in these contexts (see part 4.4.8). A last issue concerning this object leads back to the finishing in green glaze; was it especially made in this way to make it more Egyptian? All the evidence concerning the production, context, and iconography seems to suggest that it did. Whatever can be said on the identity of the owner, the object not only gave voice to an explicitly Egyptian iconography and was intentionally produced locally in a green glaze.[543]

This example, as do a large number of the remaining subjects of the blue/green-glazed wares, illustrates a link between the perception of something Egyptian and the glaze. Not only were gods displayed, and a pharaoh, but also frogs and crocodiles. The latter two were associated with the Nile and often included in Nilotic scenes. Figurines of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos, crocodiles and frogs were the most numerous to be encountered among the blue-glazed wares in Pompeii. The suggestion that the green glaze in itself could furthermore refer to Egypt can be strengthened by means of another object category i.e., lamps and pottery. The former supposedly now and again provided imagery linked to Egypt.

The category of blue-glazed objects: lamps and pottery

Figurines were not the only objects that could be manufactured in green glaze. More than twenty green-glazed lamps were attested at Pompeii.[544]

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[542] See Di Gioia 2006, 126; *Notizie degli Scavi* 22/09/1960.

[543] This conceptual correlation between Egypt and blue-green glazed items is furthermore endorsed by means of the figurine of a pharaoh in green glaze (sadly excluded from Mangone 2011, implying its specific provenance could not be determined) found in the garden of the Casa di Octavianus Quartio (II 2,2).

[544] According to Di Gioia 2006, the lamps included here provide a very interesting view on the application of form and style. The scope of shapes, for example, seems to be rather small. The Nos. 1 to 27 all represent the so-called Loeschke III type/Bailey type D i.e., a lamp with a double nozzle and a large handle in the shape of an acanthus leaf. Several portray figures in the centre, often animals or masks. Exceptions are: a handle consisting of palmettes (no. 16 has a stylised palmette and a cow placed in the centre: Apis?). Another type portrayed in green glaze is a simple one (Bailey type P, Oand C/ VIIIa,b and V Loeschke). It consists of a round lamp with only one nozzle and no elaborate side or handle

According to Tran tam Tinh (followed by Di Gioia) the lamps were not made in Egypt, but locally produced somewhere in Italy. Relevant to the current research is that the green-glazed lamps now and again also include 'Egyptian' themes. Analysing the themes on this specific type of lamps in connection to Egypt in more detail, it could be established that they always portray Isiac deities, never Bes or Nilotic imagery. The database counts three lamps originating from Pompeii presenting images of Isis. This implies that three lamps (see fig. 4.18 a-c) with green glaze are attested, to wit from: (a) the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, (b) the house VI 16, 40, and (c) an unknown location at Pompeii. Their images stemmed from an archetype of which other samples were attested in the collection of the British Museum. An example (Bailey's catalogue: inv. no. Q968-9) is discussed created in the same workshop in Campania.[545] As lamps depicting the Isiac triad and Isiac figures can be considered quite a widespread Roman development, it is rather difficult to confirm parallels within material execution.[546] An additional difficulty is the fact that most publications on lamps illustrating the Isis-cult or Nilotic scenes solely focus on the iconographical portrayal or the shape and decoration such as glaze are not included in the description.[547] However, it is clear that the green-glazed-ware does not cover all the Isis or Nilotic lamps, nor does Di Gioia's catalogue merely consist of green-glazed lamps with an Egyptian theme; the majority of the lamps provide different iconographical themes.[548] From the fourty-five green-glazed lamps Di Gioia published, only six depict Isiac deities (although that many display crescent moons and lotus flowers perhaps related to the Isis cult). Nilotic scenes do not appear at all.[549]

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designs. These types often portray the Isiac triade in Gioia's catalogue. Isis may be depicted alone (no. 40) in only one instance. The remainder portrays Harpocrates, Isis and Anubis.

[545] Podvin 2011.

[546] See Podvin 2011, 110; Bailey 30-32; TTT 1990, 125-34; Podvin 2011, 59-61 ; Versluys 2002, 351-3.

[547] Baily 1980 and Walters 1914 focus more on the shape of the lamps.

[548] Di Gioia 2006 does not include all the green-glazed lamps. It has been determined that Inv. Nos. 1333377 and 22603, both probably representations of Isis, are omitted.

[549] For lamps depicting Nilotic scenes, see Versluys 2002, 451-3.

Fig. 4.18 a-c) Three lamps from Pompeii portraying the Isiac triad. To the left: (a) from the Amorini Dorati (VI 16, 7), see Tran tam Tinh 1964 no. 132, 170-1; in the centre: (b) VI 16, 40, see Tran tam Tinh 1964 no. 133, 171; to the right: (c) undetermined find spot, see Tran tam Tinh 1964 133b, 171. Photographs taken by the author.

The lamps from Pompeii lead us one step further into the conceptual network. Lamps were manufactured in green glaze, but not with an exclusively Egyptian theme. Whereas a number of lamps (locally) produced and include a green glaze as well as an Isiac theme, they do not directly point to a cognitive link between green glaze and Egypt. We know of one instance indicating that at least in this case the link was made. This is again connected to the *Casa degli Amorini Dorati*. It housed one of the green-glazed lamps portraying Isiac deities in the shrine exclusively devoted to the goddess (fig. 18a). As to all the other references (i.e., the alabaster statuette of Horus, the marble statuette of Fortuna, the paintings of Isis, Harpocrates, Anubis, Serapis, and various cult objects) to Isis and considering the cognitive connections between green glaze and Egypt already established, it seems safe to argue that the green-glazed lamp in this particular example was intentionally selected. The green glaze might have formed an additional reference, and it is interesting in this respect, that a lamp was chosen, and not a statuette. By displaying a lamp showing Isiac deities in green glaze the connection to became even stronger, at least for those people with knowledge of Isis and her origin.

Acquisition and taste

Whereas the lamps are locally produced, a considerable number of figurines had an Egyptian origin and travelled to Pompeii. Questions rising from this observation concern the degree of difficulty met with when obtaining statuettes from Egypt, the prices to be paid, and the networks through which they arrived in Pompeii. Did such items travel by means of their own

trade routes and companies? Were they privately and independently traded or just a byproduct imported through the large organised cargo routes from Egypt to Rome such as the grain- and stone trade? And, in relation to this, did they arrive directly in Pompeii, via the port of Puteoli, or from Rome? Within the scope of this dissertation it is not possible to obtain a comprehensive overview of Roman trade routes and their cargo. However, it can be stated with considerable certainty that the possibility existed of acquiring foreign imports, even with regard to inhabitants of smaller towns such as Pompeii and Herculaneum.[550] The quantity and distribution of pottery was large during the heyday of the Empire, as witnessed for instance with the *terra sigillata* trade. The ease in which forms and vessels of *terra sigillata* spread all over the Roman Empire has been widely acknowledged.

Thus it should not come as a surprise to find imported 'exotic' objects moving through these networks with similar ease. An example hereof we see with another kind of glaze: the so-called glazed *skyphoi* with relief decoration, mainly imported from Anatolia, to be specific: from a workshop located in Tarsus, the ancient capital of the Roman province of Cilicia.[551] The type is both locally manufactured and imported and spreads out all through the Mediterranean area. Only the imported wares are attested at Pompeii. In fact, Pompeii contains the largest finds of exported glazed *skyphoi* outside Tarsus.[552] This is of course for a large part due to the way the site is preserved; however, it can be concluded that it must have been relatively easy to obtain foreign objects for private use. When the Tarsus-cups are compared to the blue/green-glazed cups from Memphis, would these have appealed to a similar taste of glazed wares or were they experienced differently? Figure 4.19 shows that the two types of glazed wares appear very similar when it comes to colour, decoration, form, and (maybe also) use. Would people have been aware of the different provenances of such cups? Would it have mattered? If the wares were substitutable, it may point to a general wish for 'exotic' looking objects and that it did not matter whether it

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[550] The extent of any long distance trade is a matter of great debate. According to Carandini 1985, long distance trade formed the centre of Roman economy: it was cheap and fast to travel by sea. However, in recent years, this view has been moderated suggesting that (a) although long distance trade was present and important, it was mainly reserved for larger towns and (b) supplies mainly came from locally produced goods. For an overview of this discussion, see De Sena and Ikäheimo 2003 305-6.

[551] See Hochiuli-Gysel 1977. This category was also included in Di Gioia 2006.

[552] Thirteen objects were found, see Hochuli-Gysel 1977, fig. 31. Other sites in Italy at which these wares were attested are: Herculanueum, Boscoreale, and Ostia.

was derived from Tarsus or Egypt. The substantial presence of such cups, however, may also question the notion of exotic altogether.

Fig. 4.19a-b) Imported glazed cups. To the left: a cylindrical glazed cup imported from Memphis, see Di Gioia 2006, 7.13.1, MNN 12607, and to the right: a glazed cup imported from Tarsus. From Hochiuli-Gysel 1977, T76 S154; MNN 22576.

Regarding the overall pottery trade and the presence and choices within Pompeian pottery, it seems one was aware of the difference between wares and their provenances and that it also mattered what was selected. This is demonstrated by means of a specific find from the tablinum of a Pompeian house (VIII 5,9): a wooden crate containing seventy-six *terra sigillata* bowls from Gaul, and thirty-seven lamps from northern Italy, all packed together and unused.[553] There was a large *terra sigillata* production centre in Puteoli (here the largest percentage this kind of pottery encountered in Pompeii was manufactured) and lamps were locally produced in Pompeii itself, rendering it unnecessary to import Gaulish *terra sigillata*. This find suggests a taste especially for Gaulish *sigillata* and knowledge on the difference between the both kinds of red-glazed ware. It also shows personal preferences existing when choosing a type of ware. Furthermore, the Gaulish *terra sigillata* and the Memphite cups are not self-contained examples. Large quantities and forms of imported pottery found their way into Pompeii. A multitude of imported wares in Pompeii from all over the Mediterranean region has been listed.[554] The town was part of an exceptionally intense Mediterranean

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[553] House VIII 5, 9. See Laurence 1994, 46-7.
[554] From the direct vicinity: Campanian Cookware (Cumae), Production A Sigillata (Northern Bay of Naples) Puteolian Sigiliata, and Central Italian Sigiliata (Arretine Ware). They were the most abundantly present categories of pottery. A smaller amount of imports consisted of Italian Glazed Ware (Central and Southern Italy), Firma lamps (Modena, Po Valley), South Gallic Sigillata (La Graufesenque in Southern France), Baetican Thin-Walled Ware (Southern Spain), African Cookware, African Utilitarian Ware, and African Sigillata Z (Tunesia); Aegean Cookware, Çandarli Ware (near Pergamon), Eastern Sigillata B (near Tralles and the

connectivity because of its strategic location at the mouth of the River Sarno, its position between the rich villas at the Bay of Naples, appealing river connections with the hinterland, and the proximity to the centre of Campanian trade: Puteoli.[555] Another argument in favour of an easy transfer of Egyptian goods specifically to Pompeii is the trade relations existing between Puteoli and Alexandria. The trade and commercial relations between these two towns had supposedly hugely intensified already during the period following the Punic wars. It has been argued that most if not all traffic from Egypt was concentrated at Puteoli, which would consequently render this harbour the most important centre for Egyptian imports on the Italian peninsula.[556] This may explain the presence of a larger concentration of Egyptian imports in the town of Pompeii.

As to the other side of the trade route i.e., Egypt, it appeared that the specific origin to be established with regard to the statuettes was Memphis. What was the relation between this location and the imported statuettes? First and foremost, in the period between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD Memphis was still a significant Egyptian port town (although it significantly decreased in importance after the rise of Alexandria as a port) with a strategic position at the mouth of the Nile housing many workshops. Furthermore, while Bes was considered one of the most popular domestic deities in Roman Egypt (after Harpocrates and Isis), the majority of such statuettes in Egypt were not green-glazed, but were (as the result of mass production) carried out in terracotta (see also paragraph 4.3). Not one of such simple terracotta statuettes is ever attested in Pompeii or elsewhere on the Italian peninsula.[557] Considering the production of Egyptian terracottas, if the inhabitants of Pompeii merely wished to own a Bes statuette from Egypt, it would have made sense to obtain an unglazed example, of which the largest production centres produced especially for domestic contexts. The fact it was glazed may therefore have been more important than the subject displayed. Either the consumer especially wanted faience-like

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Meander Valley), Eastern Sigillata A (the area between Tarsus and Antioch), and Cypriot Sigillata (Cyprus), see Peña and McCallum 2009, 186-7, 165-201. Note: finds from Memphis or the green-glazed cups from Tarsus are excluded.

[555] Laurence 1994, 48. It has been argued that the towns of Campania, including Capua, Cumae, Neapolis,
Pompeii and Puteoli, form a single socio-economic unit, see Frederiksen 1984, 321.

[556] We read "*dopo le guerre puniche le relazioni commerciali di Pozzuoli e di Alessandria recevettero un grande sviluppo. Tutto il traffico con; Egitto vi si concentrava; e là che arrivano gli oggetti di lusso egiziano.*" See Dubois/Pisano 2007, 26 (repr. of Dubois 1902).

[557] With the exception of a statuette which once belonged to the *Museum Kircherianum* which is more likely the result of a 17th-century exchange.

renditions which were then probably not selected to serve as ordinary figurines for domestic shrines. Or, by means of the nature of the existing trade between Memphis and Puteoli, these were the only types of figurines available. The answer would depend on the contexts in which the statuettes are found, and whether these were rich or modest. Nonetheless, even if the latter scenario was the case, being only limited choice in that which was imported, the statuettes must have been considered luxury items in Pompeii, or at least functioned beyond regular domestic shrine statuettes. The nature of the trade with Memphis could be an explanation for the reason why so many Pataikoi ended up in Pompeii. As Ptah-Pataikos was an important deity especially in Memphis (Ptah was its patron deity), the production of such statues would probably be larger as the chance they would be included in trade networks. This implies that the presence of Ptah-Pataikos in Pompeii may not have been a deliberate choice of the Roman consumer, but a consequence of a trade consisting of larger green-glazed statuette with Memphis.

4.4.7 Context: locations of Bes

The physical contexts in which Bes, Ptah-Pataikos and other blue-glazed objects occur will now be discussed. How many houses contain statuettes and which rooms are they found? Are they stand-alone not? In which kind of houses in terms of size and wealth are Bes and Ptah-Pataikos encountered? Can anything be inferred regarding the social position of their owners? Unfortunately, many of the objects of which the provenance was established with regard to Memphis do not know a clear find context in Pompeii. Table 4.15 introduces the contexts in which Bes and Ptah-Pataikos, and Nilotic animals were found. These present an interesting picture which deviates strongly from that of the other statuettes of Egyptian deities, as also concluded in 4.2. As with the taste for green glaze, the contexts reaffirm that the primary adoption of the Bes statuettes (as well as of the category of green-glazed wares) was not of a cultic nature. Whenever a find location could be established one context in particular contained green-glazed statuettes: gardens. The statues, both of deities and animals, were supposedly predominantly suited to be placed in garden settings. Three statuettes, however, have a different context e.g., an imported Memphite Ptah-Pataikos figure (no. 22607) found in a *Caupona/Thermopolium* (inn), the crocodile god with the Horus head found on a podium of the kitchen in the southwest of the peristyle of a small house, and a Bes statuette in a

bar.[558] The occurrence of the statuettes (both imported and locally produced) in such contexts suggest at least that they were not only available to upper class citizens. However, their location in gardens of the Casa delle Nozze d'Argento and the Casa di Octavius Quartio, and the specific way in which they adorned two large and opulent houses, indicates they are closely related to status display.

CONTEXTS OF BLUE-GLAZED OBJECTS IN POMPEIAN HOUSES					
House	**Loc.**	**Size**[559]	**Objects**[560]	**room**	**Other Aegyptiaca**
A Casa di Acceptus and Euhodia	VII 5, 39	Medium	Bes statue(117178); Ptah-P fountain (116666)	Viridarium	-
Casa di Octavius Quartio	II 2, 2	Very large	Bes statue (2897); Bes statue with a baboon head (PMS 10613b); Pharaoh statue (2898)	Garden	Marble sphinx statuette Painting: Isis priest
Casa di M. Lucretius	IX 3, 5	Large	Bes statue (22589)	-	Paintings: Personification of Alexandria; Egyptian figures (caryatides?)
Hospitium/bottega	I 14, 8	Small	Bes statue (PMS 12087)	-	-
IX 7			3 round bases decorated with floral motifs and animals (113021/2/3)	Peristyle	?
Casa delle Nozze d'Argento	V 2, 1	Very large	Crocodile statue (121324 Memphis); Crocodile statue (121325); Frog statue (121323); Frog fountain (121322)	Garden	Nilotic scenes painted in a cubiculum and the peristylium
Caupona/thermopolium	I 12, 6	Medium	'Iguana' statue (PMS 12960)	Kitchen	-
Unclear.[561]	VIII 2, 7		Cylindrical glass (s.n. Memphis)		-

Table 4.15 Contexts of blue-glazed objects in Pompeian houses.

It is furthermore important to observe whether certain houses possessed other objects to be classified as 'Aegyptiaca'. This was the case with the Casa di Octavius Quartio, which in addition to four glazed figurines, housed a marble sphinx executed in a Pharaonic style, and painting of an Isis priest inside one of the rooms. The Casa delle Nozze d'Argento contains both Nilotic

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[558] See *Notizie degli Scavi* 6 October 1770.
[559] The houses have been classified according to size in Brandt 2010, 96.
[560] Items without a reference number are kept at *Museo Archaeologico Nazionale di Napoli*.
[561] Perhaps found at a passway, it corresponds to no. 11 from Mangone 2011. See also *NdSc* 17/04/1887.

scenes in the space where the green-glazed figures were displayed and in a cubiculum adjoining the atrium space. The Casa di M. Lucretius finally, housed paintings supposedly portraying the personification of Egypt and Egyptian caryatids.[562] This confirms that their use and interpretation, even in the case of being positioned in comparable contexts, could vary.

4.4.8 Perception and use: the integration of Bes in Pompeii

Bes and Ptah-Pataikos in the context of apotropaic dwarfism

Now that the different components (concept, object, material, and context) of Bes and Ptah-Pataiko's existence have been disentangled, the possibilities of their integration into the network of objects and contexts of Pompeii will be discussed and the possible functioning as an apotropaic dwarf will be dealt with. The contexts in which they were found confirm they were not only appropriated as garden ornament, but also might have carried an apotropaic function. Three statuettes of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos were encountered in a kitchen, a Caupona, and a bar context. The figurine of Ptah-Pataikos that was found in the Caupona was placed on a shelf, watching the gate, according to di Gioia probably had an apotropaic function. [563] Furthermore, the particular example of Ptah-Pataikos in the Caupona also renders notable exposure, whereby the statuette's colour and shape drew the attention of visitors to the town to the Caupona, important as it was one of the first bars one came across upon entering Pompeii through the Porta Ercolano. It could therefore likewise have served as a signboard in order to attract customers.

From the use-contexts it seems that Bes and Ptah-Pataikos were integrated into a long-standing tradition of apotropaic adoption of statues which included deformed figures and dwarf-like statuettes (e.g., grotesques, elderly people, Priapus figures, those with oddly shaped bodies (causing a comical and apotropaic effect) in order to ward off evil, as obscenity and humour were closely linked to apotropaism.[564] Bes, already performing a primary function warding off evil in Egypt and the Levant, would therefore have fitted well within this tradition. However, in a Roman context the meaning of Bes

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[562] See de Vos 1980, 66-7. Interestingly, none of the houses contained other objects directly linked to something representing Isis or the Isis cult. With the exception of the Isiac priest from Casa di Loreius Tiburtinus, the cultic connotations of this painting might be questioned. See the discussion in 5.2 on the Casa di Loreius Tiburtinus. For an overview of the recent interpretations of the painting in this house, see Tronchin 2006, 119-220; 279.

[563] "*Fu rinvenuta sul bancone di mescita della caupona, con il capo rivolto verso Porta Ercolano, con evidente valore apotropaico*". See Di Gioia 2006, 111.

[564] See Foley 2000, 275-311.

and Ptah-Pataikos statuettes was not exactly similar to that in Egypt, because his dwarf-form was unknown to Pompeians; he initially received an additional interpretation as strange (non-Roman). This perception of not understanding what it was assisted his task as an apotropaic statuette. A next question is whether the statuettes could have integrated in Pompeii in this specific manner. In the case of the kitchen/Caupona settings there seems to be an emphasised apotropaic functioning of the statues. In which networks were these statuettes appropriated, how did they become recognised, and why were they employed in such a fashion? This can be answered to another tradition within the wider scope of apotropaic objects: the so-called *tintinnabula*, which consist of chained bronze dwarf figures with oversized phalluses that were suspended from the ceiling of houses, to specifically serve as lamps, now and again including bells.[565] Furthermore, there was a link between applying dwarfs with comical and apotropaic tasks within *tintinnabula* and spaces such as *thermopolia* in Pompeii, rendering the specific locations of Bes, Ptah-Pataikos and certain other glazed figurines apparent. One of them was attested hanging above the counter of the *thermopolium* on the *via dell'Abonndanza* (see Garmaise 1996, no. 181)[566], whereas another was found in a smithy or foundry (Garmaise 1996, no. 176; house I VI,3).[567] The custom of suspending dwarfs and absurd figures as apotropaica explains the framework in which Bes and Ptah-Pataikos could be integrated in this particular fashion.[568] Because dwarfs in Egypt and in Roman contexts alike served to ward off evil, Bes and Ptah-Pataikos could function quite easily as apotropaic statues in the same guise as the dwarf *tintinnabula*. A connection with Egypt was therefore present, but through its specific use the association with Egypt becomes secondary in favour to its apotropaic assocation.

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[565] See Garmaise 1996, 114-8 (nos. 176-186). A study on the representations of dwarfs in Hellenistic Roman art concludes that most dwarf-related art is found in and stems from Egypt. The *tintinabula,* however, are an Italian, or perhaps even an entirely Campanian tradition, as nine out of ten collected lamps are found in Pompeii or Herculaneum. The other example was found in Spain, and is currently held in Tarragona, see Garmaise 1996, no. 183.

[566] Its original context was: above a bench of a thermopolium at the north side of the tratto at the via dell'Abbondanza, close to the Casino dell'Aquila, to the right of the painting of the twelve gods. Its current location: MNN Inv. no. 1098. See Spano 1912, 115; Conticello De Spagnolis and De Carolis, 1988, 72.

[567] Pollux (Poll.7.108) mentions this tradition: "*In front of the smiths kilns there was the custom to fasten or plaster on something for the warding off Envy. They are called Baskania.*"

[568] See Garmaise 1996, 162-3.

Bes in relation to Egyptian exoticism

In an attempt to explain the presence of figures such as Bes and Ptah-Pataikos in a Roman setting in Pompeii, many studies have interpreted the objects as being a case of exoticism. They would add (with their foreignness and Egyptianness) to the atmosphere of the garden and thereby helping to create allusions to mysticism and exoticism. As argued in the section on Egyptomania (2.4.2) taking this view as an interpretative framework would imply that if this was an automatic response to the figurines, it would not only suggest a serious lack of knowledge on the side of the Romans but also a reluctance to integrate such objects.[569] The issue is well argued for the case of Bes in the Levant, of which is stated: *"The presence of Bes in Anatolia and the Levant may, of course, signal more than simply the transfer of an exotic object or exotic image. Rather, and more significantly, it may indicate the sharing of elemental ideas about the magical power of Bes and perhaps that of other Egyptian demons and symbols, which are found most profusely on Middle Bronze Age Syrian seals."*[570] Exoticism remains a difficult way of interpreting objects because it constantly classifies them as being foreign to a society. On the one hand, Egypt, with its distinct cultural style, could play such a role in the Roman Empire, as it is different to Graeco-Roman style (see 4.5). On other hand, however, these 'exotic' styles were integrated into a network which reached beyond exoticism, but also called for a real, internalised and integrated perception of objects. The above analysis indicated the intricacies and complexities of a perception for the case of Pompeii. Bes is able to fulfill both roles very well, being the outcome of shared ideas on the apotropaic qualities of the dwarf and integrated in all its foreignness. His figure does not change into a stylistically 'romanised' version of an Egyptian original, because the non-Roman outlook is precisely what provides him with the apotropaic or exotic qualities.[571] Alternatively, however, the statues are also encountered in the garden of the Casa di Octavius Quartio, together with other 'Egyptian' items, which were supposedly placed together in order to deliberately create an exotic garden atmosphere. Should this automatically be called exoticism? In these contexts Bes could just as well have carried out a protective task in a garden. We know for instance that the god Priapus had an apotropaic function in

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[569] This should not be excluded as an explanation, but should not be the *only* interpretation of such objects.
[570] See Aruz 2008, 148.
[571] Utilising and perceiving such qualities within a local context is exactly what can be called cultural integration.

gardens as a guardian of the *hortus*. Priapus and Bes are comparable figures in this sense, because as with Priapus, Bes and Ptah-Pataikos are also considered as 'lesser' deities or 'inanimate statues' and therefore they could have functioned in a similar manner.[572] It does not exclude exoticism as an interpretation, but does argue for the acknowledgement of a larger variety in use and perception and it provides a deeper comprehension of the application of these objects (and foreign objects in general) as intrinsically integrated material culture, not as something only appreciated for its strangeness.

Fountains and Nilotic scenes

A shared function of the Bes and Ptah-Pataikos figures as well as of the animal statuettes consisting of green glaze is as garden ornaments or water spouts. Which connection existed between these figures, the way in which they were created, and water? As to the entire array of fountain sculptures existing in the Roman world, its predominant characteristic can effortlessly be called eclectic. Human figures, deities, animals, and mythical beings are encountered, and each category contains many styles, forms, subjects, and attributes. A direct link with the exotic, or with water, and these contexts seems to be largely absent. Concerning the statuettes of deities in garden contexts, fountains of Aphrodite are the most abundant. Nevertheless, almost all deities of the existing in the Roman and Greek pantheon are present.[573] This also counts for the animals depicted, which do not only consist of animals associated with water -although these do present the more common forms- such as dolphins, ducks, birds, frogs and crocodiles, but also hares, dogs, elephants, and eagles frequently occur.[574] Elephants,

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[572] Priapus, when compared to Venus in archaeology and in ancient literature are on opposite sides. They receive very different artistic treatment whereby Priapus is never more than a statue, whereas Venus is a vibrant presence captured in stone, see Stewart 1997, 577. This conceptual difference also exists for gods such as Bes. They too are perceived as inanimate statues of Eastern divinities rather than a vibrant presence.

[573] Hygeia, Kyrene, Leda, Nereide, Nike, Niobe, Tyche, Apollo, Asklepios, Bellerophon, Bes, Dionysos, River gods (Nile, Tiber personifications), Hercules, Mercurius, Orpheus, Pan, Paris, Poseidon, Priapus, Theseus, Triton are listed as are statues of Fauns, Nymphs, boys or Cupids, see Kapossy 1969.

[574] The complete list of animals consists of eagles, dolphins, boars, elephants, ducks, frogs, hares, dogs, hydra, crabs, crocodiles, cows, lions, hippopotami, peacocks, ravens, snakes, sphinxes, bulls, and doves. The origins of these objects vary from Pompeii and Tivoli to Ptolemais and Turkey, Kapossy, 1969, 47-53

hydrae, lions, crocodiles, hippopotami, or sphinxes could be listed as exotic but there are equal numbers of more 'common' animals.[575]

It seems that fountains with figurative elements were not limited to exotic or foreign objects, as it was probably not necessarily the goal of every garden sculpture to create an exotic atmosphere. What was the reason that Bes and Ptah-Pataikos were considered appropriate as garden sculptures and fountains? Although they are not directly linked to water, a conceptual connection may have been the connection in Pompeii between Egypt and the Nile and Nilotic scenes. It could well be that the popularity of specifically Bes and Ptah-Pataikos in these contexts (together with a relatively easy obtainability by means of Mediterranean trade networks) was fostered because of the already abundant presence of Nilotic imagery in Pompeii. We come across Nilotic scenes in Pompeii from the 2nd century BC onwards, and may have not only have established the first reference to Egypt for Pompeians but also a conceptual framework in which the statuettes of crocodiles, frogs, Bes and Ptah-Pataikos fitted. In addition, the blue and green colour of the statuettes rendered them both appropriate to be utilised in aquatic contexts, reminding again of Nilotic scenes (whereas blue and green were also the prevailing colours in many Nilotic paintings and mosaics). This idea concurs with the second most attested subjects within the category of blue and green-glazed objects: crocodiles and frogs. These animals were associated with the Nile and featured in numerous Nilotic scenes throughout Pompeii. The interpretation of Ptah-Pataikos and Bes as dwarf figures (especially Ptah-Pataikos with is nude and bald appearance) could in this context therefore be visually linked with the pygmies figuring in Nilotic imagery. In the case that the garden statues were put up as group featuring especially crocodiles, frogs and dwarves, the suggestion could be made that they functioned as a three- dimensional version of the already popular Nilotic scene.

No matter how the material network is approached in order to search for the meaning of Bes in garden contexts, the fact that the glazed statues representing Bes, Ptah-Pataikos, crocodiles, and frogs served as fountains informs us of their social agency too. As a category in general the statuettes used as fountains had an important social role in the display of power, wealth, and (desired) social status because they were associated with

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[575] An interesting notion in regard to 4.2 is that among many gods who found their way into the gardens as ornaments (e.g., Dionysus, Priapus, Aphrodite, Nike, Asclepius, Mercury) the more Oriental deities (e.g., Mithras, Cybele, Isis) never served as a water spout.

waterworks in a domestic context. When the aqueduct of Agrippa was introduced in 27 BC people suddenly had access to running water in both public fountains and baths as well as private use in houses, especially for garden fountains.[576] However, as the private water supply in Pompeian houses was limited to only to a small number of people, fountains were restricted to the upper class.[577] The strong correlation between a high social status and (number of) fountains can be verified by numerous examples e.g., the Casa dei Vetti (VI 15, 1.27) with its fourteen fountains, or the elaborate waterworks in the Casa di Octavius Quartio. As is argued: *"The more and more excessive use of water for decorative domestic spaces in Pompeii strongly suggests changes in the nature of water use from the realm of pure utility to one of luxury."*[578] The statues of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos in the form of a blue/green-glazed figurine therefore could also in a way be linked to an elite lifestyle. The way they were manufactured varied from the majority of other (white marble) garden statues, stood out physically, and pointed even more clearly to the fact the owner had a fountain and access to water in his house. Thus even if the form of Bes did not change, and he was not adapted in other types or iconographical forms, Bes, Ptah-Pataikos, and the other blue-glazed statuettes were presented with a new role in their new environment. This influenced their interpretation and use. In this way, as with the the apotropaic functioning of Bes and Ptah, the foreign finds a place in society.

4.4.9 Conclusion

Bes in a globalising society

After the analysis of the figure of Bes and its networks of perception, a more embedded conclusion on his appearance and integration can be provided for. The scanty evidence relating Bes to the Isis cult, and the observations made in the above sections, points to a more complex, if not a completely different image of the relationship between such objects and concepts. Although Ptah-Pataikos and Bes can be considered deities with an Egyptian origin as are Isis, Harpocrates, Anubis, and Serapis. Looking at the use, dissemination, material and the integration of Bes and Ptah-Pataikos in relation to Isis it seemed that for Pompeians they supposedly and conceptually to belonged to another category, or even to a multitude of categories. Bes is also not solely

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[576] See Jashemski 1996, 51-8.
[577] See Jones and Robinson 2005, 695-710.
[578] See Koloski-Ostrow 2001, 1-17 and Jansen 2002.

conceptually connected to Egypt, but only in certain forms and contexts. The relationships between Bes, the Isis cult, and Egypt appeared to be dynamic, not mutually exclusive, and not able to be captured in any hierarchical schemes. As in Egypt itself, Bes denoted a variety of concepts which could well have served various materialisations and contexts. Some established a connection with Isis while (the majority of the) others did not. The case of Pompeii similarly demonstrated, firstly, how easily Egyptian imports arrive at a rather mundane small town in the Roman world and secondly, how this, and other imports, influenced the perception of the concept 'exotic' in Pompeii. Pompeii was part of a network the lines of which stretched out as far as Egypt and the town of Puteoli (and its presumed intensive trade relationship with Memphis) was particularly important for the availability of Egyptian imports. This might both explain the presence of Egyptian objects in Pompeii and the large quantity of imports from Memphis. Although availability restricts choice to a great extent, it also stimulates choice. Once an object is imported, however, a process is set in motion integrating an object into a certain physical and cognitive environment. The environment and the object together are decisive for the way the process of integration will work out. The object induces a particular perception; the environment (by means of contexts, other objects, and people) will cater a fitting interpretation. The object is understood in an innovative way and will be applied accordingly.
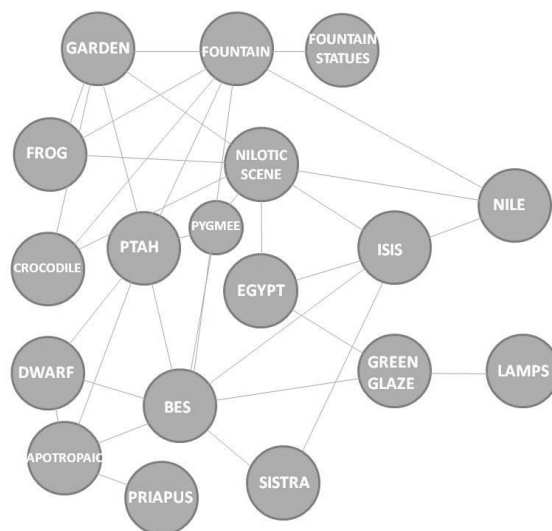
Fig. 4.20) The conceptual network of Bes illustrating the way in which a figure like Bes and Ptah-Pataikos can become enmeshed.

This is a continuing process, as the uses will evoke new experiences and a new understanding leading to new uses. The point with the perception of an image such as of Bes is that its meaning is dependent on the environment it emerged from, not on the original context. All these factors play a role in the process of integration. Together with the conceptual associations created by means of analysing the material culture of Pompeii a network of Bes and his process of integration can be established (fig. 4.20). If the links of the physical and conceptual associations of Bes applying the contextual analysis of this paragraph are visualised in a network the individual connections with Bes and Egypt become clearer.

In which way was Bes connected to the Isis cult? Reviewing the diverse uses and manifestations of the concept of Bes, a suggestion can be forwarded that in the case of Bes in the Isis sanctuary a re-Egyptianisation did occur, where his image became intentionally connected to Isis, whereas in many other examples a mental connection to Egypt was absent. After the analysis it seems it was first and foremost the association with Egypt in Pompeii that caused Bes to be of interest to the Isis cult. However, there was a separate independent association in which Bes as an Egyptian phenomenon might be questioned. It seems that in Pompeii Bes was never considered as a real deity nor suitable to be placed in domestic shrines in the way it was done in Roman Egypt, testified by the incredible amount of terracotta statuettes attested there, but found a unique integration in Pompeii, due to local choices, preferences, and availability. This allowed for Bes to be used in contexts outside the Isiac sphere in a way that materialisations of Isis never did.

4.5 Egypt as style: 'Foreign' objects and images in Pompeii
4.5.1 Introduction
Style and archaeology: questions asked
This section will deal with objects and wall paintings which can be defined as having a recognisable Pharaonic-Egyptian style. They are occasionally imported from Egypt, but also produced locally and made to look Egyptian. All become recognisable nonetheless because of their style.[579] It presents a

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[579] Style in this research will be defined anthropologically: in which units of style are defined not as individual artists, or schools of artists, or movements, but 'cultures' or 'societies., see Gell 1998, 155-120. See also Neer 2005; 2010, 6-19 on the concept of style and the relationship between the artefact and the beholder.

rather elusive category for its hermeneutical hitches; 'Egyptian style' is of course derived from our own modern perceptions of that what Egyptian style should entail and the way in which one would recognise it, that is to say, without knowing whether it represented a real and existing recognisable perceptual style to Roman viewers. However, it is argued that taking an etic position in this particular case has clear merits, because using stylistic properties as a heuristic device provides the opportunity to examine whether Egyptian style was in fact adopted as a conceptual category. Pharaonic-Egyptian styles in material culture are recognisable and do form a body containing perpetually identifiable and familiar relations. The methodological intention put forward in the present chapter that by means of not only analysing such homologous relations between artistic forms but also other structures and patterns of culture, referred to as *axes of coherence* (Gell 1998), it becomes possible to understand the cognitive significance of a cultural style within a certain context.[580] The central overarching goal therefore, is to establish whether it is possible to retrieve the way in which Egyptian style was experienced by means of studying the context in which the objects were found. Having focused (see above) on Bes and Ptah-Pataikos as well as material and the relation to Egypt, the coming analysis will deal with style. In comparison to objects less distinctly Egyptian looking discussed above it was observed that first of all certain artefacts were able to become enmeshed in the associative network of its users in a complex variety of ways and (secondly, that the experience of Egypt in some instances became obscured within the conscious interpretation of an object. The reason for this is that it was foregrounded by means of other associations and perceptions (such as apotropaism, dwarfs, domestic religion, fountains, gardens, or water) dependent on the physical context in which it was displayed. Will this be different with regard to objects with a Pharaonic-Egyptian style that may have been meant to look 'unroman'? Could a stele with hieroglyphs become entangled in the same way as the previously analysed objects? Are there any relations between objects of a certain style and the way in which they are used? Were such objects applied differently when compared with Nilotic scenes or Isiac related objects or with objects in a Roman style? The different themes present or absent in within the category of Egyptian style will be analysed with regard to Pompeii in order to acquire a clearer image not only on the perception of Egypt, but also on the specific integration structures employed to implement these objects in a local

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[580] See Gell 1998, 167 on the stylistic analysis, as discussed in Hanson 1983.

stylistic framework. Furthermore, when a better grip on the use and perception of Egyptian style is obtained, it becomes possible to see the way in which present-day perceptions of Egypt have influenced the interpretations of objects or whether it also reflected the ways the Romans dealt with it.

Examples of objects belonging to this group (see table 4.16) are for instance paintings of Egyptian figures (such as pharaohs) depicted in the characteristic Pharaonic-Egyptian aspective manner, the portrayal of hieroglyphs, of Egyptian sphinxes, or of pyramids. These forms and subjects which remind us of Egypt may likewise have reminded the Romans of Egypt. It is significant to note in this respect, that both imported Egyptian objects and those locally crafted are included (although a distinction is made) in the category of Egyptian-Pharaonic styled artefacts. This is done partly in order to observe whether they were used in a different way (referring to the historiographical distinction made between Egyptian and Egyptianising artefacts as discussed in part 2.3.1.). As was stated before, although there is no indication to assume that Pompeians *always* made a conceptual distinction between Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, the possibility that something being imported could have carried a special significance with regard to its use and perception cannot be excluded beforehand. It all depends on the specific contexts in which the artefacts appear, and the way in which they are displayed.[581]

Egypt as style

First however, some general notes on style and Egypt should be addressed. Because how does the concept of style in particular becomes able to contribute to the understanding of material culture?[582] Engaging with such questions requires additional knowledge on style and style perception on a broader level. This redirects the discussion towards style perception, cultural appreciation, and intersubjectivity. They constitute the basis of various concepts within art perception studies, such as Gombrich' schemata, and Gell's art nexus.[583] It is not concerned with individual appreciation or style

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[581] It might be argued for instance that for cultic reasons, the temple dedicated to Isis would have cared more about original imports than non-cultic contexts.

[582] See Gell 1998, 155.

[583] According to Gombrich's schemata (see note 538) within Gell's theory of art nexus, objects are reviewed as actors in a social web. The art object is regarded as an index of agency, within a complex of social relations termed the 'art nexus' which plays four basic roles: artist, art object (index), prototype (or referent) and recipient. They occur in a variety of permutations depending on whether they are either acting as social agents (i.e. the causal

determination, but with the way in which style involves in a larger cultural network as well as its social and psychological implications. Style, in this case, can be regarded an agent as were objects and material (see chapter 3).

Is it justified to regard the perception of Egyptian style as being similar to our perception of it? This leads to the basis of the discussion on cultural perception.[584] What can be said in favour of a comparable perception of Egyptian style between the Romans and present-day human beings may consist of the way in which art, visual culture, and perception developed until now, specifically aimed at the revolution in Greek art towards lifelike images and an entirely innovative way of representing the world.[585] Styles not found within these schemata (e.g., Egyptian, Chinese, Meso-American all styles that were not involved within the development of a style experienced as 'normal' or 'capturing reality' to Romans and to us) do not fit as intrinsic within perception, do not feel as if they are stylistically part of society, and are therefore perceived as 'foreign' or 'deviant'. This might have been comparable to the Roman situation. There are of course, many things in Roman society influenced by Egypt that are or become perceived as an intrinsic part of the environment, this is in fact an important proposition this dissertation wants to advocate, however, does that also count for Egyptian style? The way of viewing the problem of style perception here confers with the suggestion that Gombrich developed in his book *Art and Illusion, a study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation.* In this book Gombrich proposed that artists, before they ever dream of copying what they see before them, make pictures by manipulating inherited 'schemata' that designate reality by force of convention.[586] With regard to the current research it would imply that the Romans created and viewed their art from conceptual schemata, internally based on the way in which they knew the world, what reality was, what beauty was; something which was for a significant part inherited from the Greeks. Thus all things perceived were understood in accordance with an internal frame of reference. Whereas the Egyptian style did not fit in these

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origin of a social transaction) or as 'patients' (i.e., the object causally affected by the agent's action. See Gell 1998; Rampley 2005, 524-51.

[584] Gombrich 1960.

[585] We read: ..."*it was an Egyptologist, Heinrich Schäfer, who extended Loewy's findings and brought out the Greek achievement through his analysis of the Egyptian ways of rendering the visible world. Schäfer stressed that the 'corrections' introduced by the Greek artist in order to 'match' appearances are quite unique in the history of art. Far from being a natural procedure, they are the great exception. What is normal to man and child all over the globe is the reliance on schemata, on what is called 'conceptual art'. What needs explanation is the sudden departure from this habit that spread from Greece to other parts of the world.*", see Gombrich 1960, 94-5.

[586] See Wood 2013, 117.

schemata, it could in its own style conceptually and internally *not* be integrated into the concept of Roman style. Of course, one could create styles outside their conceptual schemata; Egyptian style could be copied, applied to walls and furniture and adapted in order to fit a certain purpose (otherwise it would be impossible to recognise it within material culture). However, there is a difference between making things a certain way and seeing or recognising them. Although objects can be created in a different style, they cannot be perceived as inherent. The issue Gombrich forwards is thus of interest as it takes the discussion on style and archaeology to a level beyond style as a cultural expression to arrive at the level of perception. Assuming that style is a cultural expression made according to internal frames, it suggests that Egyptian-styled paintings and objects of Pompeii should have been manufactured by an Egyptian. Such thoughts on style and ethnicity, however, cannot hold as there are innumerable examples of Romans creating things in foreign styles. Another question should subsequently be asked: was the 'foreignness' that Egyptian style embodied concerning Roman schemata used because it did not belong in the reference frame and because it was not perceived as something realistic? Was it intentionally applied to be perceived as strange? Although the rendering of Pharaonic-Egyptian style in a Roman context is not the outcome of a cultural expression, the style does express the culture of Egypt. If done deliberately, what did one wish to express with Egypt as style? Taking this perspective adds a degree of intentionality the approach which was also discussed in chapter 3. Both conscious and non-conscious processes are agents of intersubjectivity and should be taken into account. This means that the concept of schemata can indeed be quite helpful when regarding style and objects in the case they are applied at a social level. Relevant questions now become how the choice for something Egyptian might be expressed. As Gell notes: "*Artworks are like social agents, in that they are the outcomes of social initiatives which reflect a specific socially inculcated sensibility.*"[587] Not only are they results, they also act in social and material networks. According to Gombrich and Gell alike, styles are symptomatic of something else. The context is important in order to become aware of the more delicate and nuanced ideas surrounding styles, as stated by Gombrich: "*An act of choice is only of symptomatic significance, is expressive of something only if we can reconstruct the choice situation.*"[588] Analysing the

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[587] See Gell 1998, 220.
[588] See Gombrich 1960, 16.

choice-situation of Egyptian-styled objects might be able to reveal the intentions behind the use of Pharaonic-Egyptian style. The notion of symptomatic significance furthermore connects to the theory of art-nexus by Alfred Gell, which supposes that objects produced within a recognisable set of forms and styles influence the way in which people make or use them.[589] Egypt as a style might have had a specific function in Roman contexts, but because of the way it looked it also did something in and to that environment. This means for the coming parts it is relevant to look at the context in which Egypt was chosen and subsequently study the way in which it acted in that situation.

Now that it is clear why style is useful as a heuristic device in order to study perception, the following sections will carefully scrutinise the objects of a Pharaonic-Egyptian style, contextually looking for its associations and meanings, its implementation within a Roman-Pompeian frame, and at its agency in the contexts in which they were attested. If style perception on this level existed, the question arises: how strong was Egypt as a style? What did it do? As to the conceptual network approach: which mental concepts, and which material and social contexts facilitated the implementation of Egyptian-styled artefacts? These issues will be addressed in two case studies, the first aiming at a specific medium (wall paintings) and the second to a specific theme and its style (the sphinx in Egyptian versus Greek style). Before this is commenced however, objects belonging to the category 'Egyptian-styled artefacts' will be discussed first.

4.5.2 Imports and locally crafted Aegyptiaca in an Egyptian style

This section presents a detailed description and comparison of all the Egyptian-styled objects and paintings of Pompeii. In order to compare and analyse the potential relationship between the Isis cult and the Egyptian-styled objects the below table deals with the objects found in the temple dedicated to Isis. Based on these tables and their comparison a few significant observations can be made. Firstly, as with the complete dataset of 'Aegyptiaca', the table of Pharaonic-Egyptian style artefacts (table 4.16) yields an eclectic array of objects, material, themes, and subjects. It consists of wall paintings, furniture, and statuettes consisting of various materials: an ivory pyxis, and a greywacke slab displaying hieroglyphs that served as a threshold. However, compared to the entire number of paintings and objects

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[589] See Gell 1998, chapters 8 and 9.

found in Pompeii, artefacts in a Pharaonic-Egyptian style only account for an insignificant number and they do not even present 0,1% of the total finds of Pompeii.[590]

IMPORTS AND LOCALLY CRAFTED AEGYPTIACA IN AN EGYPTIAN STYLE						
Object	Material	Attributes	house name	House no.	room name	Import/local production
Statuette of a pharaoh	Ceramic	Nemes, shendyt	Casa di Octavius Quartio	II 2, 2	Garden	Import (probably)
Statuette of Horus	Alabaster	Falcon-head, shendyt	Casa degli Amorini Dorati	VI 16, 7,35	Peristyle	Import (probably)[591]
Wall painting of pharaohs and pharaonic figures		Apis bull, pharaohs (nemes), Egyptian offering scenes, ankh	Casa del Frutteto	I 9, 5	Cubiculum	Local production
Wall painting of a pharaoh and an Egyptian sphinx		Pharaoh, nemes, shendyt, ankh	Casa del Bracciale d'Oro	VI 17, 42	Triclinium	Local production
Pyxis of pharaonic figures	Ivory	Pharaonic figures	Bar	IX 6, b		Local production
Wall painting of pharaonic figures (?)		Two deities, one kneeling	Casa dei Guerrieri	I 3, 25	Oecus	Local production
Wall painting of pharaonic figures		Kneeling figures, one baboon?	Casa del Centenario	IX 8, 6	Cubiculum	Local production
Two Egyptian style herms[592]	Red quartzite	Nemes	Unnamed house	I 11, 13		Import
Egyptian style herm	Limestone /Marble	Nemes	Complesso di riti Magici	II 1, 12		Unclear
Wall painting of pharaonic figures		Deities, kneeling figures, therio-morphic figures	Villa dei Misteri		Tablinum	Local production
Slab/threshold	Greywacke [593]	Hieroglyphs	Casa del Doppio Larario	VII 3, 11	Triclinium	Import
Table supported by means of a sphinx	Bronze	Nemes, reclining, male	Casa dell'Ara Massima	VI 16, 15	Triclinium	Unclear
Statuette of a sphinx	Marble	Nemes, reclining, male	Casa di Octavius Quartio	II 2, 2	Garden	Local production

Table 4.16) Imported and locally crafted objects reflecting a Pharaonic Egyptian style.

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[590] From this perspective, the Egyptomania discussed in chapter 2 never existed.
[591] The fact it was presumably imported from Egypt has been determined by means of an iconographical and superficial analysis. No chemical analysis was carried out in order to establish its exact provenance. For a more detailed discussion on this statue, see Mol 2013.
[592] According to de Vos 1983, the material of which the herms consist of hail from Gebel es-Silsile located at a distance of 60 km. from Aswan. See de Vos 1983, 60.
[593] As determined after photographic analysis.

OBJECTS WITH AN EGYPTIAN STYLE FROM THE ISIS TEMPLE				
Object	**Material**	**Attributes**	**Room name**	**Import/local**
Sphinx	Red coloured Pottery	Nemes, reclining, male	Sacrarium	Local
Squatting Egyptian male deity	Faience		Sacrarium	Import
Egyptian style herm	Limestone/marble (?)		Temple enclosure	Local (probably)
Egyptian funerary statuette			Pit in the temple court	Import
Stele with twenty lines of hieroglyphs	Limestone	Hieroglyphs		Import

Table 4.17) Objects reflecting a Pharaonic-Egyptian style found in the Iseum.

This is, however, quantitatively speaking. Contextually the argument that Egypt mattered can be wholeheartedly supported, as all the objects were found in the most important and representational spaces of the house. A more specific relationship between rooms and houses and the presence of Pharaonic Egyptian-style objects, however, cannot be deduced: the rooms in which the objects were attested were as varied as the artefacts themselves. Moreover, these houses range from very large and rich estates (e.g., the Villa dei Misteri, the Casa di Octavius Quartio), to large and rich upper-class houses (e.g., the Casa di Centenario, the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, the Casa del Bracciale d'Oro), to relatively modest houses (such as the Casa del Frutteto, or the Casa dell'Ara Massima). Finally, they are also found in bars and very small houses (for example house I 11,13). The contexts do not indicate a clear connection between the wealth of house owners and the possession of Egyptian-style objects. Striking is that many of the houses which did contain such artefacts often also possessed other objects associated with Egypt in one way or other. In many cases the Pharaonic Egyptian-style objects showed either a direct link to the Isis cult (bearing resemblance to objects also present in the sanctuary) or they were found together with other objects which could have been conceptually linked to Egypt (other than with a non-Egyptian style, but Aegyptiaca occur within the same contexts). For instance, the Casa di Octavius Quartio housed Egyptian-styled statuettes of a Pharaoh and a marble Egyptian sphinx (see table 4.16) as well as several glazed statuettes of Bes and a portrait of an Isis priest. In addition, paintings in the Casa del Frutteto and Villa dei Misteri include figures in an Pharaonic Egyptian style, but along with other Egyptian themes (pharaohs, Egyptian sphinxes and offering scenes, and an

Apis bull). In the Casa del Frutteto a pharaoh statue occurs alongside a pharaonic offering scene and a frame with the Apis bull, whereas the Villa dei Misteri presents us with Nilotic scenes, crocodiles, deities, and fantastic pharaonic figures. This array of deliberate and explicit visual references to Egypt are provided by means of a variety of material and iconographical sources.[594] The case study concerning the Casa di Octavius Quartio in 5.3 will discuss in more detail the way in which these objects were utilised and related to each other. One may conclude that as to these specific contexts a conscious concept of Egypt could have been present and that thus, in certain cases, one was aware of the connection these objects had to Egypt.[595] The other objects with an obvious context illustrate a similar reference to another concept of Egypt. In this case they seem to be connected to the cult of Isis. The alabaster statuette of Horus in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, for instance, was found in a shrine devoted to Isiac deities.[596] As to other houses, a link between objects displayed and objects derived from the Iseum could be established (see tables 4.16 and 4.17). The possible copy of the painting of Isis welcoming Io in Canopus from the *Ekklesiasterion* found in Casa del Duca di Aumale (discussed in 4.2.2) could have been an example hereof. However, other houses show similar cases. For instance, the Egyptian styled herm from the Complesso di Riti Magici seems to be an exact copy of the one found in the Sacrarium of the Isis temple. The two small (imported) herms consisting of red quartzite found in house I 11,13 may also have been related.[597] Further, although they are not exact copies, it is remarkable that the Casa del Doppio Larario and the Isis temple house an imported slab displaying hieroglyphs. They are the only objects in Pompeii with hieroglyphs, which renders the chance they had a certain connection quite feasible. Re-use of the slab in the house as a threshold (because of the great sacred value connected to thresholds in Roman Italy in general) might have carried religious importance to the owners. It also constitutes a prominent position being the threshold to a room often occupied by the owner's clients.[598] It therefore might have displayed not only values of

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[594] In contrast to the statement in the section on Isis, statuettes, and blue-glazed objects.

[595] This nevertheless does not inform us on either their ethnicity or their religious preferences.

[596] See 5.2 for a more extensive discussion on this statue and its context.

[597] On the herms see de Vos 1983, 60.

[598] It is stated that: "*Its placement at the critical juncture of exterior and interior—a liminal space which, according to Augustine, Romans invoked at least three deities to safeguard—illustrates the power attributed to this object and its sacred script to protect the home and household within.*" see, Swetnam-Burland 2007, 131. The threshold will be further discussed in part 5.1.

religious dedication, but also of status. This also counts for the copying behaviour in general, which can be regarded as an expression of devotion and a personal connection to Isis or the cult, but it also could have included social values.[599]

Exceptions, however, of isolated examples with a Pharaonic-Egyptian style also occur. For example, the bronze sphinx table in the Casa dell'Ara Massima does not seem to refer in any way to the temple of Isis and has no other references to Egypt. The same applies to the ivory pyxis from bar IX 6,b.[600] A similar illustration of secluded cases of Egyptian-styled objects are the three obsidian Egyptianising cups found in the Villa di San Marco at Castellamare di Stabia (ancient Stabiae).[601] Whenever any connection of such objects to other concepts of Egypt were absent, it becomes interesting to observe the way in which such artefacts made sense within their contexts. If these Aegyptiaca were the only references to Egypt in the house, was a concept of Egypt actually consciously present in such cases?

Another significant observation to be inferred from the database is that the connection established between the Isis cult and the adoption of Pharaonic-Egyptian style artefacts seems to be limited to objects, not to painting. The Pharaonic-Egyptian styled paintings in houses could not be linked in any way (in either style or content) to the Isis cult, as no references are made in houses to Isis via Egyptian styled painting, whereas the Isis temple does not include any Pharaonic-Egyptian style renderings on the walls. This poses an interesting juxtaposition in the conception and application of various media. Not even in the temple dedicated to Isis, of which the largest parts of its wall

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[599] An assumption could be made with regard to copy-behaviour and social status. The objects and the painting were found in rooms inaccessible to the public (the so-called *Ekklesiasterion* and *sacrarium*) which were only meant for a select gathering. This implies that those familiar with these objects would have been involved with the cult on a higher level. Therefore the objects also represented (to the owners and to a small group of visitors of higher status) an allusion to this position taken up in the cult and to a higher social status, while displaying knowledge of the cult. Especially to other initiates the objects would have indeed made a strong impression.

[600] The Pyxis is kept at the MNN, its reference number is unknown, see Cantarella and Jacobelli 1999.

[601] Room 37 of the villa contained two obsidian cups encrusted with semi-precious stones (cornelian, malachite, white, pink coral, lapis lazuli) with Egyptian-style scenes and an obsidian vial with Nilotic scenes. It was concluded that the shape of the cups belongs to the Augustan era, and the petrographic study of the obsidian suggests it originated in the Lipari isles, see Leospo, 1999. Moreover,, the house cannot be anything else than the environment of someone close to the Imperial court and the emperor. And, the subject itself leans to the tastes of the 1st century AD with two offering scenes with a pair of animals (bull, ra) on the two larger cups, and an ornamental plant décor in the Hellenic Alexandrine tradition on the third, see Barbet 2004, 55-8.

paintings have been preserved, do the paintings show an Egyptian style as observed in the Villa dei Misteri or the Casa del Frutteto. The Egyptian subjects on the walls of the sanctuary were exclusively rendered in a Roman-Hellenistic style.[602] Although the technique to create an Egyptian-style painting was obviously present in Pompeii, in the case of the Iseum it seems not to have been necessary to associate Isis to Egypt by means of pharaonic styled wall painting. However, objects with Egyptian styled features are found abundantly at the sanctuary precinct, also in the form of imported statuettes of *naophori* or *shabti*, slabs with hieroglyphs, and a locally crafted statue of an Egyptian sphinx made of indigenous red clay. Could it be that painting as a medium was not suitable to make the connection between Isis and Egypt? It is argued that the Isis-cult, as a relative newcomer within Roman religion, was more concerned with issues such as validating and legitimising, and signs that they used the past or even their foreignness as a justification for their presence (although the cult was new in Pompeii, referring to a pharaonic past emphasised the idea that it was 'old' and therefore important cult) can be found in almost every Iseum.[603] The imports in the Iseum and the Egyptian-styled objects clearly demonstrate this, as does the execution of a statue of Isis in a specific Archaic style. From this point of view, wall paintings might not have added to this concept in the same way sculpture was capable of, because wall painting was always associated with the present due to its perishable and short-lived nature, and because it was painted on a wall, it could never have originated from Egypt or be perceived as ancient. Furthermore, although the objects such as the terracotta sphinx from the Iseum are not authentically Egyptian, its material and style could give rise to the suggestion it was Egyptian, whereas Egyptian themes on wall paintings could never have been experienced as such as they were clearly created within a modern context in Pompeii. This also implies that in the case that wall paintings in an Egyptian style are found in houses, one would not have been particularly concerned with the authenticity of the content. It did not matter they were not originally from Egypt, they were in their own way regarded and appreciated as Egyptianising.[604] This example

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[602] It is noted: "*...the creation of an Egyptian atmosphere was not solely dependent on the slavish reproduction of "authentic" Egyptian styles.*", see Swetnam-Burland 2007, 118.

[603] See Mol and Versluys (forthcoming 2014). Authenticity may have carried more importance in religious contexts.

[604] In the sense it was not authentically Egyptian, does not imply they could not have referred to Egypt or does that they were in all cases always appreciated as something Egyptianising. In this case, an analogy with modern application of exotic wall painting styles can be drawn. Home owners decorate their houses with for instance wall paper with

makes clear that various kinds of material culture (object, painting) have different associations and can therefore not always serve to convey similar messages or refer to similar concepts and values.

We could deduce from this example that whenever Egyptian-style paintings are attested, they explicitly do not refer to concepts related to the Isis cult. The questions posed in the introduction becomes of special interest here, because if it was not primarily cultic as was always assumed, what did these paintings express? What could facilitate the choice for Egyptian wall paintings? Which concepts lie behind its application and integration in Pompeii?

4.5.3 Egyptian styled wall paintings

Pharaonic scenes in Pompeii

The following section will touch upon the lengthy, on-going debate on the so-called Pompeian Styles and domestic contexts in which Egyptian-style wall paintings play a relatively substantial role. Firstly, compared to other motifs, Egyptian-style figures only form a minor part of the available paintings. However, being easily recognisable to scholars, they feature regularly in discussions on wall paintings[605] and therefore provide a good case study in order to scrutinise the discussions and interpretations surrounding Aegyptiaca. Several wall paintings described as displaying 'Egyptianising' motifs are included in table 4.16. They deal with images that include Egyptian iconography such as pharaohs, sphinxes, or deities in the characteristic two-dimensional style of portrayal. In the Villa dei Misteri a room is decorated with fantastic pharaonic images. The Casa del Bracciale d'Oro houses a garden scene with Egyptian sphinxes and pharaohs as garden statues. The Casa del Frutteto combines the two in showing a garden scene on the lower walls and pharaonic offering scenes on the upper panels. The Casa del Frutteto is a well preserved example that combines various ways of applying Egyptian style in Roman wall paintings. Moreover, it is always referred to as the prime example of 'the Egyptianising style' in Pompeian wall painting. It thus stands to reason that it will serve as the key example in order to analyse paintings.

The Casa del Frutteto (I 9,5) concerns a rather modest house in Pompeii. Although its construction date is not completely clear, the attested paintings

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Japanese motifs are aware of the fact it is not really from Japan, but that it represents Japanese style. It is aesthetically appreciated.

[605] For an ample application of Egypt in argumentations, see Leach 2004, 140; Ling 1991 38-9, 55-6, 142-3, 148-9, 151-5, 162-3. Jashemski 1993, 1996.

(preserved in the cubicula nos. 5 and 8, and from a triclinium, Room nr. 10) date from the Claudian period (40-50 AD) and were rendered in a Late Third Pompeian-style.[606] The two cubicula include Egyptianising motifs, whereas the triclinium displays mythological scenes on large panels against a black background. The painting in the first cubiculum depicts a garden scene with plants, birds, Egyptian statues of pharaohs, architectural features with Egyptian offering scenes and an Apis bull (fig. 4.21). The second cubiculum includes an orchard with fruit trees and the rendition of an Isis jug. Former interpretations of these Egyptianising paintings within the discussion on Roman wall painting range from interpretations of expressions of devotion to the Isis cult to exoticism and Egyptomania within the Augustan revolution in art.[607] The interpretations give rise to questions regarding the general discussion on Egyptian material culture (see chapter 2) and to wall paintings in particular.

Fig. 4.21) Paintings from Cubiculum (5) in the Casa del Frutteto (I 9,5). To the left: the north wall with two standing marble pharaoh statues behind a garden fence. A scene of Dionysus is included on a panel in the centre. On top of the rail: a panel portraying the bull Apis. To the right: the east wall with a similar decoration of pharaohs and Dionysus. However, the two upper scenes depict Pharaonic offering scenes. Photograph by R. Kalkers.

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[606] See Bastet and de Vos 1979, 70-1 and 74-6; de Vos 1980, 15-21; 1990, 15-35, 113-34; Ehrhardt 1987, 135-8.
[607] For a general discussion, see 2.4.2.

As argued above, Egyptomania only accounts for an increase in the number of Aegyptiaca and does not provide an explanation for its integration.[608] Jashemski's monograph on Roman gardens refers to the Egyptian-styled paintings in the cubiculum of the Casa del Frutteto as a desire for the exotic (as does Ling 1991, who describes it as a similar desire prompting a fashion for *chinoiserie* in the decorative arts of Europe during the 17th and the 18th century).[609] As to the wall paintings of Pompeii, the number of five in a Pharaonic-Egyptian style, render it difficult to speak of a true Egyptomania. Furthermore, when Augustus is used as explanation for an increased popularity, Rome should also be taken up in the analysis, as the presence of paintings in Pompeii would then be a case of social emulation trickled down from processes starting in Rome.[610] Besides *chinoiserie* it is also suggested that "*the unknown owner was a worshipper of Isis and Dionysos*".[611] Can both be true? Exoticism and religion as explanation for the presence of Egyptian wall paintings seem to be two rather self-contradictory interpretations. If the appearance of the paintings would be derived from a desire for the exotic, would that not precisely imply that the owner in fact did not worship Isis? As a devotee, such images would evidently not be exotic to him but a part of his way of veneration and therefore belonging to his frame of knowledge on the cult of Isis. However, whether this was indeed a way of demonstrating devotion to Isis may be questioned. Could the owners' religious preference be deduced solely by means of the presence of this painting? From what the first paragraphs of this chapter made clear about the worship of Isis and accompanying religious-artistic expressions of participants of the cult these paintings strike as odd. They are not comparable to anything linked to Isis or the Isis cult with the exception perhaps of Apis and the possible depiction of a jar related to Isis. Such paintings, however, were never found amongst those houses in the worship of Isis that could be materially attested. Nor does anything in the Iseum

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[608] For a survey of the discussion on *Egyptomania*, see 2.4.2.

[609] See Jashemski 1979, note 56.

[610] Although Rome counts a number of paintings that can be added in order to complement the argument, it should not be forgotten that Pompeii had its own sphere of influence and social cohesion. Even when regarding the influence of Rome, the material culture of Pompeii should be reviewed on its terms.

[611] For the first interpretation, see Ling 1991; the house is also mentioned in Jaschemski 1979, 346, note 105. As to the second interpretation, see Le Corsu 1967; Jashemski 1979, note 56. This painting is considered a confrontation of Hellenic and Egyptian elements. The interpretation it makes a reference to the cults of Dionysus and Osiris (considered gods long assimilated within the culture of Hellenic religious syncretism) is adhered to, while maintaining a broadly Graeco-Roman visual style, see Elsner 2006, 280-3.

carries a link to these paintings.[612] In this particular case, both interpretative frameworks seem unsatisfactory in order to explain their meaning. The previous interpretations of the house and its paintings share, however, the fact that they link and interpret the appearance of Egypt in wall painting in accordance to an external source to wit either historical development, religion, or a taste for the exotic, without looking at the internal development or the horizontal range of decoration in Pompeii. Although larger historical developments must not be ignored, they should never form the starting point of interpretation. Instead, the objects ought to be considered within the variety of horizontal and local possibilities in which the phenomenon occurs, and within the internal network of integration and conceptual connections in Pompeii. These associations can be found in the category of the paintings themselves, by means of the way in which they are conveyed, their date, location, and function. However, the associations are established in relation to other material and conceptual references which enable the painting to become applied and the idea to be conceived in the first place. Once this has been carefully analysed, it is possible to look again at the reason why in certain cases one chooses to portray Egyptian style and which larger developments this brought about.

Subject, style, and iconography

Looking more closely at the painting and its contents results in a better image of how Egyptian figures were portrayed and the properties of the mental image of Egyptian style. Regarding style, a trait is the explicit two-dimensional style of depicting the Egyptian figures. This means that the heads and legs are portrayed more or less *en profil*, while the shoulders are *en face*. This can be observed on both panels with offering scenes (see fig. 4.22, upper pair), and also with the pharaoh statues (now faded, but identified as such by their posture and nemes: see fig. 4.22, middle row) and the Apis bull (lower row).

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[612] Situla are not unambiguously connected to Isis, but have a multitude of functions in Roman art and culture. See for an overview hereof Moormann 1988, 42-3. Here a religious interpretation is opted against, but also pointed out (as there is no example from Egyptian sculpture known) that the owners intented to create an Egyptian atmosphere rather than copy a realistic Egyptian scene.

Fig. 4.22) Details from the cubiculum of the Casa del Frutteto. The upper paintings depict Egyptian offer scenes, the middle two: a seated and a standing marble statue of a Pharaoh and the lower pair portray Apis (left) and Dionysus and a Maenad. (photographs by R. Kalkers)

Only the Egyptian subjects in the painting are conveyed in this style (Dionysus does not share this phenomenon, nor do the plants and birds), meaning it seems to have been carried out deliberately in order to convey not only an Egyptian subject, but also an Egyptian style.[613] It can be assumed, therefore, that the specific style contains a distinguishing feature not only to us, but also to Roman viewers. This distinct feature seems to be deliberately applied in order to add an Egyptian atmosphere to the images. The Egyptian style was consciously applied *as* a style, which prevailed its iconographical meaning. This becomes even more apparent if the portrait of the pharaoh is placed back within the category of marble garden sculpture painting (fig. 4.23). Indeed the pharaoh is conveyed in a two-dimensional style, while the

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[613] Would this also have been related to the way in which they were cognitively experienced as a subject? Dionysus occurs in a myth and can be experienced as a living figure with associated traits, deeds, and a life history, whereas the Egyptian scenes are all either statues (note that the Apis bull is also standing on a pedestal) or flat iconographic scenes (see the discussion in 4.2). Egyptian deities were no part of a myth or a narrative. Thus there was nothing to refer to than Egypt. Could it ever be regarded a 'living' part of the wall painting?

Apollo statue stands in a contra-post position. The shadow of his legs and armour cast create three-dimensionality and depth. As with the Apollo statue from the Casa della Venere in Conchiglia (see fig. 4.23) and numerous other paintings, in which three-dimensionality and depth is brought about by working with shades and depth, the skill to create a three-dimensional pictures was present in Pompeii.[614] It also seems to have been of relevance, considering the number and precision with which such paintings were accomplished, to render the statues realistic and the painting as engaging as possible for the viewer. The more interesting it becomes when we observe that those crafts were deliberately ignored in order to create an Egyptian style.

Fig. 4.23) Painted representations of statues. An Egyptian marble statue from the Casa del Frutteto (a); (b) a marble statue of Apollo from the Casa della Venere in Conchiglia (II 3,3). Photographs by R. Kalkers.

This also counts for the Apis bull, which is placed on a pedestal as to represent a statue and is standing in the same pose as we see statues Apis appear in Rome and Egypt.[615] When compared to other representations of

[614] The panels in the cubiculum also include differences whereas the Dionisiac scenes have depth and iclude shadow effect, the pharaonic scenes and the Apis bull are depicted in a flat manner. The birds sitting on the frames which display the Egyptian scenes (to emphasise the difference between 'living creatures' and architecture) are again painted in a three-dimensional way.

[615] As for instance the granodiorite Apis bull in Palazzo Altemps (inv. no. 182.594) found on the Esquiline hill in Rome, but also similar to many small bronze statuettes such as the one from 6th century BC Lower Egypt now in the BM (inv. no. AE 37448), or on paintings and stelae such as depicted on the Serapeum stele from Saqqara now displayed in the Louvre (inv. no. DAE-11282806). Although a similar way of depiction assumes knowledge of the

bulls in Pompeian wall paintings, the Frutetto-Apis clearly deviates, whereas all other bulls were depicted in dynamic positions, moving, and lifting or turning their heads (a.k.a reprenting living bulls).[616]

If this painting is compared with the Egyptian paintings in cubiculum of the Casa di Centenario and the exedra of the Villa dei Misteri (fig. 4.24), they seem different to those from the Casa del Bracciale d'Oro and the Casa del Frutteto. However, the fact that the Frutteto combines the paintings of the garden statue pharaohs with painted frames of Egyptian figures show that these can both belong to the same category of Pharaonic figures. In addition it shows that there is no differentiation in referring to something 'Egyptian' and style. Placing the pharaoh in a garden setting required him to be painted in accordance to the context, so he was painted as a marble statue. The painter could play with the subject and mixed both styles so that it became clear it was Egyptian by means of its aspective style, the subject and perhaps also the use of the colour gold. Nevertheless, he did so in accordance with the rules for garden painting. This implies that the artist could create Egypt in a certain style in accordance with the artistic context. The way in which he knew of Egyptian art (by means of ethnicity, travel, or artistic interest) can in this case be subjugated by the fact that the Roman viewer could apparently recognise this as Egyptian, or at least as deviating in style from that which was normal, by means of the way it was made.

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style of Egyptian painting, it does not seem to denote a cultic use, as the context of the painting in a cubiculum testifies against this, as well as that Apis is never found in any cultic context (not in statuette nor in painting) except for the sacrarium of the Isis temple. The bull depicted there is in a completely different rendering than both the bull from Casa del Frutteto as well as all other bull depictions in Pompeii. This bull however, is depicted moving and is depicted as a living bull.

[616] The bull features regularly in Pompeian wall painting, within the myth of Europe and the bull. Within this guise the bull is always depicted moving, though not always in the same way. In the house of the Gladiators (V 5,3), the bull is turning towards the viewer with the front part of his body, in the Casa dei Postumii (VIII 4,4) and Casa delle Pescatrice (VII 9,63), the bull is galloping with his head turned to the viewer, whereas in house I 8,9 the bull is lifting his head and seems to be slowly moving forward. Two other scenes show the bull outside a mythological context, one in a hunt (in house VI 16,28) where he is galloping with elevated front legs and another in which the bull is running carrying a leopard which has attacked him (in Casa dei Epigrammi, V I,18).

Fig. 4.24 a-d) Paintings of pharaonic scenes. None were traceable to an existing and recognisable Egyptian example. Fig. (a) an Egyptian offering scene in the cubiculum of the Casa del Frutteto (photograph by R. Kalkers), (b) an offering scene from the 'black room' (cubiculum) of the Villa of Agrippa Postumus in Boscotrecase (Metropolitan Museum of Art), (c) paintings in the cubiculum of the Casa del Centenario (from *Pompei: Pitture e Mosaici* IX)[617], and (d) from the tablinum in the Villa dei Misteri (Photo: Werner Forman Archive/Scala, Florence).

The paintings of the so-called 'Black Room' of the Villa of Agrippa Postumus (fig. 4.24b) and currently exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) are comparable to the paintings in the Casa di Frutteto.[618] They show Egyptianising scenes in similar panels; both depict offering scenes. The villa was located in Boscotrecase and originally belonged to Agrippa.[619] The room in which the Egyptianising paintings were displayed was a cubiculum with a view on the bay of Naples; the paintings of Boscotrecase were created during the last decade of the 1st century BC. According to scholars the decoration provides visual references to the reign of Augustus by means of the representations of swans (the bird of Apollo) and the Egyptianising motifs, which served as a reminder to the recent annexation of Egypt.[620] Interesting regarding this case is a study that suggests that the Black Room and the rooms of the Casa del Frutteto were probably created by the same artist. This presumption is, primarily based on similarities between the Black Room scenes as well as the vignettes and mythological landscapes found in the triclinium (Room 10), not on the 'Egyptian' room.[621] Although it is interesting to see that both rooms are cubicula, the similarities witnessed between the

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[617] *Pompei in Pitture e Mosaici* refers to the encyclopaedia of paintings and mosaics found in Pompeii in nine volumes, edited by G. Pugliere Carratelli between 1993-2003. Henceforth abbreviated as PPM.
[618] See Pappalardo 2009, 152-5.
[619] Rostovtzeff 1926 in: Blanckenhagen, Peter H. von, and Christine Alexander 1990.
[620] Bragantini and de Vos 1982, 30 and Clarke 1991, 125.
[621] In both paintings the landscapes include long-shanked figures. One has applied extensive underpainting of yellow on a blue ground, and a characteristic manner of representing architecture with a low gable and trees with dappled foliage. It is also noted that the pictures from the Casa del Frutteto are much paler in palette and freer in brush-work than the Boscotrecase paintings and presumably later in date. The other rooms are not mentioned, nor is the similarity between the paintings of Bracciale d'Oro and Frutteto. However, as the latter date from the Claudian period (implying a span of 50 years between the paintings of Boscotrecase and the Casa del Frutteto) it is unlikely that it was the exact same painter, see Richardson 2000, 39.

paintings are more likely to be due to the painter than the suggestion that the owners of the very modest house of the Frutteto tried to deliberately copy the paintings from the Villa of Agrippa Postumus. Also, if the political link to August was intentionally made in the Black Room, it was absent in the case of the Casa del Frutteto, as these were made between 40 and 50 AD. The owners of the house could however, have seen the paintings in the Casa del Bracciale d'Oro (which are dated earlier than the paintings in the Frutteto).[622] The walls in the triclinium (no 31) of the Casa del Bracciale d'Oro show a clear parallel in design and iconography. The painting shows a comparable a garden setting with a similar panel displaying an Apis bull (although the bull is not identical to the one in the Casa del Frutteto) and pharaohs positioned in a similar way between the leaves of the garden and in a similar posture (Pharaonic-Egyptian style, white with details in yellow). However, this time also sphinxes are depicted, executed in an Egyptian style: lying down and wearing (at least the sphinx on the right, the left sphinx is too damaged) a typically Pharaonic headgear (*nemes*).

Nilotic scenes and Pharaonic scenes

As mentioned above, Nilotic scenes and Pharaonic-Egyptian styled material culture in some way allude to Egypt. Seemingly, however, more differences can be noted than there are similarities. With exception of the difference in style between the two types of scenes, one can discern more differences whenever Nilotic scenes are compared with pharaonic scenes. The first hereof concern the location and distribution of the wall paintings. The majority of the Nilotic scenes could be attested in outdoor spaces (e.g., peristylia, viridaria, gardens) whereas paintings with pharaonic scenes are almost all to be found indoors. In fact, the three instances in which Egyptian wall paintings are found within a peristyle setting (they are never attested in a garden setting) include domestic shrine paintings of Egyptian deities.[623] Would this imply there was no association between Nilotic scenes and Egyptian-style paintings as a reference to Egypt? Not in location, not in application, and not iconographically, too, does there seem to be any correlations present. Egyptian-style scenes count pharaohs, sphinxes, but no hippopotami, ducks, pygmies or lotus plants. On the other hand, Nilotic

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[622] The paintings in the Casa del Frutteto are dated slightly later, from the Claudian period between 41-54 AD (PPM II, 2); the dating from the paintings of the Casa dell'Bracciale d'Oro lie between 35 and 40 AD (PPM VI, 44).

[623] There are the wall paintings in the Preadia di Giulia Felice (II, 2, 2), Casa degli Amorini Dorati (VI 16, 7.38), and the Casa delle Amazzoni (VI 2, 4) (se 4.3).

scenes never contain anything in an Egyptian style.[624] There seems to be no intermingling between the two concepts. However, the two themes are not unrelated, as the tablinum painting in the Villa dei Misteri includes Egyptian-style figures in the upper frame (see fig. 4.24d) and Nilotic images in a lower frame around the walls consisting of lilies and ducks.[625] In addition, the merging of these two forms of Aegyptiaca is present in objects. The three obsidian cups from the Villa di San Marco count two with an Egyptian scene, but also a vial depicting Nilotic scenes. The iconographical connection in this case can be no other than the concept of Egypt. Nilotic scenes and Egyptian-Pharaonic style could thus in certain instances be related by means of this concept. Significant next steps would be to meticulously analyse in which instances this was indeed the case, and to investigate whether these adoptions of Nilotic imagery differed from those unconnected to other Egypt references. This will be carried out in 4.6.

Egyptian style in wall painting: use and perception
As mentioned above, the reason for the presence of Egyptian images such as in the Casa del Frutteto are agreed upon by scholars as: *"reflecting a fashion which became especially popular in the decorative arts after the annexation of Egypt in 31-30 BC"*.[626] Did the appearance of Egyptian style have anything to do with any political-historical developments? With regard to the paintings of Rome and Pompeii we see a distinct number of residences housing Egyptianising wall paintings applied in various ways. In fact, many examples hereof can indeed be related to the Augustan period, several perhaps even to Augustus himself and his inner circle. The Aula Isiaca, for instance, located on the Palatine and decorated between *c.*30 and 25 BC, counts elongated and vegetalised columns, Nilotic scenes, stylised lotus flowers and volutes, a frieze with *uraei*, Egyptian crowns, beaked water jugs, and an item said to be the feather crown belonging to Isis.[627] The Villa della Farnesina (the alleged house of Agrippa and his wife, the daughter of Augustus) which was decorated in *c.*20 BC shares certain features with the Aula Isiaca. However,

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[624] The only exception would be a painting of two statues of a sphinx found in the frigidarium of Terme Suburbane which was placed on a podium in order to flank the entrance to a temple, see Versluys 2002, no. 66, 153-4. Whether the temple depicted here does indeed house a picture of a sphinx is very difficult to discern. If correct, however, the sphinx is seated in upright position and not reclining as an Egyptian-style sphinx would.
[625] This will be examined in more detail in 4.6. At present, one can state, however, that the correlation between these two styles of art, in spite of their apparent mutual connection to Egypt, seems to be largely absent.
[626] See Ling 1991, 39; Iacopi 1997.
[627] See Ling 1991, 39; Mols and Moormann 2008; Iacopi 1997, 40-3.

it also includes a representation of an Isis figure emerging from a vegetal candelabrum.[628] Interestingly, the reference to Egypt in these two examples is not carried out in a Pharaonic-Egyptian style. They also contain notably different scenes than found in the paintings of the Casa del Frutteto and the villa of Agrippa Postumus at Boscotrecase.[629] In the latter, as mentioned (see fig. 4.24), an aspective Egyptian style was created, showing pharaonic figures and offering scenes carries no reference to Isis, whereas the other two houses are decorated by means of paintings in Hellenistic style with floral motifs, stylised candelabra, statues of Isis and Isiac symbols.

It can be observed that Egypt is present in the Second as well as in the Third Pompeian Style. The former is represented by means of the Villa of Livia as well as the Aula Isiaca and the latter style by means of the Villa of Agrippa Postumus and Villa della Farnesina (early Third Style). The imagery inside all these residences contained artistic references related to Egypt, and all not only closely connected to Augustus, but also date from approximately the same period.[630] The paintings, nonetheless, reflect a different style and iconography concerning the subject 'Egypt'. The Aula Isiaca contained Isiac motifs, lotus flowers, and Egyptian columns as decorative features in a Roman style, whereas Agrippa Postumus's villa had painted panels depicting Pharaonic offering scenes in an Egyptian style. Was this difference related to a change in the way in which Egypt came to be perceived? After looking into the data it is argued that this difference has not so much to do with the perception of Egypt but more with the way in which individual Pompeian styles developed and wall painting in general was perceived.

It is argued, by Zanker and Wallace-Hadrill amongst others, that in general, the purpose of Roman wall painting was the creation of an allusion to a larger life.[631] Romans placed themselves within a space of leisure, luxury,

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[628] See Mols and Moormann 2008, fig. 66.

[629] For a similar style with the vegetal columns at the villa at Portici (MNN Inv. no 8593) which was decorated between c.20 and 10 BC, see Ling 1991, 40 no 39.

[630] But not the way they are implemented. So the fact that Egypt finds its way into the walls might have to do with this, but the Egyptian style has to do with a development in wall painting.

[631] See Zanker 2008, 23-33; Petersen 2006, 138. The illusions on Campanian walls were able to allude to luxurious villas or grand gardens, implying they carried the charge of social meanings and could be read as evidence for social construction within antiquity, see Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 17-28. In this respect it adds to the social emulation model. However, the paintings are more than just a way of 'social construction'. Not only did the vistas create an illusion to a larger (wealthier) life, they also opened a vista to fantasy worlds, to magical places and creatures that did not exist in real life. There is an important psychological component in the renderings of these wall paintings, in which human beings explore the

and *otium* by means of opening up the space to exotic worlds. And although it was an allusion, one did seem to search for a certain sense of realism in style to be precisely able to experience the painting as exotic, larger than life, and otherworldly; its possibility of being real was exactly what could make it appear this way.[632] This is what Gombrich meant with the perception of internal schemata: a sense of conceptual reality in painting which could only be experienced by means of their own internal style. In relation to the development of Egyptian-style paintings, this becomes well reflected in the change from the Second to the Third Pompeian Style. Because what the development within the Third Style could do in addition to the Second style, was to use isolated panels with abstract forms as architectural features. In such panels one could easily apply more divergent styles and subjects, as it was no longer part of the 'real' scene and did not represent something 'living' but something abstract in the form of an architectural feature. These frames thus allowed painters much more freedom as to that which they depicted. In this form, Egypt as a style could find its way into wall paintings, whereas it previously needed to be translated into the locally applied style, implying it needed to blend in as a Roman (normal) feature in order to be regarded realistic. On the basis of this analysis, an important deduction can be made with regard to Egypt as the alleged 'Other'. Egypt was not seen as the embodiment of the 'Other' *per se* and for that reason adopted in wall paintings, but was instead deliberately alienated as a result of a Roman development in wall painting. This example is reflected in the frames of the villa of Agrippa Postumus in Boscotrecase as well as the Casa del Frutteto in Pompeii. However, it is important to note that the application of Egyptian style was not unique as the paintings in the Villa della Farnesina illustrate. While Isis was rendered in a Roman style as she was part of the 'real' scene, the paintings depict similar frames in a distinct Greek-archaising style identical to the way the Egyptian-style scene was rendered in Boscotrecase. The wall painting in the Villa della Farnesina reflects archaising images

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limits of their imagination in order to stimulate positive emotions by means of an imagined world consisting of myth and fantasy.

[632] "*The geographical lore created in Italy during the empire invited immersion into an illusory world, an experience not unlike that of theoria in pilgrimage. Though the recognition of signs, the memory led to 'time travel' within a landscape and a suspension of present time. The imaginary transportation to another place, most often into legendary Greece, was incited by visual stimuli that, like the guide's vivid anecdote, led the traveller from a landmark to the events that happened around it.*" See Bergmann 2001, 166. As to the holistic effect supposedly reached with painting: "*their [wall painting] effects as stimulating a phenomenological, bodily experience, more like that stimulated by architecture than by two-dimensional media.*", see Bergmann 2002, 17-8.

within a golden frame supported by means of winged female figures standing on pedestals. Not only the style was conveyed in a distinct Archaising style, the painting technique (pale colours on a white background) also remind of Archaic *lekythoi*.[633] The style is deliberately applied in order to establish a stylistic contrast to the commonly (Roman) styled background. Due to its deviant style it could not be included in the main frames of the scene, in the 'reality'. Indeed, by means of the possibility of playing with styles and images the panels added something important to the allusion of the exotic and otherworldyness desired in Roman wall painting of this period, as the Black Room in Boscotrecase illustrates so well. Therefore, it offered an excellent way of causing the effect people wished to achieve by means of wall paintings: to allude to a higher dimension.[634] However, even when it is regarded a less conscious and less political development than previously thought, with these new developments in wall paintings Egyptian painting started to express something different, which had consequences for how it became perceived. The main point of this observation is that these examples seem to communicate something more significant about the Roman way of painting, and the development of Roman styles, rather than they represent an argument concerning the way in which Egypt was perceived or concerning the Augustan influence on art and culture. The effect however, of the use of style in this way, was that Egypt became isolated and externalised and through this, it became foreign and strange again within Roman perception. This means that the style itself had the agency to change the concept of Egypt into something deviant, and not the other way around.

4.5.4 The riddle of the sphinx

The problems and questions posed in the beginning of this section on style and its influence on material culture are well demonstrated by means of applying the theme of the Egyptian sphinx (see table 4.18 for the attestations of the Egyptian sphinx in Pompeii). The sphinx, a mythical monstrous creature belonging to the group of '*Mischwesen*', has the body of a lion and the head of a human being, and was a widespread phenomenon throughout the antique world.[635]

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[633] See Zanker 2008, fig. 6, 12-3.
[634] Zanker 2008.
[635] The history of the motif learns that the sphinx was known in Eastern art during the 3rd millennium in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Especially in Egypt it is always a male figure closely connected to the Pharaoh. By the end of the Middle Kingdom, Syrian art takes up this motif, providing it with various traits e.g., female, reclining, new features with regard to wings, headdress and tail. The Mittanians add more active poses to the sphinx's repertoire while

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE EGYPTIAN SPHINX IN POMPEII					
Object	**Attribute**	**House name**	**House no.**	**Room name**	**Cat. no**
Table support	Sphinx	Casa dell'Ara Massima	VI 16, 15	Triclinium	60
Wall painting	Sphinx	Casa del Bracciale d'Oro	VI 17, 42	Triclinium	137
Wall painting	Sphinx	Casa del Bracciale d'Oro	VI 17, 42	Triclinium	138
Statuette	Sphinx	Casa di D. Octavius Quartio	II 2, 2	Garden	173

Table 4.18 The representations of the Egyptian sphinx in Pompeii

In the Graeco-Roman world the sphinx generally appeared in two types: the Egyptian sphinx, that is lying down, male, wearing a *nemes*, and the Greek sphinx, based on the story of Oedipus, with a female head, breasts, often seated or standing instead of lying down, and winged. As to the Pharaonic-Egyptian style, when Egyptian-style sphinxes appear in Pompeian houses, the Egyptian sphinx can only be found in the form of statues, in paintings (but as statues), and only once in the form of a table foot. It is never materialised in jewellery, pottery, reliefs, or mosaics. Why is this the case? Does it say anything about the way in which Egypt was utilised as a concept? Another issue concerning the representation of sphinxes is whether a link exists between style and content. Was the Egyptian sphinx used to express concepts and values different from the Greek sphinx? Was the Egyptian sphinx consciously applied in order to evoke the atmosphere of Egypt? The line between two stylistic types cannot always be drawn this rigidly. Both historically and stylistically, the difference between Egyptian and Greek style within decoration and material culture now and again became obscured, as can be observed as early as in the Ptolemaic period. In Alexandria, for instance, representations of sphinxes appear which are clearly a mix between Greek and Egyptian forms and appropriately stylistically called a composite-sphinx, which was venerated as a deity in Egypt.[636] This so-called Tutu-sphinx, or Tithoes-sphinx, is an example of this category and is mostly depicted standing up. Its tail takes the shape of a

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the Hittites also apply this motif. Cypriot material culture includes sphinxes that combine eastern and Aegean iconographical details. We see the sphinx in Minoan art. Now a row of curls is added to the breast and along the wing bone as are wing feathers, and a plumed hat, see Crowley 1989, 43-44.

[636] "*Die Kompositsphinx in einem ägyptisch-griechischen Mischstil ist weder ein anonymes Fabelwesen noch eine 'gnostisch-mytische Mischgestalt'*", see Demisch 1977, 34-5.

snake.[637] Thus hybrid forms of sphinxes did exist, as can also be witnessed on the walls of Pompeii; for example one of the hybrid forms can be seen Room 7 of house I 10, 11. On the south wall of the cubiculum two sphinxes facing each other were painted, lying in an Egyptian pose, but without a *nemes*. They appear to be wearing a lotus, a flower not connected to an Egyptian style, but to the Isis cult. Via the Isis cult the representation of lotus flowers could have formed an association with Egypt. This final example is particularly interesting as it illustrates the associations in the network with regard to the application of certain concepts. They teach us to be careful when differentiating between 'pure' styles and 'hybrid' styles, because the latter could in certain instances well be considered pure by the makers/viewers. The hybrid forms also inform us of the diversity of the associations and concepts of Egypt and of those painters could have differently interpreted and conveyed during the same period in the same town. They indicate that not all people would have been familiar with an Egyptian-styled sphinx. In the case of the example above adding a lotus flower could have made the difference between a Greek and an Egyptian sphinx; only because Isis was sometimes associated with Egypt. The representation of a sphinx therefore did not necessarily have to express religious behaviour, but could also be just a way of interpreting an Egyptian sphinx by means of that which one knew about the concept. However, this still does not explain why, in which way and when recognisable Egyptian-styled sphinxes appear. It also does not imply that all representations become hybrid; the hybrid forms should be considered an addition rather than a development, since they are used next to that which would be regarded as the more 'culturally pure' styles. The classical pharaonic king-sphinx is still just as much en vogue, skillfully following the strict rules of the Egyptian sphinx with the *nemes*, tale, and rib proportions as was done 3000 years ago, as is the case with portraits of the classical Greek Oedipus sphinx. In fact, when regarding wall paintings in Pompeii all types are reflected. The temple dedicated to Isis, for example, houses hybrid sphinxes in the wall paintings and a terracotta statue of a sphinx in pharaonic style. The Casa di Octavius Quartio possessed a marble statue of an Egyptian sphinx, while the wall paintings of the Casa Del Bracciale d'Oro include both Egyptian and characteristic Greek sphinxes.

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[637] Kaper 2003.

In order to explore this, two examples will be applied either with an explicit cultic content or derived from a cultic context (fig. 4.25). Figures *a* and *b* concern one of the renowned frescos found in Herculaneum (currently at the MNN- Inv. no. 8924) depicting a temple dedicated to Isis and its rituals, whereas (*c*) portrays a sphinx in the temple of Isis in Pompeii. In the Herculaneum painting, a priest performs a ritual. Here the temple itself is significant; two sphinxes in Egyptian style are located at the entrance. This implies that in Campania one was not only familiar with the way in which Egyptian sphinxes were conveyed, but with their role within an Egyptian context when they are paired up as temple guardians. In this case a connection between the application of style and the function as something Egyptian is clear.

Fig. 4.25a-b-c) a: A wall painting in an Isis temple from Herculaneum (MNN Inv. no. 8924), b: detail of the sphinxes guarding the temple. c: sphinxes on the wall paintings of the Isis temple in Pompeii showing cobra-tails (MNN Inv. no. 8563).

However, as to the wall paintings in the temple of Isis in Pompeii (fig. 4.25c) sphinxes are depicted in a completely different style. Constituting a hybrid of features from the Oedipus sphinx (standing, winged) and the Egyptian (*nemes*, male and cobra-tails) they therefore stylistically mainly correlate with the composite sphinx. Was it not necessary to paint pharaonic sphinxes? Was it not appropriate? Or was the difference between the Greek and the Egyptian sphinx on stylistic grounds not that commonly applied and was its role as temple guardian more important? The answer lies, similarly to the above section, in the way in which wall-painting as a medium functioned

and perceived in comparison to objects. The painting of the sanctuary from Herculaneum illustrates that the Egyptian sphinx, unlike the Theban Oidipous sphinx, was not a living creature and could only be conceptualised as a statue. The Pharaonic-Egyptian sphinx was never perceived as a living or 'real' sphinx that could feature in stories, just like the features of the offering scenes in the Casa del Frutteto (and in a way, also like the portrayal of Isis and Isis-Fortuna discussed in part 4.2). In the painting of Isis and Io from the *Ekklesiasterion* of the Isis sanctuary, too, the sphinx that was depicted in an Egyptian style concerned a statue, not an animal. An important observation this analyses generated, is that whenever a lifelike sphinx had to be depicted, it was always conveyed in a non-Egyptian style. What is furthermore notable in the case of the Isis-Io painting (in addition to the fact it displayed a statue of an Egyptian sphinx, not a real sphinx), is the choice of material. The statue was painted in order to resemble red granite. This was comparable to the locally crafted statue of an Egyptian-styled sphinx consisting of red clay which deliberately imitated red granite. A final but nonetheless important assumption could be in that the Egyptian sphinx was not only iconographically different, and never presented as a living animal, but also had to be made out of a specific material.[638]

The sphinx in gardens

As to the sanctuary and the hybrid forms attested in Pompeii it seems there was little knowledge or concern about the disparity between Greek and Egyptian sphinxes. However, any evidence of a stylistic separation is certainly present. The fact that the Greek myth and the way in which the sphinx appears in Oedipus is known to Pompeians can be observed for example by means of a relief depicting Oedipus and the sphinx found in C. Calvertius Quetus's tomb. The stucco relief was inserted into one of the small pilasters belonging to the tomb. The sphinx is portrayed exactly

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[638] The use of material and the experience however, might have depended on the physical context. Whereas in religious contexts (e.g., the Iseum Campense, the Iseum in Pompeii) the statues of sphinxes consisted of granite, granite imitation or colooured stones (at least not a white colour), domestic contexts display white coloured Egyptian sphinxes. This can be seen in statuary, but also in wall painting, such as the painting from Herculaneum showing Egyptian sphinx-statues (fig. 25a). The painting belongs to a set of two, the other showing a procession scene. Although the painting concerns a cultic scene, it was probably derived from domestic context. However as portraying a cultic scene in a particular Egyptianised setting (palm trees are drawn, ibises are depicted), it does form the only exception in which white coloured sphinx statues are used instead of coloured ones. They might refer in this particular instance not to marble sphinxes therefore, but to limestone sphinx statues. These are not found in Italy, but are used in Egypt.

conform the description in the myth i.e., seated, female, winged, and with breasts.[639]

One seemed to have been aware of the way in which the sphinx appeared in a Greek myth and that this involved a certain manner of representation. Therefore, and because the Egyptian sphinx was regarded a statue and not a living creature, it seems unlikely that the style could be altered to Egyptian in order to refer to the myth of Oedipus. More evidence concerning the existence of a conceptual differentiation between a Greek and an Egyptian sphinx, and an example of their incorporation in wall paintings, can be witnessed in one of the houses in Pompeii. In the summer triclinium of the Casa del Bracciale d'Oro (VI 17,42 in the Insula Occidentalis) a triclinium was adeptly merged with a nympheum, displaying elaborate water features in the centre of the room. While two sphinxes in a Theban style, reclining, female and winged, flank the nympheum on the east wall. Two Egyptian sphinxes are portrayed on the north and south walls of the room (fig. 4.26).[640]
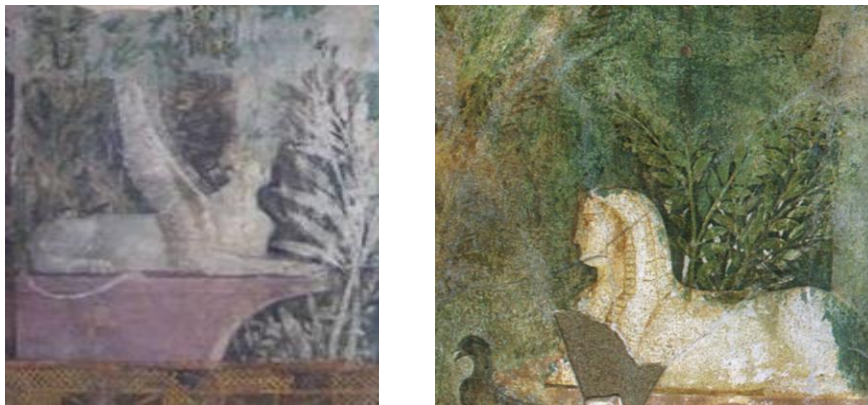
Fig. 4.26) A Greek and an Egyptian sphinx, both from summer triclinium (31) the Casa del Bracciale d'Oro (VI 17, 42). From *PPM* vol. VII.

Two distinct styles of sphinxes serve here as a decoration in the same room. It is also the only house to include sphinxes in an Egyptian fashion on wall paintings furthermore, by the clear opposition of styles on the different walls of the rooms it seems that they explicitly played with a similar theme (the sphinx) and two different styles of depiction.[641] Both sphinxes are not

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[639] The drawing of a stucco relief from Overbeck and Mau 1884, 417, fig. 217.

[640] See Jaschemski 1979, Appendices, 357, T 422.

[641] Of interest, too, is a small mosaic found in the nympheum in the same triclinium depicting a duck and a lotus flower, see Versluys 2002, no. 48, 123-4.

portrayed as living creatures, but as marble statues, as is often seen in the case of Pompeian garden paintings. Moreover, the walls featuring the Egyptian sphinxes further include pharaoh statues as could be witnessed in the Casa del Frutteto. This confirms yet again that the painters and owners of the room in the Bracciale d'Oro were well aware of the difference between the Greek and Egyptian style. The relevant question following this deduction is twofold: firstly, in which way could it (conceptually) be possible to include such a sphinx (meaning: how could it appear on the wall, and where did the idea come from?) and, secondly, why did they choose to portray an Egyptian-style sphinx?

Fig. 4.27 a-b) Two marble statuettes of pharaonic-styled sphinxes. From the *MNN*.

The answers again can be found when assessing the wider assemblage of objects and wall paintings in Pompeii. First of all, a significant clue concerning the presence of Egyptian sphinx statues is their relationship with a popular fashion in Pompeian garden paintings: the portrayal of sphinxes as marble statues and fountains.[642] They appear frequently and although a certain variation can be observed in the way in which the sphinxes are depicted, they all represent a version of a seated, marble, winged, female sphinx, forming the support of a basin with water and presented as a single sculpture. Even more strikingly, these paintings are without any exception attested in gardens, always part of a garden scene, and often close to a

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[642] As found in (a) the Casa della Fontana d'Amore (IX 2,7) on the south side of the pool area in the garden, (b) the Casa dell'Orso Ferito (VII 2,45) on the north wall in the garden next to the nympheum, (c) the Casa di C. Julius Polybius (IX 13, 1-3), (d) the Casa dei Ceii (I 6,15) in the garden, (e) the Casa del Centenario (IX 8,3) on the east and west walls in the nympheum, (f) the Casa del Peristilio (VII 6, 28) in a garden painting on the north wall of the peristyle garden (completely destroyed after the 1943 bombing, see Jashemski 1979, 56 fig. 92) and (g) the Casa degli Archi (I 17,4) in a garden painting at the west end of the north wall of the peristyle garden: two sphinxes and one centaur supporting a fountain.

genuine water source. In the majority of cases, the sphinx is positioned close to a nympheum. In other cases (e.g., the Bracciale d'Oro and Julius Polybius) two sphinxes are facing a water source, in the case of the Bracciale d'Oro as real nympheum, as to Casa di Julius Polybius in the shape of a painted basin holding water. The Bracciale d'Oro house presents an Egyptian variation on this popular theme, also in a context of a nympheum. They can therefore be regarded to belong to the same tradition, albeit now with a change of style. This particular example furthermore connects to another object similar to the Bracciale d'Oro sphinxes: the statuette of a marble sphinx found at the Casa di Octavius Quartio (II 2, 2, fig. 4.27). It was found alongside a water feature (to be discussed more elaborately in 5.3 in which this house features as a case study) together with other marble sculptures, none of which include themes, styles, or material which could somehow be connected to Egypt. The sole discovery of the sphinx, however, led the excavators to believe the water represented the Nile. With respect to the previous observation of the two marble statues it seems more likely that the sphinx alluded to the relation between marble sphinx-statues and water feature than that signified a conscious reference to the Nile. The way the statue is crafted, in marble, and the way it is positioned seems to be referring to the same concept as the painted sphinx sculptures, however, this time it was executed in real sculpture instead of a painting. The examples of depictions of marble sphinx statues are numerous, and as it was found next to a water basin, it seems a powerful link to this tradition. The statuette in the house was not associated with the Nile conceptually, as argued above, but rather represented a three-dimensional rendering of the garden painting theme similar to that in the Bracciale d'Oro house. It was placed here as a result of the association with marble sphinx statue-paintings and water basins, not because of the associations with the Nile.[643]

This example illustrates that the conceptual association with marble and sphinxes was strong. One could vary stylistically, but not in material, as

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[643] Whether the tradition of marble sphinx basins started as sculpture to then also be conveyed to painting or the other way around is a difficult issue. It is always argued that garden paintings depicted plants, animals and art as found in the real gardens of Pompeii. However, countless examples indicate that Roman painting was not aimed at portraying realistic pictures, but rather liked to refer to mythical creatures and themes. Although wall painting preserves a larger number than sculpture, no real marble sphinx-basin was ever detected in Pompeii.

marble belonged to the concept sphinx whether it was Egyptian or Greek.[644] This last notion leads to a different perspective with regard to Egypt-perception, material and contexts. Whereas the sphinx statues within the Iseum had to appear as if they consisted of red granite, the sphinxes in these examples were deliberately made from marble (or were painted to resemble marble). It points at the presence of various perceptions of the concepts and of the material. Whereas both groups could not convey the sphinxes as real animals, there was a different perception as to how they should appear in material.

The sphinx as furniture: a tale of two tables
Within the case study on sphinxes another object from the database is particularly interesting to discuss, namely a bronze monopod table foot in the form of an Egyptian sphinx (fig. 4.28*b*).[645] It was found in one of the more modest houses in Pompeii, the Casa dell'Ara Massima (VI 16,15). [646] In addition to the question concerning the way in which the owners of such a small house could acquire such a luxurious piece of furniture, the table itself is quite a unique object without any known parallels in the Roman world.[647] First, when reviewing previous interpretations of this table the main explanation again revolves around the cult of Isis. It is for example Kaufmann-Heinimann states: "*Narcissus and the couples of Bacchus and Ariadne, Luna and Endymion, Mars and Venus represented in the wall paintings of the dwelling rooms, the Lares and the Genius painted on the lararium wall, Eros depicted on the handles of two bronze vessels, a sphinx used as a table foot.*"[648]

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[644] One may assume that, for this period, marble could more easily to something Egyptian because the association with Egyptian style and dark coloured stones (e.g., diorite, granite, basalt) is developed after 80 AD when Domitian adorned the *Iseum Campense* with imported dark coloured Egyptian animal statues. We do not see this on the Italian peninsula prior to 80 AD. The granite of course, was already attested in the terracotta example from the Isis sanctuary in Pompeii.

[645] According to the de Vos the carving of the metal is typical for Alexandria. She never concludes however, whether the table -or the sphinx- was an actual import, but describes it as: *''una sfinge che reggeva un vaso tra le braccia, acconciata e accovacciata secondo lo schema faraonico.''* de Vos 1980, 93

[646] The house measured 200 m² and did not include a garden.

[647] We read: "*Sostegno di tavolo molto originale, con una sfinge accovacciata. Un elemento a ferro di cavallo, impreziosito da un finissimo motivo vegetale in Atena elmata, rappresenta l'unico sostegno del piano, ora mancante.*"See Stefanelli 1990, 159.

[648] See Kaufmann-Heinimann 2007, 188.

Fig. 4.28a,b) Sphinxes as table supports. (a) a classicising marble sphinx from the Casa del Fauno (VI 12,2) and (b) an Egyptianised bronze sphinx from the Casa dell'Ara Massima (VI 16,15). Photographs taken by the author.

Kaufmann-Heinimann mentions nine deities and table of a sphinx in order to describe religious aspects of domestic religion. Would the same conclusion have been reached when the table displayed a Greek-styled sphinx? In which way was a sphinx connected to religion? Why is the sphinx mentioned and not the head of Athena displayed above the foot? The table, albeit perhaps rendered in a style outside Pompeian schemata, should not be interpreted in accordance with external and top-down models of Roman religious culture in which everything Egyptian is equalled with the Isis-cult. Instead, these objects should be analysed bottom-up, not only in conjunction with 'Aegyptiaca' but also within the context of other household furniture and tables found in domestic contexts of Pompeii.

Examining the tables from Pompeii within a wider framework of Roman furniture places the Egyptian sphinx-table in a more comprehensible context. The Romans developed a certain way of decorating tables as can be very clearly observed in Pompeii thanks to the available number and state of preservation of furniture. Numerous types of tables occur, but the most commonly found which are decorated consist of a marble table with a

rectangular top and a solid slab at each of the shorter ends.[649] These slabs were often lavishly embellished, terminating at each side with winged monstrous creatures among which all kinds of ornamental motifs were applied to the relief. These animals were mainly lions, griffins, sphinxes, or hybrid forms. Such *Mischwesen* were originally a 4th-century BC invention and signified an embodiment of an Archaic Eastern tradition of ornamenting furniture with lions, other Oriental motifs, and with mythical creatures. The same taste of (Greek) orientalising iconography can still be seen reflected within Roman marble furniture, which is for example testified by the popularity of displaying griffins on tables.[650] However, it must be noted that here not only the iconography is Oriental, the marble slabs also follow an Orientalising style. As to the sphinxes as decoration, they also appear to be a popular topic for table designs. In addition to tables with two supports portraying sphinxes, a total of twelve marble monopod tables with supports consisting of a sphinx have been recorded.[651] One such sphinx is found in the second peristyle in the Casa del Fauno (VI 12, 2) (fig. 4.28*a*). It presents a specific type dated to the Augustan period of which parallels and copies have disseminated throughout the Roman world.[652] The most remarkable aspect of this particular sphinx representation is again its style, which is not Oriental but distinctly classicising in this case. The face, detailed feathered wings, and wavy hair of the Casa del Fauno sphinx: "*as a whole successfully captures some of the hallmarks of Classical style*".[653] This sphinx has therefore been regarded by Zanker as the outcome of Augustus' cultural revolution. Moreover, the table from the Casa del Fauno serves as an example of the way in which people made choices that (intentionally or not) might have alluded to Augustus' innovative pictorial vocabulary.[654] As was shown in painting, in furniture sphinxes could also be displayed in a Greek and in an Egyptian style. However, not only the subject of monsters explains

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[649] See Richter 1926, Moss 1988; 141; Mols 1999, De Carolis 2007, 110. Wooden tables, are not taken into account (for this see Mols 1999).

[650] It is possible that the eastern essence of the griffin became diluted during the Hellenistic period through reception and popularity of it in art, see Moss 1988, 367. However, there is evidence that in Roman eyes it was always redolent of the exotic East, see Simon 1962.

[651] Among them the sphinx from the Casa del Fauno, see fig. 4.28a. Moss 1988, (A72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 85-90) these are all seated. A72, is from Formia, antiquarium Nazionale, Pentelec marble. 73, is from Grosseto, Museo Archeologico (Inv. 22966), white marble, probably Greek. Seated sphinx with eyes closed and elaborately feathered wings. In the seated monopods other tables include panthers, lynxes, griffins, lionesses, and lions.

[652] Moss attested twelve similar seated sphinx tables.

[653] See Moss 1988, 22.

[654] See Zanker 1988, 269, fig. 211 a,b. It is stated that the table was '*undoubtedly manufactured in one of the leading sculptural workshops in Rome*'.

the appearance of the Egyptian sphinx, as it could also be observed from the above analysis that style plays a significant role. The marble tables were mainly created made in an Oriental style, implying it was not uncommon to decorate tables in forms other than local. An Egyptian sphinx could have been regarded the same way: as an otherworldly creature decorated in a particular style. The Casa del Fauno sphinx, too, was executed in different style (Classical). Moreover, a bronze round table with sphinxes assumed to be found near the Iseum (according to Mau however, the table is not even derived from Pompeii but comes from Herculaneum) was again rendered in a different style: this time in a hellenistic fashion.[655] Reviewing the bronze table in this context, when regarded in relation to other tables and not compared with other Aegyptiaca, it is not as unique as once thought. Like Greek sphinx (or a lion or a griffin), the Egyptian sphinx and a was a mythical monster suitable to decorate a table support.

It seems that, when representing sphinxes, one was first of all quite aware of any differentiation in styles and secondly, style mattered. Furthermore, the way in which sphinxes were materialised was of concern to the way an audience experienced them. Adopting a sphinx in whatever style for a table support had notably different associations when compared with wall painting, or when applying it within a religious setting. The reason why one chose to portray Egyptian-style sphinxes therefore knows no unequivocal answer. Now and again, it was merely one of the available styles that could serve in order to set apart something stylistically (tables), or otherwise in order to create a distinctly Egyptian setting (e.g., the Herculaneum paintings in fig. 4.25). In certain cases it was seemingly used almost mindlessly, just to play with a popular theme (e.g., the fountain-sphinxes from the Casa del Bracciale d'Oro). However, by means of an analysis of sphinx representations inside houses, one significant difference between the Greek and the Egyptian sphinx could be observed which may explain their presence or absence within certain contexts. The sphinx was an important feature as a statue in Roman garden (paintings). However, whereas the Greek sphinx could appear both as a statue and as a 'living' creature, the Egyptian-styled sphinx could only be conceived as a statue (e.g., in the painting in Herculaneum where he guarded the temple, in the garden painting of the Casa del Bracciale d'Oro, and with the statues in houses and the Iseum). The Egyptian sphinx was not a 'real' sphinx, but could only be conveyed as a statue of sphinx. Whereas

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[655] Mau 1902, 369, fig. 191.

the Greek sphinx played a role in a story (about Oedipus) he was a living creature that could appear together with any other animal such (e.g., swans, peacocks) and with other Nilotic animals (Iseum).The Egyptian sphinx conversely knew no myth in Pompeii, he was not a living creature but a stone piece of furniture or an architectural feature.

4.5.5 Conclusion

The decision to analyse Egypt as a style has gained further insights into the manner in which Egypt could be applied in Pompeian houses and which properties and complexities are involved within its integration. In addition it was also informative with respect to the way in which one conceptually differentiated between various media of portrayal. First of all it could be witnessed that the inhabitants of Pompeii were not only able to recognise Egyptian-styled objects and paintings, but also that they could apply and adapt them in order to express specific themes while alluding to several social values. However, within this process a conceptual distinction existed between the different ways in which Egypt was materialised, for instance when something was conveyed in an Egyptian style by means of wall painting or by means of objects. Wall painting could depict Egyptian figures of which it did not matter whether they were genuinely Egyptian. However, whenever it was relevant to convey the message of authenticity (as the Isis sanctuary demonstrated), objects, and not wall paintings were used. Moreover, because of its style, Egyptian-style scenes could not be merged with other Egypt-references such as Nilotic scenes. This means that even though they are sometimes cognitively related through the concept of Egypt, they could not very well be merged. This, of course, ultimately effected not only the way in which one regarded these scenes but also their reaction towards Egypt. The Nilotic scenes were stylistically internalised and therefore could develop into other concepts (to be analysed in 4.6). Egyptian as a style remained an externalising concept and was therefore mainly helpful in Roman art when a deviant style was required.

The sphinx could ultimately be integrated in a particular way because of the tradition already present in Pompeian garden paintings i.e., to depict Greek sphinxes in the form of garden statues and fountains. That is the reason why this kind of representations is seen only in garden paintings. It is arguable that the marble statuette of a sphinx found for instance in the Casa di Octavius Quartio is a three dimensional materialisation of this custom,

especially because it was not usual to depict Egyptian sphinxes in marble within this context and period. The marble statue paintings created a strong link between the concept sphinx and marble, and therefore generated the idea that this was the usual way to portray Egyptian sphinxes as well, whereas they actually reflected a distinct Roman way of painting style. It is thus not so much the connection the Egypt, but the connection to Roman wall painting which enforced this connection. In this respect, the bronze table support of a sphinx from the Casa dell'Ara Massima originates from a similar local association based on different uses of the sphinx, stemming from the tradition of applying *Mischwesen* in an Orientalising style as table supports. In this respect it is interesting to note that whereas scholars mark the Orientalising table supports found in Pompeii to be typically Roman, whenever a sphinx table was made in an Egyptian style it immediately fell into the category 'exotic', whereas both styles were deviant from what might be called a 'Roman style'. It seems that our modern visual perception of Egypt is strong to the extent that scholars will be much quicker to designate the style and its objects as exotic and strange. However, both examples illustrate that quite different links between the table as well as the statuettes and paintings could be drawn when compared with the concept of Egypt or the religion of Isis. The analysis indicated that the interpretation and implementation of Egyptian artefacts was based on cognitive associations derived from a local context, which limited the application of certain themes to specific contexts and also explains the complete absence of others. Sphinxes could serve as table supports because they belonged to the category of *Mischwesen*. However, lions and griffins never served to portray fountains and garden statues in painting, and therefore this must have belonged to the concept of the sphinx alone.

This section also adds to a larger conception of Egypt as subject (or rather as non-subject), witnessed by means of the way in which it was applied in object, painting, theme, and context. Whereas the Greek sphinx referred to Oedipus, to themes such as the flawed nature of humanity, destiny, riddles, and heroism, the Egyptian sphinx referred to Egypt. Egypt as a style did not seem to be able to integrate that deeply, not because of the subject it represented which was experienced as a difference, but only because of the style. This is interesting, because not every Egyptian artefact was statically perceived and considered exotic. However, as a style, Egypt seems to have been considered too distant from Pompeian internal schemata. The Romans

would therefore use it in order to create something external to their reference schemata: when a visual disbalance was required, when something had to be marked as strange or foreign, or when something other than associated with the ordinary atmosphere was desired. It might have helped legitimating the Isis-cult by means of reinforcing its authenticity and ancient nature by referring to Pharaonic Egypt. That it is not only Egyptian style which is not fitting in the Roman schemata and therefore predestined to function as isolated reference to the strange, was however proven by the archaising panels from the Villa della Farnesina, which served the same function as the Egyptianising paintings. In both cases, the perception of style is stronger than its content and semiotics. This is not only important to the understanding of these paintings, but also for the choice of such scenes. In addition to this is the view that the isolation of Egypt as a style was invented by the Romans themselves when individual frames became possible with the change to the Third Pompeian Style. Deviating styles could be used because they became architectural features, of which the effect was that Egypt *became* foreign and strange. This makes the concepts such as the 'Other' no longer a non-intentional Roman phenomenon, but something that was fostered and induced by material culture and the changing possibilities of Roman art; in effect it had very little to do with what people actually thought of Egypt.

4.6 Disentangling Nilotic scenes

4.6.1 Introduction

The final part of the Aegyptiaca survey will deal with the most lavishly present category of Aegyptiaca in Pompeii: the so-called *Nilotica*, which in its broadest sense can be defined as images concerning the flooded river Nile and the life surrounding it.[656] The images therefore predominantly concern waterscapes with plants such as lotus flowers and exotic animals such as crocodiles, hippopotami, or cobras. They also often feature Egyptians in the form of either human beings or pygmies and occur in Pompeii, as mosaics or on wall paintings, from the beginning of the 1st century BC on and are continuously attested until the end of the town's existence. Table 4.19 below presents the various materialisations and contexts in which the scenes appear. As a larger group, the imagery can be found on pottery, reliefs, lamps, and jewellery too, however, these are not found at the site of Pompeii.

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[656] See Versluys 2002, 26; Malaise 2005; Malaise 2003, 308-25.

Within the wider category of Pompeian Aegyptiaca, Nilotic scenes sometimes seem to represent somewhat of an outsider of the dataset, as their style and materialisation are markedly different to all other objects. Whether this is justified conceptually can and should be questioned of course. However, it is a fact that, as a category of Aegyptiaca, Nilotic scenes historiographically are often dealt with separately. They were for instance not taken up in the selection of Tran tam Tinh or De Vos, who both did not consider them to be directly related to the cult of Isis or to the concept of Egyptomania.[657] For some scholars, a relationship between the two is present, Malaise for instance states that Nilotica and Isiaca are not the same, he states they are related although the nature of this relation remains undefined.[658] To other scholars, a connection between Isis and Nilotic scenes is denied, such as is put forward by Versluys 2002. It becomes apparent however, that in none of the cases sketched above, the nature of the relationship between Nilotic images, Egypt, and Isis, is analysed in detail.

NILOTIC SCENES FROM POMPEII					
House name	House no.	Room	object	Motifs	Date[659]
Caupona	I 2, 24	Tablinum	Painting		0-10 AD
Casa del Criptoportico	I 6,2	Caldarium	Painting	Duck, water plants, crocodile	30 BC
Casa dei Ceii	I 6, 15	Viridarium		Sacred landscape, Egyptian altar, boat	70 AD
Casa di Paquius Proculus		Triclinium	Mosaic	Pygmy, dwarf, boat, crocodile, hippo-potamus, duck, fish, temple	50-25BC[660]
Casa dell'Efebo	I 7, 11	Garden[661]	Painting	Pygmy, Egyptian altar, hippopotamus, crocodile, ibis, boat, duck, lotus, (obelisk), symplegma, Apis bull	70 AD
Casa del Menandro	I 10, 4	Atrium	Painting	Pygmy, dwarf, crocodile	50-62 AD[662]
Casa del Menandro	I 10, 4	Triclinium	Mosaic	Boat, waterplants, pygmy, duck	50-25 BC
Praedia di Giulia Felice	II 4,2	Summer triclinium	Painting	Boat, water plants, crocodile, duck,	70 AD

[657] It has, however, been admitted that the two developments i.e., Pharaonic and Nilotic themes, are often combined in artistic endeavours, even in ancient Alexandria, see de Vos 1980, 81.
[658] See Malaise 2003, 313.
[659] The majority of the paintings and mosaics were dated in accordance with their stylistic appearance.
[660] The frame of the mosaic can be dated later, of the Third Style, as the remaining decoration of the house, see Versluys 2002, 99.
[661] As painted on a stibadion functioning as a summer triclinium in a garden.
[662] As belonging to a redecoration phase of the house in 50 AD and of the Early Fourth Style.

				hippopotamus, lotus flower, pygmy	
Casa di Gemmarius (gem-cutting workshop)	II 9, 2	Summer triclinium[663] - stibadion	Painting	Boat, pygmy, ibis, erotic scene	70 AD
Casa del Larario Fiorito	II 9,4	Summer triclinium[664] - stibadion	Painting	Pygmy, water plants	70 AD
Casa delle Nozze d' Argento	V 2,i	Cubiculum (q)	Painting	Dwarf, ibis	62-79
Casa delle Nozze d' Argento	V 2,i	Peristyle	Painting	Duck, lotus flower	62-79
Casa di Sallustio	VI 2,4	Garden	Painting	Duck, lotus flower	70 AD
Casa di Sallustio	VI 2,4	Peristyle	Painting	Boat, erotic scene, ibis	70 AD
Casa di Apollo	VI 7, 23	Garden	Painting	Pygmy, crocodile	70 AD
Casa dei Dioscuri	VI 9,6/7	Tablinum	Painting	Double oboe, palm tree, ibis	70 AD
Casa del Fauno	VI 12,2	Summer triclinium	Mosaic	Frog, crocodile, ichneumon, lotus, duck, cobra, hippopotamus, ibis	90-80 BC
Casa del Bracciale d'Oro	VI 17, 42	Triclinium nympheum	Mosaic	Duck, lotus flower	35-45 AD
Casa delle Quadrighe	VII 2, 25	Peristyle	Painting	Crocodile, lotus flower, hippo-potamus, symplegma, boat	70 AD
Casa delle Quadrighe	VII 2, 25	Viridarium	Painting	Pygmy, crocodile, boat, ibis	70 AD
Casa della Caccia Antica	VII 4, 48	Tablinum	Painting	Pygmy, dwarf, crocodile, hippo-potamus	71-79 AD
Casa della Caccia Antica	VII 4, 48	Viridarium	Painting	Pygmy, boat, crocodile	71-79 AD
Casa del Granduca	VII 4, 56	Viridarium	Mosaic	Palm tree, hippo-potamus, pygmy, boat	0-40 AD
Casa di Ma. Castricus	VII 16, 17	Garden	Painting	Hippopotamus, crocodile, Anubis, viper, palm tree	70 AD
Casa con ninfeo	VIII 2, 28	Nympheum	Painting	Ureus, duck, dwarf, erotic scene	70 AD
Casa delle Colombe a Mosaico	VIII 2, 34-35	Terrace, fountain	Painting	Pygmy, dwarf, hippopotamus	70 AD
Casa del Cinghiale I	VIII 3, 8/9	?	Mosaic	Duck, lotus flower	30 BC[665]
Casa del Medico	VIII 5, 24	Peristylium	Painting	Crocodile, pygmy ibis, dwarf, hippopotamus, boat, velum, symplegma, double oboe	70 AD
Casa dei Pigmei	IX 5, 9	Cubiculum	Painting	Lotus flower, duck, ityphallic dwarf, temple, statue of Sobek, palm tree, hippopotamus, water	70 AD

[663] As painted on a stibadion in the summer triclinium in a garden.
[664] As painted on a stibadion in a garden on the front and inner sides as with II 9.
[665] Confusion exists concerning the dating. Versluys 2002 argues the mosaic dates from 30 BC. However, the mosaic floors in the house date to the 1st half of the 1st century AD. Versluys further argues the mosaic is older based on the stylistic similarities with the Casa del Fauno mosaic which is dated c.90-80 BC. Verlsuys 2002.

				plants, pygmy, boat	
Casa del Lupanare piccolo	IX 5, 14-16	Atrium	Painting	Dwarf, crocodile, hippopotamus, symplegma, boat, water birds	70 AD
Casa del Centenario	IX 8, 6	Frigidarium/ piscina	Painting	Pygmy, ibis, snake hippopotamus, crocodile, duck	70 AD
Casa del Centenario	IX 8, 6	Nympheum	Painting	Duck, lotus flower	70 AD
Villa dei Misteri		Atrium	Painting	Velum, palm tree, altar, offering scene, boat	80-70 BC[666]
Villa dei Misteri		Tablinum	Painting	Duck, ibis, water plants, lotus	30 BC
Villa di Diomede			Painting		70 AD

Table 4.19) Nilotic scenes from Pompeii and their find spots.

This part will draw its remaining questions and data-analysis for a large part from the work of Miguel John Versluys' *Aegyptiaca Romana, Nilotic scenes and the Roman views of Egypt* (2002). This study comprises a comprehensive treatment of material culture displaying Nilotic imagery and their interpretation in a Roman context, not only in Pompeii, but throughout the Roman Empire from the 2nd century BC to the 6th century AD. Despite the research' vast extensiveness, not all questions surrounding Nilotic scenes were answered, and therefore it was decided for this study to re-examine *Nilotica* from the framework of bottom up horizontal analysis as put forward in this thesis. New questions can still be addressed to this category, especially those concerning context and use and the relationship of Nilotic images and other Aegyptiaca in Pompeii. Studying the relation therefore between concepts like Isis and Egypt and a contextual analysis of these scenes is one of the primary scopes of this paragraph.

Before discussing the specific issues concerning this section a brief description will be presented of the existing scenes within the domestic contexts of Pompeii (see table 4.19) and of the previous research conducted on the subject. Although this table comprises Nilotic scenes found in houses, it must be noted that they were also present within other contexts (e.g., in the Isis sanctuary, the temple of Apollo, the Stabian, Suburban and Sarno baths). In addition to the variety in contexts, the specific rooms in which they can be attested are also diverse, as the above table indicates. They are often derived from peristyle contexts and gardens, but they may also be

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[666] This presumes a redecoration in *c.*60 BC. The remaining part of the atrium paintings are dated 70-60 BC, see Meyboom 1995, V, 10. This implies that the paintings were not removed or repainted but incoprporated, see Versluys 2002, 157.

found in triclinium, cubiculum, or tablinum spaces. Contextually, therefore, it is difficult to discover any line in their application. Chronologically and visually the category is interesting because Nilotic scenes provide us with one of the very first visual references for Pompeians to the country of Egypt. The Nile Mosaic of Palestrina is the earliest attested image of the Nile and dates back to the beginning of the 1st century BC.[667] Shortly hereafter (*c*.90-80 BC) the first Nilotic mosaic appears in Pompeii in the Casa del Fauno. They continue to be seen until 79 AD, implying that as a category they cover a relative large time span during which they were used and appropriated. In addition to the abundant and continuous presence of Nilotica in various contexts in Pompeii, the variety observed within the imagery is another remarkable aspect of this category. Only one clear copy is attested (*in casu* a mosaic emblema found in the Casa del Menandro and in the Casa di Paquius Proculus). Of the remaining scenes not one is identical to the other. The motifs related to Nilotic scenes appeared in various combinations, either only flora and fauna or architecture and human figures. The way in which they are conveyed, the contexts within houses in which they appear, and their motifs are notably varied. As to this abundance and variation in context, form, and style, it may be a valid question whether all Nilotic scenes should be considered to fall within one and the same conceptual framework. Considering the variety and lengthy life span of the scenes in relation to other objects dealt with in the present chapter, the conceptual network of Nilotic scenes might have been more complex and further developed. Nilotic scenes could therefore even further enmesh, obscuring the link with Egypt by means of all the incoming cognitive associations outside Egypt. On the other hand, the concept still seems to have been used (or re-used) in the rebuilding of the Iseum after the AD 62 earthquake, which means that the link with the Nile, Egypt, and Isis continued to be a present cognitive link. The presence of Nilotic scenes in the temple dedicated to Isis indicates a connection between Isis and *Nilotica*. However, they appear in similar guises in the temple of Apollo and in at least three bath complexes as well. Therefore, tracing the scenes' appearances would render an interesting example to analyse with regard to the general scope of this dissertation. In which way do they disentangle and spread out? How do scenes found in the Casa di Centenario relate to the Nilotic scenes in the Casa della Caccia Antica and to the Isis temple and what is the conceptual difference between

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[667] A date shortly before Sulla's reign, *c*.100 BC, has been suggested, see Meyboom 1995, 83.

these representations? In which cases can we see a direct correlation between the Isis cult and Nilotic scenes?

4.6.2 Previous research on Nilotic scenes in Pompeii

A vast amount of work has been carried out concerning this subject. Therefore, because of a relative historiographical separation of discussions on the Isis cult, or Egypt, previous interpretations on the presence of Nilotic imagery will be briefly introduced first. As mentioned above, although interpretations of the scenes within the context of the Isis cults were present, Nilotic scenes have formed a category that differs from other Egypt-related artefacts in that their relation to Isis has always has been seen somewhat minor.[668] The scenes were not regarded to be of any significance to Tran tam Tinh's 1964 study of objects belonging to the Isis cult. They were also not considered to be a genuine part of Egyptomania and excluded from the catalogue compiled by de Vos and merely but mentioned in the concluding appendix.[669] In this appendix the scenes are interpreted as an example of an ongoing Alexandrian tradition adopted by the Romans in order to create allusions to the exotic as well as a form of escapism.[670] Whitehouse moreover argues, that in spite of choosing such scenes in order to furbish the temple of Isis, their occurrence within domestic settings was presumably more determined by a homage to fashion rather than to Egyptian religion.[671] It was furthermore argued that the location of some of these panels in the temple of Apollo for example must surely warn against attempts, such as that of Schefold, to suggest that these paintings indicated a specific allusion to the cult of Isis.[672] Meyboom, who published a monograph on the Nilotic mosaic of Palestrina, explains the scenes as illustrations of the flood of the Nile with its connected rituals, festivities, and attendees. Therefore the scenes and iconography should be seen as imagery pointing to fertility, prosperity and

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[668] For a discussion on the connection between Nilotic scenes and Egyptian religion, see Schefold 1962; Roullet 1972, 46; Leclant 1984, 440-4.

[669] See de Vos, 1980, 75-8; It is stated that the lack of identical scenes and the interchanging of elements within Nilotic scenes supports the argument forwarded by de Vos, see Allison 1997, 19-24. The disconnection of the concepts Isis and Nilotica (according to de Vos) may have to do with the fact that the scenes reveal a distinctly Graeco-Roman style of painting.

[670] See de Vos 1980, 77-8.

[671] See Whitehouse 1977, 64-5.

[672] Schefold 1952. The temple of Apollo housed a frieze with pygmy scenes, located in the upper zone of the porticus surrounding the peristyle. They have the same date as the decoration of the Isis sanctuary: post 62 AD (probably *c.*70 AD). They depict a landscape with a kiosk-like structure, four dwarfs fishing, a palm tree, a crocodile amongst water plants, a dwarf being eaten by a crocodile, three dwarfs performing a sacrifice, and one dwarf rescuing another from the water by means of a club, see Versluys 2002, no. 51.

abundance of nature. As with Dionysian scenes they represented *truphè* motifs, symbols of prosperity.[673] Meyboom argues in favour of a religious interpretation of the Nile Mosaic in Palestrina (as the first Italic synergy between Isis and Fortuna), but discards a religious reading of the images within domestic contexts on account of the locations in houses. Nilotic scenes in Pompeii appear in rooms with a 'festive' character i.e., dining rooms, nymphea, gardens, and baths thereby excluding any religious perception.

Versluys follows Meyboom in the sense that he also rejects a principally cultic use of the scenes; however, through his analysis he arrives at a more complex interpretation of Nilotica. Versluys defines the implementation and perception of Nilotic scenes on the following levels: (a) a practical level whereby the scenes are added to nymphea because the water-connected scenes of the Nilotic landscapes fit within the space, (b) a personal level in which Nilotic scenes occur because the owner maintained a personal relationship with Egypt or its cults, (c) a social level, where it is argued that Nilotic scenes were considered appropriate to utilize on a certain specified area and (d) on a syntagmatic level related to the larger historical context, in which Nilotic scenes expressed Roman feelings towards Egypt and the exotic Other.[674] As to the hermeneutic level (d), it has been illustrated that the scenes can allude to the 'Other' as the opposite of the ideal Roman self-image in order to establish the power of the Romans over Egyptian territory through art. Furthermore, concerning the historical interpretations, it has been opined one needs to make a difference between the ancient and highly admired Egypt and its contemporary inhabitants, which were now subjected to Roman rule. This can primarily be witnessed by means of observing the vertical development of the scenes which are presumed to have evolved from a more ethnographical character during the Republican period to a rather 'burlesque' character during the early Imperial period when the Egyptians became to be portrayed as dwarfs and pygmies.[675] This implies that the development indicates that Romans knew that the inhabitants of Egypt were no pygmies, but that they had purposely created a mythical and fantastic rendition of the Nilotic image in order to perhaps ridicule, set apart, and distance themselves from the Egyptians. According to Versluys this

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[673] Meyboom 1995.
[674] Versluys 2002.
[675] See Versluys 2002; Meyboom and Versluys 2007, 172, 207. Here although Versluys and Meyboom emphasise that this occurred especially during the 1st century AD.

development in the Roman views of Egypt was influenced by the Roman annexation of Egypt as province in 30 BC.

In the same respect Clarke also acknowledges the multi-interpretability of the Nilotica, while arguing that the scenes were appropriated as an amusing part of a decorative wall painting scheme or flooring, but could also represent the colonial Other, or serve to avert demons as apotropaic pictures.[676]

The distance Allison, Clarke, Versluys, and Meyboom have taken from a religious interpretation of the Nilotic scenes has, however, recently been contested by Barret, who predominantly interprets the scenes as expressions of religious knowledge and behaviour.[677] According to the latter, Nilotic scenes represent the inundation of the Nile. Accompanying festivals include pygmy dancers and dwarves celebrating the return of the solar eye goddess.[678] Barret furthermore has made the connection between the dwarf figures and Nilotic scenes by means of their shared connection to the Isis cult. The way in which the scenes are composed and all they portray and in which way (especially pointing to sexual and festive subjects) attests according to Barret of a profound knowledge of Egyptian theology. Barret admits that not every viewer would have recognised the religious significance of the scenes. However, those familiar with, in her words 'Egyptian theology', would have found much to recognise. A majority of iconography and acts in fact alluded to Egyptian religious themes, as Barret demonstrated. Whenever an observer without any knowledge of Egyptian culture saw something merely amusing or decorative, more informed viewers may have perceived a complex iconographic program depicting celebrations performed for the flooding Nile.[679]

These diverse and sometimes seemingly conflicting interpretations of the meaning of Nilotic scenes strongly argue for a complex understanding of these scenes. It is interesting to observe that here, in contrast to many of the other Aegyptiaca dealt with above, not one scholar disputes the possibility of a multitude of meanings concerning these paintings and mosaics. This being

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[676] See Clarke 2007, 155.

[677] See Barret 2012, 1-21. A religious interpretation of *symplegma* scenes in Nilotic imagery, linked to Osiris, and emphasizing their fertility character has also been opted for, see Meyboom and Versluys 2007, 197.

[678] Although Bes never appears recognisable on a Nilotic painting or mosaic, he was also connected to these dances by means of his relationship with Hathor, see Barret 2012.

[679] See Barret 2012, 16.

said, it is not entirely clear whether this is an interpretation that applies to every scene in general, or for specific scenes, contexts or audiences. The question that remains is what makes Nilotic scenes to be appropriated in different ways? Does the content or the context allow for this? Therefore it can be regarded useful to compare these two and more variables to gain more insight in their use and appropriation.

Two angles of approach might complement the existing studies to these scenes. A first strategy is to compare Nilotic scenes in the afore-mentioned 'horizontal' perspective. This means they are compared with other types of wall painting scenes in Pompeii and therefore not analysed as a bounded category only viewed in the context of their Egyptian meaning. A second strategy would be to establish the way in which concepts such as Nilotica and Aegyptiaca relate to each other by means of a relational and contextual approach. As noted above, Clarke, as well as Barret and Versluys do not fully explore a contextual approach in order to support their interpretations, as none of them consider Nilotic scenes within the full scope of material culture present in domestic contexts of Pompeii.

The relation between Egypt and Nilotica

Should Nilotic scenes be regarded as a disparate category to other Egyptian related artefacts? Were they no longer connected to Egypt but had they merged into the decorative landscape of Pompeii? Although certain instances might argue for this (e.g., the development of individual motifs) we also come across contexts in which Nilotic scenes seem to be connected to other 'Aegyptiaca.' As can be seen in the table below (table 4.20), there are quite some instances where this occurs. Although for some of these the connection is flawed, as they represent cases that cannot be directly related because they are widely spread within large houses and different rooms, contain only small parts of an enormous amount of objects, or enclosing long time spans, such as is the case with for instance the Casa del Centenario. Here the number of finds related to Egypt is relatively large, but too widely distributed throughout the huge house to be of any significance. The same holds for the finds in the Casa del Menandro. Here a Second Style Nilotic mosaic was found on the floor of a small triclinium (Room 11), and a painting in the Fourth Style adorned the atrium. The room with the mosaic was found was no longer utilised for dinners or gatherings of any kind at the time of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 AD, but served as a storage room, rendering an intentional connection between the decorations in rooms

unlikely.[680] The Praedia di Giulia Felice, is even larger, and combined large Nilotic scenes in the triclinium with a domestic shrine devoted to Isis in the peristyle. Although the choice of the decoration of the triclinium may have been influenced by the religious preferences of the inhabitants, it is difficult to attribute a connection between the two concepts when they are not used within the same context. As triclinia are amongst the most popular rooms to be adorned with Nilotic scenes, it could well be a coincidence. Stronger, therefore, are the cases that include Nilotica and Aegyptiaca in the same wall painting. It now seems that certain examples reveal the connection between Nilotic imagery and other Egyptian subjects. The obsidian bowls of the Villa San Marco, of which two include Pharaonic-Egyptian images and one shows Nilotic scenes, have already been mentioned in part 4.5.[681]

HOUSES WITH NILOTIC SCENES AND OTHER EGYPT-RELATED ARTEFACTS							
house name	house no.	Nilotic scene	No.	Room	Other artefacts	No.	Room
Casa dell'Efebo	I 7,11		2	Garden	Bronze statuette Isis/ marble statue Isis	3	?/garden
Casa del Menandro	I 4,10	Mosaic, landscape painting	2	Oecus/atrium	Jupiter-Ammon medallions/Harpocrates statuette	3	Atrium/triclinium/cubiculum
Praedia di Giulia Felice	II 4,2		3	Summer triclinium	Amulet of Harpocrates/ shrine with Egyptian deities	2	Summer triclinium/atrium
Casa delle Nozze d'Argento	V 2, i		2	Cubiculum, peristylium	Statuette green glaze frog, two crocodiles	3	Garden
Casa dei Dioscuri	VI 9, 6/7		1	Tablinum	Isis head marble	1	Unknown
Casa degli Amorini Dorati	VI ,		1	Duck, lotus flower	Domestic shrine dedicated to Isis	5	Peristylium
Casa di Bracciale d'Oro	VI 16,42	Mosaic	1	Summer triclinium	Painting of pharaoh/Apis bull/ Jupiter-Ammon	3	Summer triclinium/summer triclinium/triclinium
Casa del Centenario	IX 8,6		1	Triclinium	Sistrum, pharaonic paintings, Isiac	4	?/cubiculum/triclinium/?

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[680] "*The presence of a box of storage vessels comparable to the furnishings of the west ambulatory of garden c suggests that this room was used for storage prior to the eruption.*", see Allison 2004. As to the Casa dell'Efebo, in a similar situation, a bronze Isis-Fortuna statuette was found in an undisclosed space, which can hardly be linked to the Nilotic scenes in the stibadion. Malaise 2005 erroneously states that a painting of Isis-Fortuna was discovered in the house.

[681] See 4.5.2.

					procession, Isis-Hygeia statuette		
Villa dei Misteri			2	Atrium/ tablinum	Painting pharaonic figures	1	Tablinum
Isis Temple	VIII 7,28	Scenes with pygmies, ibises and crocodiles	1	Portico	All kinds of paintings, statues, imports, etc		

Table 4.20   Houses containing Nilotic scenes and other Egypt-related artefacts.

The Villa dei Misteri is a further illustration of a connection between pharaonic style and Nilotic scenes, because it portrays Pharaonic-style figures (as discussed in 4.5) and a frieze with Nilotic figures on the same painting in the tablinum of the house, which was redecorated in the early Augustan period. The Casa del Bracciale d'Oro presents us with an example in which paintings of pharaohs, sphinxes, and an Apis bull are found within the same room (the summer triclinium) as a Nilotic mosaic depicting ducks with lotus flowers. The latter mosaic was found as a decorative part of the nympheum at the rear end of the room. With only a duck and a lotus flower, it represents a motif with only little explicit reference to Egypt. However, because of the specific context, it is significant to find such scenes together in one space. The Casa degli Amorini Dorati houses a similar painting depicting ducks with lotuses. Although ducks and lotuses cannot not be directly linked to the Nile or to Egypt, this specific scene embellished a shrine devoted to Isis, with paintings of the Egyptian gods, cult paraphernalia (e.g., a *cista mystica*, sistra) and an Isiac procession. Finally, the sanctuary of Isis itself also reveals a connection between Nilotic scenes and Egypt-related artefacts by means of presenting distinctively Nilotic imagery on the walls of the portico of the sanctuary. It is argued that their presence should rather be explained by means of association and the popularity of the genre, not by any religious significance.[682] This follows the remark that: "*the two dwarf landscapes which decorated the porticus of the temple of Isis in Pompeii are however so general and inconspicuous that they were probably not meant to represent 'the sacred country of Egypt'*[683] Furthermore, the Nilotic paintings of the Isis temple can be compared to those of the sanctuary of Apollo (whose images are only preserved by means of a drawing), which is contemporaneous and houses similar sacred landscape scenes to the Isis temple either with or without pygmies, and

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[682] See Moormann 2012, 260; Versluys 2002, 260.
[683] See Versluys 2002, 260.

displayed in a context unconnected to Egypt.[684] It therefore does not seem necessary to look for a religious association in order to explain the scenes in the Isis temple. They were simply examples of fashion, applied because they were stock figures in the painter's repertoire.[685] The popularity of Egyptianising dwarf scenes in Pompeii after AD 62 would certainly have played a role in the placing of Nilotic scenes in the temple of Apollo and Isis. However, this does not cause a cognitive association with Egypt, the Nile, and Isis to be absent. Of course the period during which the temple was refurbished often saw Nilotic scenes as a decoration. Nonetheless, the Isis temple counts a high number of such scenes with explicit Nilotic animals. The fact they also recur on the upper friezes renders it difficult to do away with them as a mere coincidence related to fashion. On the same portico paintings moreover, the upper frieze clearly portrays many Nilotic animals that could specifically be associated with Egypt. This painting for instance, includes a typical Egyptian representation of an Egyptian ichneumon fighting a cobra. Although several generic animals are depicted, the paintings below testify of knowledge beyond that of decorative purposes on the side of the commissioner. This latter notion furthermore leads to an interesting observation concerning this section especially, because if the decoration in the sanctuary of Isis was executed with the concept of Egypt in mind, the relation between Egypt, Isis, and Nilotica would have continued until the final years of Pompeii. Moreover, the Augustan scenes in the tablinum of Villa dei Misteri mentioned above testify that the connection between Nilotic scenes and Egypt were also present during an earlier stage. Does this imply that these connections had always been present, or did certain events and intentions re-establish the association? Taking a diachronic contextual approach to analyse the scenes might be fruitful for their understanding. These cases show that the connection between Isis and Egypt and Nilotic scenes and Egypt seemed to have been present. However, it also shows that it only occurs in a small number and that true blending and mixing of images, does not occur. Therefore although Nilotica and Egypt could be conceptually related, they were evidently not considered to belong to the same concept.

In order to acquire further clarity on the relationship between Isis and Nilotica, and Egypt and Nilotica, a remaining question which should be answered is what the available cognitive and material prerequisites entailed

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[684] This drawing is sourced from Reinach 1922, 377, figs. 5 and 6.
[685] See Versluys 2002, 260.

in which the scenes could integrate in Pompeii, and whether this experience knows a development of any kind. And, what was conceptually related to these scenes? In the following sections, the iconography and the development of motifs will be discussed, whereas its style and contextual presence will be more carefully scrutinised. Not only must the houses or the rooms be analysed, the location on the walls should also be given more attention in order to obtain a clearer image of the way in which these images developed, and within which frameworks they were conceived.

4.6.3 Iconography

Tybout, in his review of the publication of Versluys 2002, considered it a serious omission that the diachronic distribution of individual motifs was not chartered in a tabular manner, as their relative frequency would be highly relevant.[686] The various motifs present were therefore analysed. Their relative presence can be seen in fig. 4.29. What does it imply when certain motifs are lost? Can it inform us about Roman cognition? The below pie chart illustrates the relative presence of individual motifs in Nilotic scenes.
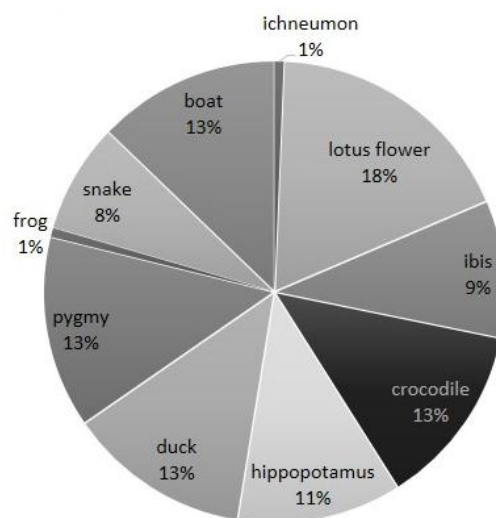
Fig. 4.29) The relative presence of different Nilotic motifs in Pompeian imagery.

The general overview furthermore shows they depict mainly animals, or objects connected to water, which seems logical with regard to the overall theme of the scenes. However, the combination, form, date, and contexts in which these motifs appear differ significantly. Not only the chronological

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[686] See Tybout 2003, 505.

development of certain motifs are of importance to consider, likewise the wider visual networks of wall painting in Pompeii should be meticulously scrutinised in order to establish which place such motifs occupied among the remainder of the available visual repertoire. The motifs selected to ascertain any changes with regard to their application and appropriation are pygmies, ducks, lotuses, and exotic Nilotic animals. These will be treated as a case study in the following part.

Development and distribution of individual motifs: pygmy

Pygmies (for their presence in imagery, see table 4.21) are a thought-provoking motif to trace by means of the material network of visual culture of Pompeii as they tie in directly with the discussion on Egypt as the proclaimed 'Other'. It is stated that the change (or rather the appearance) in a representation resembling dwarves and pygmies from the portrayal of realistic human figures into Nilotic scenes can be witnessed from the 3rd quarter of the 1st century BC onwards.[687] It is also argued that pygmies start to appear in the course of the 1st century BC with the intention to enhance the exotic character in Nilotic scenes.[688] The origin of this phenomenon was based on the knowledge of the existence of pygmy races in Aethiopia, where the Nile had its source.

As mentioned above, Versluys interprets the portrayal of dwarfs and pygmies in Roman wall painting, along with their apotropaic and symbolic fertility and *tryphe* function, as an allusion to the Egyptian Other, the stereotype to which a Roman could make a distinction between himself as a Roman, and the 'Other', the ultimate foreigner and his uncivilised behaviour, as non-Roman.

NILOTIC SCENES WITH PYGMY				
Genre	House name	House no.	Room	specific
Wall painting	Casa dell'Efebo/di P. Cornelius Tages	I 7,11	Garden	West wall
Mosaic	Casa di Paquius Procolus	I 7,1	Triclinium	Floor
Wall painting	Casa dell'Efebo/di P. Cornelius Tages	I 7,11	Garden	Around the walls
Wall painting	Casa del Menandro	I 10,4	Atrium	North wall
Mosaic	Casa del Menandro	I 10,4	Oecus	Floor
Wall painting	Praedia di Iulia Felice	II 4,2	Summer triclinium	Unknown
Wall painting		II 9,2	Garden	Stibadion
Wall painting		II 9,4	Garden	Stibadion

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[687] See Versluys 2002, 274-7; for the difference between pygmies and dwarfs in Nilotic scenes, see Meyboom and Versluys 2007.
[688] See Meyboom 1995, 150.

Wall painting	Casa delle Quadrighe	VII 2,25	Viridarium	East wall
Wall painting	Casa della Caccia antica	VII 4,48	Tablinum	East wall
Wall painting	Casa della Caccia antica	VII 4,48	Tablinum	West wall
Wall painting	Casa della Caccia antica	VII 4,48	Viridarium	
Mosaic	Casa del Granduca/della Fontana	VII 4,56	Viridarium	South wall
Wall painting	Casa delle colombe a mosaico	VIII 2,34	Terrace	North east corner
Wall painting	Casa del Medico	VIII 5,24	Peristylium	North wall
Wall painting	Casa dei Pigmei	IX 5,9	Room X	North wall
Wall painting	Casa del Centenario	IX 8,6	Frigidarium	West wall
Wall painting	Casa del Centenario	IX 8,6	Frigidarium	East wall
Wall painting	Terme Suburbane	_	Frigidarium	Natatio east wall
Wall painting	Terme Suburbane	_	Frigidarium	Natatio west wall
Wall painting	Villa di Diomede	_		

Table 4.21) All Nilotic scenes in Pompeii depicting dwarfs and pygmies.

This change in representing (or viewing) the Egyptian lies, in Versluys´ view, in accordance with the events occurring after the Battle of Actium in 31 BC, resulting in the incorporation of Egypt in the Roman Empire. At what time do the pygmies appear on wall painting and mosaic? Is this really related to political developments in the Roman Empire? The change from ethnographic depiction of Egypt to stereotypes could on a meta-level be influenced by means of historical events. However, the development within the medium representing these scenes (such as wall painting) should be scrutinised before this can be established. Do other paintings also change in this period? What happens with the tradition of depicting human or human-like figures on wall paintings? It has been argued by Versluys and Meyboom that: "*In 110 of the 130 Nilotic scenes which have been preserved Egyptians are depicted. It is striking that in only ca. 35 of these scenes the people depicted are common people and in ca. 75 cases the people are depicted as dwarfs or pygmies.*"[689] The dates Versluys gives to the paintings in which pygmies appear in Pompeii almost all fall between 50-75 AD, which seems to exclude a direct influence of Augustus' actions in Egypt, unless they are the remnants of an older development. An argument in favour of the latter statement can be made on the basis of the mosaics. The two afore-mentioned identical mosaic emblemata from Casa del Menandro and Casa di Paquius Proculus, for instance, can be dated to somewhere during the Augustan period (the mosaics were dated between 50 and 25 BC) and they portrayed pygmies. As wall paintings had a considerably shorter lifespan they could have been replaced. However, it remains remarkable that not a single Nilotic pygmy is to be found among the Second Style wall paintings. Furthermore,

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[689] See Meyboom and Versluys 2007, 171.

viewing the range between 50 and 25 BC during which the two-pygmy mosaics fall, means that they could well have been created before the Battle of Actium and are thus not an exclusive proof of a shift in perception. Moreover, there remain no attestations of pygmies and dwarfs on the walls of Pompeii prior to the 1st century AD, only on floors. Hence, even if the development starts in accordance with the changing views of Egypt after the annexation, the predominant increase during the 2nd half of the 1st century AD does not speak in favour of this thought. Nilotic scenes within the Third Style (which ran more or less parallel with the heyday of the Augustan Empire) are completely absent whereas, if the scenes would reflect the Roman views of Egypt, they should be thriving.[690] We read that this: '*does not seem to correspond with the situation in the Roman Empire in general*'.[691] According to Versluys, this is due to the character of the Third Style, which does not allow any further space for larger landscape scenes and the exotic character of the Nilotic. On the negative stereotyping which Versluys observes witnesses after the annexation of Egypt by Rome an argument can furthermore be made, for Tybout contests this statement and instead witnesses a positive appropriation of Egypt throughout the development of the scenes, which he states as follows: "*Before 50 AD besides the few scenes including dwarfs, we find 1: Nilotic pictures depicting flora and fauna only, 2: Nilotic pictures depicting normally-proportioned inhabitants 3: Egyptian and Egyptianising ornamentation (uraei, cult vessels, Egyptian deities) abundantly present in wall painting, especially in the Third style, apparently not eschewing the exotic. All three testify to a positive appropriation of the newly conquered land and its cults.*"[692] However, ducks and lotuses can appear unconnected to any concept of Egypt, while the Egyptian deities and the Nilotic scenes are in only a few instances related as a concept. Only the Isis temple and maybe the duck and lotus scenes on the domestic shrine of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati attest of this connection and these are both considered to be exceptional cases. Speaking about Nilotic scenes in terms of positive or negative does not really seem to play a significant role within the appreciation of these scenes.

Let us look at the comparison between the representations of normal human beings versus the pygmies in more detail. Do they appear contemporaneously or is there a progressive line to be found when

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[690] See Ling 2005, 53.
[691] See Versluys 2002, 289.
[692] See Tybout 2003, 511. A firm opposition between the material culture (positive, and the literature (negative) has been noted, see Malaise 2003, 322.

developing from human to pygmy? In Versluys' 2002 catalogue, normal humans still appear after 30 BC, implying that Egyptians did not entirely changed into pygmies, but that pygmies appear alongside the portrayal of normal human beings. It is indeed striking that pygmies are depicted, however, it remains a valid question whether the Romans really thought they inhabited the land of the Nile. What caused this development? Were pygmies depicted because of the Roman views of Egypt and conception of Egyptians? Did Nilotic scenes serve as a background because of the way they depicted pygmies? A striking observation in this respect is that although normal humans and pygmies appear contemporaneously in Nilotic scenes, nowhere do we see humans and pygmies in the same scenes. This means that a choice was made within Nilotic scenery between dwarfs and humans. The choices that lie at the basis of such a decision are important to consider. Concerning the pygmies, it was assumed above that representing the 'Other' might not have been the most significant instigator of their presence in such themes in Roman art. Why then would people choose for pygmies? The latter view is relevant, and argues instead for a contextual view in which Nilotic scenes should be scrutinised against the background of Roman wall painting in Pompeii in favour of historical developments in the Roman Empire. As with the development of Egyptian style discussed in 4.5 the choice for a certain motif may have had something to do with the development of Roman wall painting decoration in general. The previous section taught us that within the broader context of wall painting it was not customary to depict lifelike scenes, or human beings, but to create an allusion to a larger than life and imaginary atmosphere.[693] In general, as also discussed above, depicting lifeless human figures (statues), deities, or other creatures was much more common than representing real humans. In this context it thus makes sense that pygmies are portrayed instead of normal human beings and that this has only little to do with the Roman views of Egypt. When Roman art moves from realistic three-dimensional architecture in the Second Style to less realistic scenes in general this may also have affected the Nilotic scenes and their figures. How were other non-human representations effected within this development? A related feature in Roman wall painting comparable to pygmies in Roman art is worth considering in this case: cupids in Roman wall painting.

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[693] See 4.5 and the discussion in Zanker 2008.
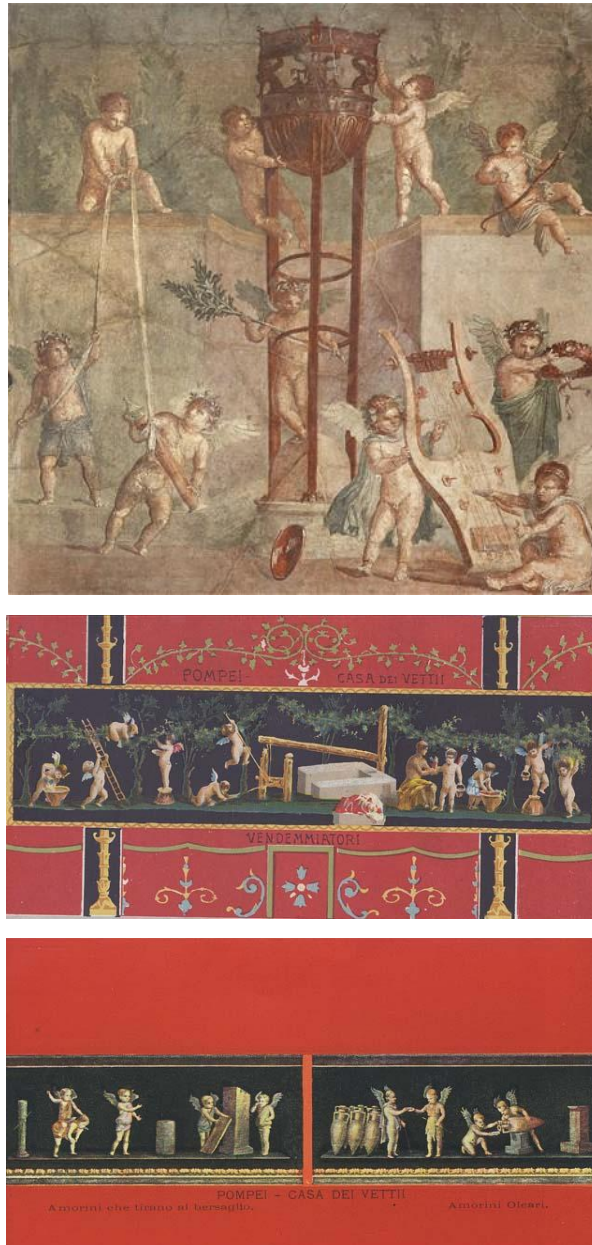
Fig. 4.30) Scenes portraying Cupids. Above: Cupids at play, found in Herculaneum (from Roberts 2013). Below: Two 20th-century postcards made by G. Sommer depicting Cupid scenes located in the triclinium of the Casa dei Vettii. On the left we see cupids involved in picking and pressing grapes, and on the right cupids holding a target practice and selling wine.

The cupids are depicted as winged babies (see fig. 4.30) and as with the pygmies, they can also be found in humorous scenes in which they participate in situations of everyday life in Pompeii, quite comparable to the way they do along the Nile.[694] An example is the painting from the triclinium

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[694] The cupid in Roman art counted very varied applications, both in sculpture and painting. However, he is normally depicted as a chubby young boy with wings. Cupid (the Greek Eros) was the god of desire, erotic love, attraction and affection. In Latin he was also known as

of the Casa dei Vettii (VI 15, 1) in which cupids are involved in selling wine, celebrating festivals, gathering and pressing grapes, picking and selling flowers, producing perfumed oil, chariot racing, and washing clothes (see fig. 4.30). As with the pygmy scenes, they appear as small underdeveloped creatures, frequenting the margins of scenes as humorous decorative elements. Are pygmies in this respect similar to cupids, replacing real humans in order to render the scenes less realistic? It could be that depicting undersized creatures fitted the atmosphere of caricatural, humorous, and lighter scenes, better than using real human beings. Even more significantly, however, when looking closer at the iconography of the cupid versus the pygmy scenes, they also seem to have exactly similar background settings (e.g., in banqueting and hunting scenes) from which the idea rises that they could be utilised interchangeably. Compare the following scenes in fig. 4.31, where the scenes above depict pygmies hunting a crocodile, whereas in the adjoining scene we see cupids hunting a deer. The lower figures portray a banqueting scene with pygmies as well as cupids. In addition, more paintings appear in Pompeii during this period featuring pygmies, who do not allude to the Nile specifically, but are likewise engaged in everyday life or as caricatures. Pygmies are therefore not only related to Egypt, but could also be used more generally as a mockery-like creature applicable in diverse contexts. There seems to be no strict boundary between the concept of cupid and pygmy in these contexts and the line between the two should be regarded in a more fluid way (and without any cultural connotations). It can be concluded moreover, that the category of pygmies as such can be considered to allude to a much broader framework than Nilotic scenes. It also means that the statements forwarded by Barret (and partly by Meyboom and Versluys) that pygmies engaged in playing music, fighting river animals, drinking, fishing and sexual activities are explicit allusions to Egyptian religion (specifically the return of Isis, or Hathor, to Egypt) should be nuanced. It actually denoted a quite common Roman way to represent undersized mythical creatures in such scenes, and it does not point to Egypt specifically, but rather informs us of Roman wall painting styles and the preference (especially during the Fourth Style) to refrain from portraying real

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Amor and sometimes portrayed as the son of Venus. Although a deity, he never received any official worship in temples but mainly served as a decoration or, in the case of a cultic contexts, as the companion of Venus. Clarke 2003, 89; *LIMC* 3.1, Eros/Amor Cupid, (archaic and Hellenistic) 933-42; Roman Cupid (objects) 952-1042; (discussion) 1042-49.

human beings by means of caricatural imagery but to adopt small mythological creatures instead.[695]

Regarding the contexts in which the cupid and pygmy scenes appear, it seems they were mainly appropriate at dinner rooms or cubicula, in spaces where humorous scenes could add to the occasion. A difference between the cupids and the pygmies, however, can be observed too. First of all, within the scenes we see at every occasion that within the pygmy-paintings, the setting and background plays a much more pronounced role than the cupid scenes.

Fig. 4.31) A comparison between representations of cupids and pygmies. On the left: above a scene with pygmies hunting a hippopotamus (house VIII.5.24 peristyle). Below: cupids hunting a faun and a hare (VII.6.28 Pompeii cubiculum 8). In the right: a banqueting scene, above shows one with cupids (from IX.3.5 triclinium 14), below one with pygmies (house VIII.5.24 peristyle).

It was important in many occasions, to show that the scene took place in distant country, by depicting aquatic scenes, foreign animals, and palm trees. The cupids scenes often figure on a plain coloured background, the actions of the figures are sufficient to display, while the pygmies are in need

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[695] Furthermore, the Isis temple contests the argument that an explicit religious scene is portrayed by means of feasting and sexual behaviour should be of extra significance to those familiar with Egyptian religion. The reason for this is that it does not house such scenes, only very generic scenes depicting a pygmy holding a fishing rod, crocodiles, ibises and ducks, see Versluys 2002, no. 59.

of a setting.[696] A larger difference, however, which could have had something to do with the fact that the setting was an important feature of pygmy scenes, is that pygmies can now and again be seen involved in certain sexual activities (*symplegma* scenes), which are never observed within cupid-related imagery. According to Meyboom and Versluys they represent the union of Isis and Osiris, of Egypt and the Nile, but what if they are compared not with Egyptian iconography, but placed within the context of Pompeian wall painting?[697] The absence of images with sexual overtones within cupid scenes would point to a different perception and function of pygmies within Roman wall painting, because they display behaviour belonging the uncivilised Other, whereas cupids only enact in the more decent scenes taken from daily life. Did people really think that pygmies displayed this behaviour when they depicted them in Nilotic settings or was the Nilotic atmosphere added in order to explain the reason why the pygmy behaved in such a way? Because of the broad manner in which pygmies are used in general, and the fact they only act in this way when the scenes are explicitly Nilotic, the latter idea seems the most plausible. The argument is sustained, moreover, by considering the wider category of non-Nilotic pygmy paintings which do not include any deviant behaviour and are also not always rendered with a Nilotic background.[698] It is known that *symplegmata* were not considered to express proper Roman behaviour, therefore it would have been quite convenient to place the scene in an exotic setting.[699] Arguing along these lines, it is notable to observe that all representations of *symplegma* scenes including pygmies were placed against a distinctly Nilotic background, there are no scenes containing merely erotic act. We always see hippopotami, crocodiles, ibises and other distinctly exotic animals, as to emphasise it really is a non-Roman context.

The contexts and dates of the scenes concerning pygmies in erotic positions support this hypothesis. All are late developments, which weakens the link

[696] This is not always the case, as now and again pygmies without backgrounds occur. However, this is a difficult discussion because, whenever it is the case, they are no longer always classified as a 'Nilotic scene'. That also points to the difficulty of the category in general.

[697] See Meyboom and Versluys 2007, 202.

[698] For example, the painting in de Casa dello Scultore (VIII 5,24). In it pygmies act out the judgement of Salomon. The *atriolum* in the private baths of the Casa del Menandro a caricatural frieze portrays Olympic gods and Greek heroes ('a so-called Cretan circle) as pygmies, see Ling 2005, 64. Room 57 of the Casa del Centenario houses a painting of pygmies gathering grapes.

[699] This is also known from the context of the theatre, where Romans often would shift to foreign settings whenever unacceptable scenes were performed, see Hall 1989.

of the Nilotic scenes of constituting a direct relationship with to the annexation of the country Egypt. They are also not reserved to any specific erotic or private context, but appear in (semi-)public spaces of the house such as the atrium or peristylium. Moreover, it is noteworthy that two of the erotically themed pygmy scenes are found on a stibadion, meaning in a context specifically designed for dining and feasting, and that another was encountered in a bath complex, where erotic scenes are more often presented in a humorous manner.[700] As with much other erotic imagery in the Fourth Style, these were meant to be entertaining. Perhaps such scenes were considered most appropriate for these contexts.

EROTIC SCENES DEPICTING PYGMIES						
Motif	House name	Location	Room name	Cat. No.	Date	Other motifs
Symplegma	Casa dell'Efebo	I 7, 11	Garden on a stibadion	8	50 - 75	Hippopotamus, ibis, temple, pygmy
Erotic scene		II 9, 2	Garden on a stibadion	14	50 - 75	Crocodile, ibis, pygmies
Erotic scene	Casa di Sallustio	VI 2, 4	Peristylium	21	50 - 75	Boat, ibis, pygmy
Erotic scene		VI 5_	Unknown	23	50 - 75	Fragmented, similar to I 7, 11
Erotic scene	Terme Stabiane	VII 1, 8	Room G	28	50 - 75	Crocodile, double oboe
Symplegma	Casa delle Quadrighe	VII 2, 25	Peristylium	30	50 - 75	Crocodile, boat, hippopotamus, lotus flower
Symplegma	Casa delle Quadrighe	VII 2, 25	Peristylium	31	50 - 75	Crocodile, boat, hippopotamus, lotus flower
Erotic scene	Casa con ninfeo	VIII 2, 28	Room x	39	50 - 75	Ureus, dwarf, duck
Symplegma	Casa del Medico	VIII 5, 24	Peristylium	43		Hippopotamus, ibis
Symplegma		IX 5, 14	Atrium	48	50 - 75	Hippopotamus, boat, crocodile, dwarf

Table 4.22) Erotic scenes found in Pompeii.

Development and distribution of individual motifs: ducks and lotuses
The following scenes represent a swimming or standing duck beside a lotus, or holding it in his beak. Ducks and lotuses can be considered a further significant motif to analyse, because they concern scenes that are related to Nilotic scenes – as they first appear on such scenes- but might have become

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[700] For example the erotic scenes above the apodyterium in the Suburban baths (VII.16.a) or the mosaic of an ithyphallic negroid figure on the threshold of the caldarium of the Casa del Menandro (I 10, 4). On the taboo concerning sexual images as humorous art, see Clarke 2003, 120-7. On the suburban baths see Jacobelli 1995, who interprets the scenes as a humorous form of remembering the number of the lockers in the apodyterium.

separately appreciated as an independent theme in wall painting. This implies that while the ducks and lotus theme originated from Nilotic scenery, one may question whether such scenes were still perceived and appropriated as Egyptian. The earliest Nilotic scenes included ducks holding lotus flowers in their beaks, implying that these specific scenes occur since the first Nilotic imagery. Twenty-two Nilotic scenes featuring ducks are included in the catalogue of Versluys, only four of which depict ducks and lotus flowers. Several other houses contain this specific scene (e.g., the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, the Villa dei Misteri) which Versluys does not mention. A duck is recognised as Nilotic because it is depicted in either an aquatic scene, surrounded by water plants, or with a closed lotus flower in its beak as can be encountered in the Casa del Fauno mosaic (fig. 4.32 and table 4.23).

The scenes from the Casa del Fauno are significant in this respect, because while the ducks and lotuses in fig. 4.32.a are unmistakably part of a Nilotic scene, fig. 4.32.b from the same house depicts a similar duck without any reference to Egypt or the Nile. This points to the presumption that the specific figure of the duck holding a lotus flower could be used - and therefore conceived - from a very early period on as being conceptually separate from Nilotic imagery or Egypt.

DUCKS AND LOTUS MOTIFS FOUND IN POMPEII					
House name	House no.	room	form	depiction	date
Casa delle Nozze d' Argento	V 2,i	Peristyle	Painting	Duck, lotus flower	62-79
Casa di Sallustio	VI 2,4	Garden	Painting	Duck, lotus flower	70 AD
Casa del Bracciale d'Oro	VI 17, 42	Triclinium/ nympheum	Mosaic	Duck, lotus flower	35-45 AD
Casa del Cinghiale I	VIII 3, 8/9	?	Mosaic	Duck, lotus flower	30 BC[701]
Casa del Centenario	IX 8, 6	Nympheum	Painting	Duck, lotus flower	70 AD
Casa del Menandro	I 4, 10	Caldarium (alcove)	Painting	Ducks, lotus flower	30 BC

Table 4.23) Ducks and lotus motifs found in Pompeii.

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[701] There is some confusion concerning the dating. Versluys 2002 mentions 30 BC. However, the mosaic floors in the house date to the 1st half of the 1st century AD. It is further argued that the mosaic is earlier based on the stylistic similarities with the Casa del Fauno mosaic which is dated c.90-80 BC, see Versluys 2002, 138.

Fig. 4.32 a-b-c) Canonical representations of ducks with lotus flowers in their beaks. (a) on the left: part of the first Pompeian Nilotic mosaic from Casa del Fauno (VI 12, 2) depicting ducks amongst and with lotus flowers; (b) centre: also from the Casa del Fauno similarly with ducks with a lotus flower among sea food; (c) left below: ducks among lotus flowers from the Casa di Cinghiale I (VIII 3,8). From *PPM* vols. VI and VIII.

A third mosaic (fig. 4.32c) from the Casa di Cinghiale I dates to the early Augustan era and can therefore indeed be regarded as separated from Nilotic scenes.[702] However, it must be stipulated that, although these scenes appear detached from their Nilotic contexts, it does not imply that the connection between this specific theme and other concepts of Egypt was completely absent. As noted above, the paintings in the tablinum of the Villa dei Misteri tablinum demonstrate that Egyptian figures and ducks and lotuses in Nilotic settings could sometimes be found together. Similar motifs were encountered in combination with other Egypt-related artefacts in examples from the Casa del Bracciale d'Oro and the Isis shrine in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. In which way could the link between Egypt and this theme be established in these particular cases? A better conceptual knowledge of Egyptian visual culture could have been apparent. In the case of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati religious preferences may have played a role. Another but related question is in which way the motif in itself could still be linked to Egypt, albeit devoid of any explicit Egyptian traits? This may be because Nilotic scenes, although changing in form and context, persisted to be a popular motif in wall and floor decoration. A reference to the entire picture including ducks and lotus flowers together with hippopotami, crocodiles, and pygmies could still be made. The connection was thereby not lost completely, but was combined in specific ways and capable of disappearing in numerous other instances. A relevant question in this respect is why the duck and the lotus

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[702] The Second Style dates to between *c.*50 and 25 BC; Versluys 2002, no. 58, 138.

motif did start to 'wander off'? Why could it become detached from Nilotic scenes, while others remained intimately connected? The reason for this might be that ducks were common, indigenous, and therefore recognisable and locally appreciated, and were also no exotic species in Pompeii. If one did not wish for something exotic as a wall decoration, but still desired a waterscape, this was generally appropriate. This presumption can be confirmed when considering the remaining paintings of birds and lotuses housed at the Casa delle Nozze d'Argento, the Casa del Centenario, and the Casa del Sallustio. All include ducks with lotus flowers, presented in similar ways and contexts (i.e., peristyle or garden, specifically the inner walls of the peristyle gardens, and not only as ducks without lotus flowers but also as other species of birds. This suggests they were conveyed in a similar conceptual framework which had nothing specifically to do with the Nile or Egypt.[703]

Development and distribution of individual motifs: other Nilotic animals
The motifs found on Nilotic scenes were subjected to a varied appropriation and utilisation within the domestic contexts of Pompeii. Pygmies appear to gain popularity in Nilotic scenes at a later stage than the first emergence of Nilotic scenes, whereas ducks and lotuses became an entirely separated topic from a rather early period on. This makes it interesting to study whether more motifs appeared or disappeared during the life history of Nilotic scenes as a genre and what caused this process. A final comparison of Nilotic motifs will therefore look into specific animals and their application in Pompeian wall painting. A comparison will now be made between the earliest Nilotic scenes preserved from Pompeii and later examples. The earliest such scene is represented by means of the mosaic from the Casa del Fauno (VI 12, 2). It is the largest house in Pompeii and known from the famous Hellenistic Alexander mosaic, but is also one of the most elusive when it comes to the study of Roman domestic contexts, as does not represent an average house.[704] The Casa del Fauno as can be seen today was

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[703] As, for instance, the Casa degli Amanti (I 10,11) and the Casa del Menandro testify (I 10,4).
[704] The house was excavated between 1830 and 1832 by the German Archeological institute (founded in 1829) with R.Schöfer. Unfortunately, a general overview on the finds and archaeology have been lacking until 2009, when A. Hoffmann and A. Faber attempted to reconstruct and amalgamate the information gathered from previous excavations dating from (a) the 1st quarter of the 20th century (R. von Schöfer), (b) 1939 (A. Tschira), and (c) 1961-1963 (T. and F. Rakob). The chronology of the house was refined by means of a detailed ceramic analysis carried out by Faber, See Hoffman and Faber 2009. A large number of publications deals with the mosaic pavements and architectural remains of this

built during the early 2nd century BC (*c*.180-170 BC) on top of an earlier 3rd-century BC structure and was occupied until 79 AD. The house uniquely combines rich mosaic emblemata with the naturalness of First Pompeian Style wall painting.[705] Important to note is that both the First Style paintings of the house of the Faun and its elaborate mosaic pavements seem to be fashioned after patterns utilised in the palatial structures of Hellenistic Macedonia and other Hellenistic kingdoms.[706] It was a Hellenistic house not only in its ground plan, but also in its decoration and interior. Remarkably, the inhabitants went to great length in order to keep their house in the style of its first construction phase, as the remains of the First Style wall decoration, the flooring, and the many restoration marks found throughout the house testify.[707] The Nilotic mosaic from the Casa del Fauno (dating from between 90 and 80 BC) was placed just below the Alexander mosaic and cut into three parts in order to fit between the columns of the summer triclinium, presenting it with the function of a threshold.[708] The mosaic was situated here until the final days of Pompeii, meaning it was a continuous visual reference, or at least establishing frequent visual confrontations with its inhabitants and visitors to the house for almost 2 centuries. Which species of animals and plants can be seen in the Nilotic mosaic in the Casa del Fauno mosaic? In addition to the Nile itself, it depicts it ducks, water birds, ibises, a hippopotamus, a crocodile, a frog, a cobra, an ichneumon/mongoose, and lotus flowers in several stages of their existence.[709] Which images continue to be seen in Nilotic or other scenes and which have disappeared? Ducks and lotuses have been discussed above.

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house. On the latter subject, see Dwyer 2001; Dickmann 1999. On its earlier phases, see Zevi 1991, 47-74. For information on the walls, see Laidlaw 1975, 39-52. On the mosaics, see Hoffmann and de Vos 1994, 80-141 (PPM V); Zevi and Pedicini 1998. For the Alexander mosaic, see Zevi 1998 21-65; Cohen 1997. On whether it was imported from the East, see Donderder 1990, 19-31.

[705] In general, the First Style in Campania represented a local Italic version of a type of decoration with Hellenistic Greek origins, which aimed at imitating the elaborate stone walls by means of cheaper materials. Although the style was used trhoughout the hellenistic period and trhoughtou the paread ounder greek influence. Int its roiginal form it constsos in the translation of the features of momnumntal aslhar masonrt inot a mode of interio decoration, for this reason it is also described as Masonry, Structural, or Incrustation Style. The essential characteristc is that it uses stucco as a medium for imitaing courses of ashlar blockswork and other architectural elemets. These are modelled in relieg and colours are applied to suugest the use of different types of stone. The style was most popular from 200 to around 80 BC, although was still made (or imitated or preserved) in later periods as well. Though in one sense a cheaper substitute for fine masonry, it certainly beolonged to the top rank of decorative craftwork. Ling 1991, 12-22

[706] See Hoffmann 1996, 258-60.

[707] See Hoffmann 2009 19-25, 47-54; Zevi 1998, 21-65.

[708] See Versluys 2002, 122.

[709] Zevi 1998; Meyboom 1995.

Frogs crocodiles and hippopotami continued to be seen on Nilotic scenery (and beyond) until AD 79. However, certain creatures encountered on the Casa del Fauno mosaic supposedly only appear here. The Egyptian ichneumon for instance, attacks and eats venomous snakes. It is also called a Pharaoh's rat and was considered a sacred animal in ancient Egypt where it was portrayed on temple walls. This is the only Nilotic scene it occurs on. The fact it is known to include snakes in its diet and is depicted in the mosaic fighting a cobra probably points to the maker's knowledge of Egypt, either because it was made in Egypt, or closely copied from the Nile mosaic from Palestrina or some other representation of an ichneumon.[710] However, this knowledge was probably lost over time; the ichneumon does no longer seems to be associated with Nilotic imagery, until it reoccurs in the Fourth Style upper frame in the portico of the temple of Isis. It is however interesting to note that in the case of the Iseum picture, the ichneumon is again incorporated within the same motif of fighting a cobra, just as was encountered in the Casa del Fauno mosaic.[711] While snakes and ducks were familiar species to Pompeii, the ichneumon might have been too alien to be copied or recognised. Thus and therefore did not spread iconographically, except by those people with a thorough knowledge of Egypt, as the Isis temple decoration testifies.[712]

The ibis, hippopotamus, and crocodile were seen more frequently in depictions of exotic animal iconography. The latter two were wild monstrous creatures which often accompanied pygmy scenes. They were also closely connected to the water and therefore maintained a stronger link with the Nile, which may have made them more suitable as a Nilotic animal than the ichneumon. There are twenty examples of crocodiles, and eighteen of hippopotami. In ten cases the representations overlap, including hippopotami and crocodiles. Furthermore, with the exception of the mosaics of the Casa del Fauno and the house of Paquius Proculus (although a copy of

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[710] Two other paintings depict an ichneumon, to wit the Palestrina mosaic and the frieze painting in the Iseum in Pompeii, see Meyboom 1995.

[711] In this specific scene an ichneumon (or mongoose) fight a cobra, as in the Nile mosaic of Palestrina. Although it is stated to be a popular topic within Nilotic scenery, it is not found in any domestic setting besides the Casa del Fauno, see Meyboom 1995, 27, 243 note 74; de Vos 1980, 61; De Caro 1992, 56 no. 1.65.

[712] Although the frog, which can also be proclaimed to be an indigenous species, does in a Nilotic context only occur in the Casa del Fauno mosaic, it is present in many gardens in the form of green-glazed statuettes (see 4.4). It is argued that the frog was also an important symbol of fertility connected to the Nile within Egyptian iconography, see Meyboom 1995, III, note 124. A frog was also depicted on the eastern wall of Cubiculum *g* in the Casa di Lucretius Fronto (V 4, 11) together with birds and plants (albeit not with a recognisably Nilotic theme). See de Vos 1980, 81-2, fig. 38 a-c.

the latter from the mosaic of the Casa del Menandro does not contain a crocodile), they all date from the most recent phases of wall and floor decoration in Pompeii. As to the ibises (fifteen in total), all are attested in the form of wall paintings (dated around *c.*70 AD), from the final phase of Pompeii (except for one painting which was found as a lower dado in the tablinum of house I 2, 24). This is also the only example to depict an ibis alone amongst water plants. The remaining paintings only depict this bird within a larger Nilotic landscape accompanied by dwarfs, pygmies, temples, and various other animals. This also counts for the crocodile and the hippopotamus. The crocodile (twenty appearances) and the hippopotamus (eighteen appearances) never appear alone. All are, with the exception of the mosaics, dated to *c.*70 AD i.e., within the Fourth Style. This implies that, albeit applicable as a genre, they could not appear alone which is presumably also caused by similar reasons of recognisability, as with the ichneumon.

To conclude the section on an iconographical motif analysis of Nilotic scenes, it has proved fruitful here to study the iconography of the paintings in more detail, as they provided significant insights into the perception of these images in relation to wall painting and pavement decoration. By means of studying the development and reception of motifs on Nilotic scenes, the category *Nilotica* can be considered to be much more fragmented and even impossible to frame in a single bounded category. Ducks and lotuses appear in markedly different contexts and their perception has little to do with the Nile, the exotic animals however, do seem to refer to the Nile, but not merely as a specific geographical reference but often just to point out that the setting was not Roman. Nilotic images displaying pygmies appear in a large range of small mythological creatures, referring to comical behaviour, but by adding a Nilotic landscape the options of behaviour could be enlarged to more inappropriate acts.

4.6.4 Style

In addition to iconography, style is also important to consider concerning the relationship with Egypt, as section 4.5 also indicated. It concerns the way in which Nilotic scenes were captured within the Pompeian wall painting styles as well as the way in which they were by and large conveyed. A difference is to be observed between the pharaonic styled images of the previous section and these scenes. Although they refer to Egypt by content, Nilotic scenes are

not rendered in a Pharaonic-Egyptian way (as discussed in part 4.5), but in a characteristically Roman way. A style therefore does not stand out when compared with other wall painting scenes (e.g., the afore-mentioned cupid scenes, mythological scenes, and all other renderings fashioned in a Graeco-Roman style.

Looking at the diachronic development within the three Pompeian wall painting styles in which Nilotic scenes are conveyed, the question is raised: does this change significantly through time? As seen above, only a few motifs (i.e., frog, ichneumon) are lost with connection to Nilotic scenes since the first Nilotic image in Pompeii. Pygmies were a later addition and only attested in mosaics dating from the period of the Second Style on. It seems not only that the majority of scenes can be dated to the Fourth Style in general, but also that pygmies, crocodiles and hippopotami are the most significant occurring motifs. Is this to due mainly to the changing relation with Egypt, or with the change in wall painting in general? The analysis of the previous section has suggested that the latter hypothesis seems more plausible, whereas the later styles provide room for small landscape paintings with mythological creatures (to which the unknown hippopotami and crocodile were probably accounted, as was the pygmy) within the peripheries of the walls in rooms.

It can be argued, however, that the style of these paintings cause them to be widely adopted in wall paintings. Therefore, as already mentioned, they are so comparable with cupid scenes and other non-Nilotic pygmy scenes. When observing the Fourth Style, especially in its most recent phase, we see a huge number of small landscape scenes placed in the margins of the walls. These were sometimes Nilotic, or merely presented a waterscape, both falling under the ambiguous denomination of 'sacred landscape scenes'.[713] These scenes have been present since the beginning of the Second Style wall painting, and continuously depicted Nilotic and non-Nilotic landscape scenes. The pieces attested in the atrium at the Villa dei Misteri (see fig. 4.33) should be dated to *c.*70 BC. However, the Casa del Menandro houses an almost identical frieze in the atrium, too, also presenting Nilotic and non-Nilotic scenes which could be firmly dated to a post 62 AD context.[714]

Such sacred landscape scenes in general do not consist of realistic or existing structures, but of small frames depicting a mystic, sacred landscape in a non-urban context. Considering the Nilotic scenes in the wider context

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[713] See Versluys 2002, 287; Tybout 1989, 340.
[714] See Ling 1997, 51.

of sacred landscape paintings they are hardly separable from the non-Nilotic landscapes.[715] They both picture water, islands, and sanctuaries. It is a justified question in this case, whether the difference between Nilotic and non-Nilotic in these instances should be made at all. Fig. 4.33 shows a picture of such waterscapes in which the first is Nilotic and the second is not. Both through the cupid scenes, and the sacred waterscapes the style of Nilotic scenes which is intrinsic to Roman style, catered for an implementation which made them integrated features of Roman artistic endeavours.

Fig. 4.33) Sacred landscapes. They depict water, flora, in some cases fauna and architectural features in an attempt to create a mystical, sacred and fantastic atmosphere. To the left: a Nilotic landscape scene from the atrium of the Villa dei Misteri; to the right: second shows a non-Nilotic scene from the peristyle of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati (VI 16,7-35). Photographs taken by the author.

Furthermore relevant to consider when discussing style, is that Nilotic scenes seem to be a rather bounded entity within the category of Aegyptiaca, with its own array of motifs that are not transposed to other genres, except perhaps by means of the blue/green-glazed statuettes. No pharaohs, hieroglyphs, deities, or sphinxes occur in Nilotic scenery.[716] Even when Isis and Nilotic scenes appear together, such as in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati or when Nilotic themes are combined with Egypt-styled figures, as with the Villa dei Misteri, they are never placed in the same frame but only in carefully separated parts of the wall. Why do such themes not overlap? As was already discussed in paragraph 4.5, this might have to do with style and the ability to portraying situations that are potentially life-like in Roman perception. Egyptian sphinxes and pharaohs in Pompeii could therefore only

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[715] Of the landscape scenes in Isis temple, the small panels of which decorate the walls of the porticus, only two of the six scenes are explicitly Nilotic. The remainder consists of generic, sacred landscape paintings as found throughout Pompeii (e.g., in the temple of Apollo), see Versluys 2002, no. 59.
[716] It is claimed that the architectural feature in the Casa dei Pigmei (IX 5, 9) was an obelisk. This is not very likely considering the other examples of architecture and its shape, see Schefold 1962, fig. 147. It has been described as a high pillar with a statue of Sobek, see Versluys 2002, 147.

cognitively associated with statues, not with living creatures, something which also counted for sphinxes. Therefore in Roman style Egyptian scenery did not have a place (except for the few instances were statues are shown, however, these rather refer to a general 'sacredness' by showing temples, herms or statues of deities then referring to explicit Egyptian features). While statues therefore might have featured in these scenes, they could not have done so as living beings. However, then the question remains why there were no statues of pharaohs and sphinxes to add to an Egyptian atmosphere? The same counts for Egyptian deities, which were never set into a Nilotic background (also not in the Casa delle Amazzoni, despite the thoughts of some scholars- this was inferred from a drawing made of a lararium painting and consists of plants and birds and a waterscape, however there is no single direct association with the Nile). Interestingly, it was not necessary to add to an Egyptian atmosphere, the cause for this might have been that the Nile and its life, although associated with Egypt, was seen as something different from Pharaonic Egypt and Isis. Nilotic scenes were the first allusions to Egypt, therefore they were considered an individual genre and adding 'extra' iconographic connections to Egypt were thus unnecessary. It argues for the existence of multiple concepts of Egypt, it furthermore argues however, that Egypt in the case of Nilotic scenes was not the primary association. It was not necessary to add more Egyptian features in this case, because Egypt was not the main subject of the painting.

Moving to the cultural style in which Nilotic scenes are conveyed (see for definition the previous paragraph, section 2), this is of critical importance. The previous paragraph argued that style mattered in use and perception, and that Pharaonic style could never integrate in a Pompeian context the way a Roman style could. Nilotic scenes, although depicting an Egyptian subject, are not made in an Egyptian style. Would they therefore should show a different picture than Pharaonically styled wall paintings and objects? And related to integration and style is the question whether in this particular case of Nilotic imagery 'Egypt' therefore was able to be incorporated in a so-called 'narrative way' (see 4.5), because the Nilotic scenes were painted in a roman style. This appears, looking at the fashion of painting and the position of Nilotic scenes on the walls, not to be the case. Because they mostly appear in the Fourth Style, in the margins of paintings, as a specific type of landscape scene, or as a humorous scenes just like the cupids (who appear on similar locations on walls). These scenes evidently

were not meant to be the central 'carrying stories' that appeared on the centres of walls, they merely served as additional background pictures. Cupids and pygmies only showing everyday life scenes could not feature on the centre of walls. This is also probably why they appeared less frequently in the Third style, which relied heavily on mythological genres. This notwithstanding, the Nile and its (mythological) animals and humans, were able to bring the subject of Egypt closer to the viewer through its indigenous style, and as was observed in the part on Bes and Ptah-Pataikos they probably formed a strong cognitive connection and visualisation of what was Egypt. This latter argument is significant, because it shows the particular agency of Nilotic scenes with regard to the perception of things Egyptian. Through style, and again without being consciously aware of this, Egypt could have become more familiar to the Roman beholder.

4.6.5 Contexts and spatial distribution

The spatial distribution of Nilotic scenes according to the size of houses is less varied than the finds of the blue-glazed statuettes, as 60% falls in the category of the large and very large houses. This would render Nilotic scenes an elite phenomenon. However, this specific image has more to do with the presence and preservation of wall painting in general than with the Nilotic scenes in particular. The number and quality of preservation will automatically be higher for the larger houses than the smaller ones. However, by means of this bias, it can be established that Nilotic scenes were not eschewed by the elite, but formed an important part of self-representation. This is confirmed by means of table 4.24 which provides the distribution of scenes according to house size and fig. 4.34b that indicates the room functions where the scenes were attested. Many of the rooms which housed Nilotic scenes, almost all, were situated in spaces that were not public (such as atria) but reception spaces for guests of equal or higher status, and especially in places in which they would gather such as triclinia and *stibadia*. The pie charts below (fig. 4.34a) concern the distribution of find contexts of Nilotic scenes in Pompeii. First to be noted here is that the largest percentage of the images could be found in a garden context. When choosing garden paintings, Nilotic scenes were probably a natural option. Of these contexts, the peristyle (12%) and the garden (17%) were the most frequently occurring spaces with regard to housing Nilotic imagery. According to Barret, Nilotic scenes were primarily associated with the celebration of water and the returning of the Nile flood, which is the reason

why many scenes found within the house were located near fountains or baths.[717] However a note must be made that although Nilotic scenes are found in three public baths, and were connected to private baths, nymphea, and fountains as well; more scenes were actually attested in triclinia (dining-contexts) not in water contexts (see pie chart 4.34b). Only three of the Nilotic scenes are attested in the contexts of a nympheum, while there are about 15 examples of nymphea found in Pompeii. The fact that only three were decorated with a Nilotic scene (also a wall painting) could imply it was not a common part of a nympheum per se, but that the motif could be applied within the larger theme of water related subjects. Furthermore, it seems that specific motifs were utilised in specific contexts. First, all the ducks and birds in the case they are separated from Nilotic scenery often appear on the inner walls of peristyles where it was customary to depict birds and plants. Of interest when looking into the 'indoor spaces' (i.e., public contexts with a non-dining function such as the tablinum, atrium, or cubiculum) or other rooms with a more intimate character is that paintings were found portraying pygmies, but never in an erotic way. Such a scene was most probably not considered to be appropriate for these kinds of settings. However, one would expect to perhaps come across erotic scenes within a dining context, as they alluded to feasting. However, this does not have a direct connection, except with the two *stibadia* (in the Casa dell'Efebo and its close copy in house II 7, 1). The erotic scenes are, without exceptions, found in peristyles and in gardens.[718]

DISTRIBUTION OF NILOTIC SCENES ACCORDING TO HOUSE SIZES[719]		
House name	House no	H. Size
Caupona	I 2, 24	1
Casa del Criptoportico	I 6,2	4
Casa dell'Efebo	I 7, 11	3
Casa del Menandro	I 10, 4	4
Praedia di Giulia Felice	II 4,2	5
Casa delle Nozze d' Argento	V 2,i	4
Casa di Sallustio	VI 2,4	4
Casa di Apollo	VI 7, 23	3
Casa dei Dioscuri	VI 9,6/7	4
Casa del Fauno	VI 12,2	5

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[717] Barret 2012, 1-21.

[718] This could be related to the apotropaic function Clarke ascribes to these scenes. See Clarke 1998, 119-42.

[719] This survey includes only those houses dealt with in Brandt's table on house sizes. Size is determined according to Brandt 2010. Brandt divided the houses according to size: 1 = Small (51-150m²), 2 = Medium, (151-450 m²), 3 = large (451-850m²), 4 = Very large (850-1800m²), and 5 = Extra large (1801-6000m²), see Brandt 2010, 96.

Casa delle Quadrighe	VII 2, 25	2
Casa della Caccia Antica	VII 4, 48	3
Casa del Granduca	VII 4, 56	2
Casa con ninfeo	VIII 2, 28	4
Casa dei Pigmei	IX 5, 9	2
Casa del Lupanare piccolo	IX 5, 14-16	1
Casa del Centenario	IX 8, 6	5
Villa dei Misteri		5
Villa dei Diomede		5

Table 4.24 Distribution of houses and their size (according to Brandt) containing Nilotic scenes.

Although these scenes were in all probability not directly targeted at warding off evil, apotropaica were often found in gardens. Sexual or abnormal behaviour and exoticism also alludes to such concepts. Another explanation could be that the garden as an exotic and outdoor setting was conceived as a liminal space where boundaries could be stretched. Another example where 'comical' and objects with sexual overtones occur within a garden setting is: the statue of sleeping hermaphrodite found at the back of the garden at the Casa di Octavius Quartio (II 2, 2). Within triclinia, the scenes not only alluded to comical pygmy scenes, but also to the wealth and abundance generated by the Nile. When looking at the distribution of the wall paintings containing Egyptian themes a difference can be observed between Nilotic scenes and non-Nilotic Egyptian imagery. As discussed above, the largest part of the Nilotic scenes could be attested in outdoor spaces (e.g., peristylia, viridaria, gardens) whereas other Egyptian images are rarely found here.
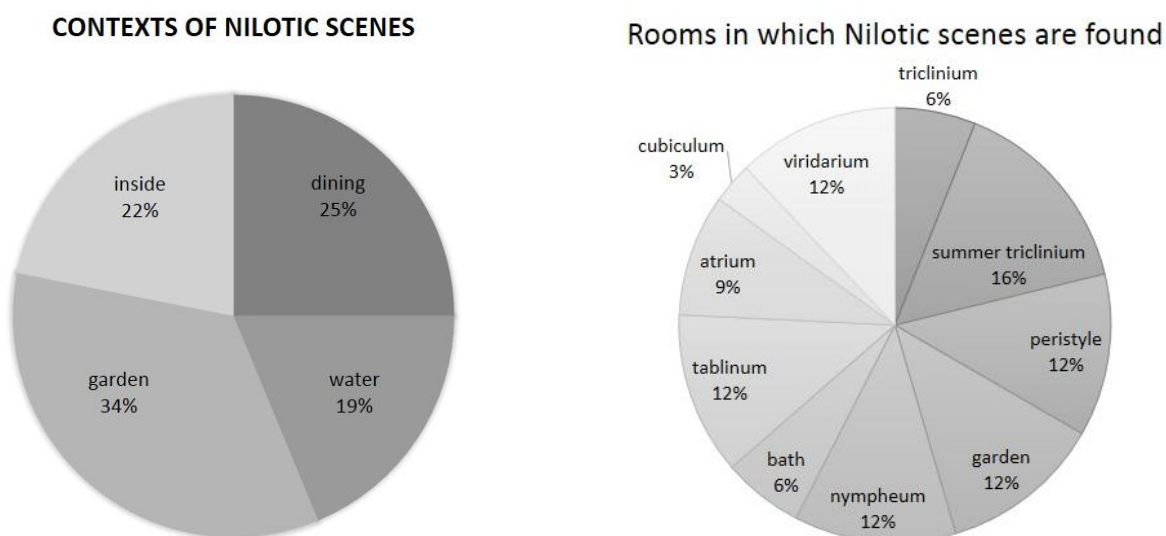
Fig. 4.34a-b) The context of Nilotic scenes. Their function (left), and distribution of the rooms (right) are indicated.

In fact, there are only three instances in which non-Nilotic Egyptianising wall paintings (which are never attested in a garden setting) are found in a peristyle, all of them appeared to be domestic shrines.[720] Therefore it seems that Nilotic scenes had a distinctive function within wall painting, which was markedly different from pharaonic imagery but was also varied in itself. This makes the reference to the variability in use and perception of such scenes despite their seemingly similar appearance. Through a contextual perspective it can become clear however, that there are rules to discover within the application of different Nilotic scenes, for different animals, motifs, or scenes were appropriate for different settings.

4.6.6 Nilotic scenes, a Roman view of Egypt?

Was a cognitive link to Egypt made during the life-history of Nilotic scenes in Pompeii? Looking closely at the development of the iconography of the Nilotic scenes, it is obvious that an unequivocal and decisive answer for the entire category of representations and their cognitive reference to Egypt cannot be provided for. Nilotic scenes became part of a genre of landscape paintings not necessarily linked to Egypt, but applicable in a variety of contexts and with various cognitive associations. In some cases a link was clearly made, however, in many other examples there seems to have been none.

The 2002 thesis of Versluys therefore mentioned in the beginning of this section, that proclaims the annexation of Egypt by the Roman Empire in 30 BC caused a change in perception of the Roman view of Egypt resulting in a shift from an ethnographic to stereotypical depiction of Egyptians is not entirely valid on these accounts. It ought to be slightly nuanced, both with respect to developments in wall painting itself and within the context of decoration in Pompeian houses. Figures, landscapes, and architecture in wall paintings are presumed to have moved from ethnographic depictions, towards more mythological scenes in general during the Augustan period, again implying that the presence of pygmies and dwarfs in Nilotic scenes was no reflection of a specific change in behaviour towards Egypt. Furthermore, it is difficult to say whether the implementation of Nilotic scenes increased because of the annexation of Egypt or because wall painting during this time allowed much more space for separate frames. The reason for this is that a development in wall paintings made that they no longer existed of

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[720] They are the wall paintings in the Preadia di Giulia Felice (II, 2, 2), the Casa degli Amorini Dorati (VI 16, 7.38), and the Casa delle Amazzoni (VI 2, 4).

continuous space, but became made out of fragmented scenes instead (in which small frames depicting landscape scenes such as Nilotic imagery could be applied). Moreover, as mentioned above, it seems that although Egypt was made a Roman province in 30 BC, the largest part of the wall paintings could be dated after 40 AD, implying that the increase of Nilotic scenery largely falls after the addition of the country of Egypt as part of the Roman Empire. However, portraying pygmy scenes may have catered for a change in vision towards something stereotypical because of the constant visual confrontation with pygmies, mythical creatures, and Egyptian landscapes. On the other hand comparing these scenes to cupid scenes -the closest related artistic parallel in style, location, and content- showed no use of stereotypes of any kind. They were merely supposed to represent humorous and derisive scenes of everyday life of the Romans. Also in pygmy scenes it may well have been more important to the viewer, therefore, what was happening (e.g., hunting, sexual activities, feasting, etc.) than who was depicted.[721]

In conclusion, to answer the question whether Nilotic scenes depict a Roman view of Egypt the answer is both yes and no. Nilotic scenes displaying pygmies are not so much a political statement or a stereotypical rendering of Egyptians, it however does show a further integration of a theme once Hellenistic and slowly taken up within Roman wall painting styles. The pygmies very well fit within the Roman taste of wall painting of that time, and their development runs parallel with the application of all sorts of small landscape scenes into divided frames or friezes, or within the depiction of everyday scenes with a humorous undertone; especially in the Fourth Style this becomes apparent. Therefore it is not a coincidence that there is a steep rise to be witnessed in Nilotic scenes during the last phases of the town, this has little to do with Egyptomania.

4.6.7 Conclusion

By means of the contextual analysis of Nilotica insights were added to the use and perception of Nilotic scenes within a Pompeian context. This was mainly achieved by reviewing the development and life history of different motives, which showed a more complex and fragmented picture of the

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[721] Cupids were never engaged in sexual activities, but pygmies who were apparently better suited to portray such scenes were always specifically set against an Egyptian background with crocodiles and hippopotami.

category of Nilotica, and through a more detailed contextual analysis, which showed that also in the depiction of certain Nilotic scenes there were rules to be observed with regards to use.

Nilotic scenes appear to be one of the deeper integrated group of Egyptian-related objects in Pompeii. They are present in many houses, have a varied application in both motives and contexts and have the longest life span of all Egyptian-related artefacts. This has most probably to do with their style, which fits in precisely within the developments made in Pompeian wall painting. While this development most likely did not directly reflect the Roman views of Egypt or Egyptians, their abundant presence did have consequences of how Egypt was viewed. Of course it cannot be deduced with certainty how the view of Egypt was influenced by these scenes, and whether Pompeians started to see inhabitants and the country of Egypt in the way they were displayed in these scenes. Although it cannot be excluded that there was an influence made through the imagery, they should probably not be regarded as either negative or positive, while this ignores the many complexities of wall painting as a visual medium and of the concepts that existed of Egypt. The scenes were an independent feature within Egyptian-connected wall paintings, next to other imagery which also did not show particularly stereotyped views of Egypt. Nonetheless, it can be observed that the Nilotic scenes had an effect on other Egyptian-related artefacts, probably due to the fact that they probably represented the first visual reference to Egypt in Pompeii. It can be seen for instance, that when green glazed figurines entered Pompeii (although its dating is not firmly established they are most likely a later development than the Nilotic scenes of the first century AD) that the choice and selection was closely related to what is depicted in Nilotic scenes.

The way Nilotica are integrated furthermore argues for the theory that Nilotic scenes were seen as an independent concept mostly unrelated, not artistically at least, to other concepts of Egypt. This did not mean however, that there was no conceptual relation between Nilotic scenes and Egypt, because both early developments in the Villa dei Misteri as well as later implementations within the temple of Isis show that the connection was present from the start and remained to be made in certain occasions. Nonetheless these were only occasional references made in specific contexts, especially for case of the Isis sanctuary. Next to such exceptions however and in a more general way, it could be observed that Nilotic scenes were so fully integrated phenomena in the Fourth Style Pompeian wall painting that

they could function unrelated to the context of Egypt. They blended in with small landscape scenes (sacred landscapes), which show waterscapes with temples as were abundantly present in wall painting and in which the boundary between Nilotic scenes and non-Nilotic scenes often became so blurred that it artificially had to be drawn by scholars. On the other hand the scenes tie in with another specific thematic type of the concept of small mythological creatures such as (non-Egyptian) dwarf, pygmy and cupid scenes which are involved in everyday life activities like hunting, working, and feasting. They all portray exactly similar scenes, in which again a boundary between cupids, dwarfs and pygmies and their actions is difficult to distinguish. The pygmy is no different concept than the cupid within the context of Fourth Style Pompeian wall painting, and allusions to Egyptian theology in this case (the context in which the wall paintings appear, what they depict, and in which rooms they are displayed) seem to be implausible. There is one exception however in which cupids and Egyptian pygmies deviate, which is quite telling with respect to Roman perception. When sexually deviant behaviour is portrayed in such paintings, the setting becomes explicitly Nilotic –endorsed by all exotic animals which were known from this type of imagery such as hippopotami, crocodiles, and ibises. Because they were appreciated as humorous scenes with a sexual undertone, they could not be related to 'proper Roman' behaviour or to cupids which was why an exotic (non-Roman) context was necessary. The exotic in this way became a background to stretch the boundaries of acceptable behaviour.

All in all, although the multiplicity in regard to Nilotic scenes was already emphasised by many scholars, it could be seen from this analyses that when they are not just viewed in the context of other Aegyptiaca or in the context of Egyptian theology, *Nilotica* show an even more fluid and fragmented picture than was thought before. Nilotic scenes are extraordinary objects within Pompeii and within the category of Aegyptiaca, especially because they were so mundane. Nilotic scenes could therefore be even further enmeshed, obscuring the link to Egypt even more through all the new cognitive linkages outside the Egyptian, and it was the primarily Roman way in which they were conveyed which made this possible. Nilotic scenes are therefore primary examples to show how a specific theme, how an originally foreign image becomes the Self and becomes the Other at the same time.

4.7 Conclusion to chapter 4: the dynamics of material culture and the concepts of Egypt

4.7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I have tried to disentangle the category of 'Aegyptiaca' as it was introduced in chapter one. The first important conclusion which must be drawn in this respect is that conceptually at least, we cannot speak of a category 'Aegyptiaca'. Objects that were imported from Egypt, objects that were locally made in an Egyptian style and objects which referred to Egypt in a non-Egyptian style had different uses and meanings; and were therefore not unequivocally perceived as 'things Egyptian'. While one of the basic premises formulated in the beginning of this research was to be cautious concerning the conceptual difference between the Egyptian and Egyptianising objects as defined by modern scholarship and their experience by a Roman audience (see discussion chapter 2), this chapter has demonstrated that the situation is even more complex. Even in challenging the Egyptian-Egyptianising debate the discussion does not do justice to the enormous variability in the perceptions and uses of Egypt in relation to Roman material culture that can be witnessed in the houses of Pompeii. Moreover, it seems that the distinction between Egyptian and Egyptianising in some cases was important and apparent for its users, in other cases however it seemed to be of no concern whether something was genuinely Egyptian or not. Future research therefore, focus should be on the variability in which these objects manifest themselves, and the causes of the variability (that is: the contexts), and not to this distinction.

However, having deconstructed the conceptual existence of Aegyptiaca in Pompeii is, as was already stated in chapter 3, only the first step in solving the issues concerning these objects. The main question that is left after the deconstruction is what is left of the category? Can we still, on the basis of the conclusions of this chapter, examine Egypt in domestic contexts? Is the concept as such something which exists in our minds or in the minds of the Romans? How should we then continue to investigate these objects? This last paragraph will summarise the results of chapter 4, discuss the consequences for the central thesis of the research, and explore the way to continue.

4.7.2 The category 'Aegyptiaca'

When it is the objective to study the perceptions and uses by the Romans of Egyptian objects it is essential to abandon the category of Aegyptiaca.

Because in the context of all objects, paintings, and architecture found at the site of Pompeii, the artefacts from the database actually appear to belong to very different conceptual categories than Aegyptiaca. This chapter demonstrated that from the perspective of perception, a bronze table with a sphinx foot did not conceptually belong to something Egyptian, but to the category of tables depicting *Mischwesen*. A statuette of Ptah-Pataikos did not belong to 'Aegyptiaca' so much as it did to apotropaic dwarf statues. A scene depicting a duck with a lotus flower did not necessarily reflect the Roman view of Egypt, but to garden contexts among other birds and plants, while pygmies could be used to display everyday scenes considered too mundane for humans and deities and in this way were strongly associated with cupid scenes. A marble statue of an Egyptian sphinx was regarded within the category of sphinxes as marble garden ornaments. In the mind of the Romans, in their daily dealings with objects, these artefacts were not conceived as belonging together as Egyptian objects.[722]

How can we deal with the consequences of this supposition? To solve this it is of significance to first elucidate where the basis of the problem is actually situated. Something that could be witnessed quite clearly after the deconstruction of the category is how modern scholars project concepts upon the material culture of the past, which does not necessarily correspond to a historical situation. An elusive concept such as Bes (4.4) has caused an 'upheaping' so to say, of every find connected to the (modern) concept of Bes as if these were all identically experienced by the Romans. While in fact, it appeared from the analysis that a statue of Bes was experienced as something different than a wall painting of Bes in the Isis temple and again different from a depiction of Bes on a Late Republican coin. It can be noticed that in this way a particular idea becomes projected onto different expressions of material culture, as if they all belong to a similar concept, however because of this unequivocal and a priori projections archaeologists will fail to understand the incredible diversity of uses and meanings that material culture brings. In the same respect it is also (erroneously) assumed that an idea is more important than the artefact itself, as if what an objects symbolises prevails over what it actually is and does. First of all, when there is no distinct and monolithic concept present in a society, as is the case with Egypt in Pompeii, objects automatically and instinctively become interpreted

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[722] Although we should refrain from utilizing the conceptual category of Aegyptiaca, the alternative scenarios sketched above should not be considered to be fixed conceptual categories either, as 4.7.5 will illustrate.

in different ways. Secondly, a statue is something different than a wall painting; they are used and interpreted differently, convey different messages, and influence the viewer in many different ways. Different objects afford different behaviours and how people categorise things is dependent to a large extent on their specific uses. If material culture is taken seriously as an analytical tool this should be made a point of departure in the methodology.

The projections of modern scholars cause further related complications for this investigation, as was already indicated in the first chapter of this thesis, in the way that the selection of the data and its interpretations were based on modern conceptions of Egypt (as discussed in chapter two). It is of great importance to realise, due to the multiplex relations that Rome had with Egypt, that the Roman concept of Egypt was notably different and in all probability also more complex than in modern western society today, and therefore does not represent anything conceptually analogous which we could employ. The ties to Egypt were different in the Roman era, more direct, much more varied, and also stronger than ours today; they were explicitly present on considerably more levels of Roman society (economic, political, religious, social, and cultural). Egypt was not so much an idea as it was a constant and realistic presence which continually reshaped its own image. Furthermore, Egypt was a physical part of the Roman Empire and therefore much more intertwined with Roman culture compared to modern Western society.[723] The concepts of Egypt that are employed today: mysterious, old, the possessor of secret wisdom, and the associations such as pharaohs and hieroglyphs; they should be considered to be only a portion of what 'Egypt' could conceptually entail for a Roman.[724] What are the consequences of this assumption? The inference is that archaeologists not only project their views onto an archaeological dataset, but also that they project a view that does not acknowledge the complexity the concept comprises. This means that the

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[723] Not only does the relationship with Egypt play a role, the Roman world itself alters the concept of Egypt different. Reflect upon for instance the relation Romans maintained with the divine (rendering Isis seriously worshipped), whether our subsequent development of monotheism changed the world to such an extent we can no longer consider Egyptian religion as a part of modern religious society, see Assmann 1995. Contemplate the vital chance of perception which Napoleon's *Description de l'Égypte* brought and, for instance, the cultural contacts and increased globalisation of the modern world which makes Egypt only one strange culture among many other strange cultures.

[724] Leemreize has analysed this process by means of a discourse analyse of Latin literature from the 1st century BC to the 1st century AD in a PhD dissertation (forthcoming 2015). Only by looking at the concepts directly as they are conceived in texts can the complexity of Egypt be made clear. Material culture does not offer this opportunity as there is no clear link to the concepts and objects.

collection of data was already biased from selection onwards, with resulting consequences for the analysis, the interpretation, and the conclusions. The current research therefore deals with a serious ontological and hermeneutical problem. Because if we want to take the study of Egyptian artefacts in the Roman world a step further, and truly see whether it is possible to receive any insights in the perception of these artefacts, it is important to first rule out modern ideas that were projected on them. This was commenced in chapter three in the formulation of a methodology which could give room to perception theory and the levels of experience. An important aim of this chapter specifically was to find a strategy in which it was possible to approach the dataset more empirically than was done in the past.

The hermeneutic issues sketched above asked for a radical rethinking of how objects, ideas, contexts, and material related to each other and to Egypt. This was done according to the adopted post-phenomenological framework, in which it was argued that experience can never occur in a vacuum but is situated knowledge created within and by the environment. Experiences are not like objects in a box; they happen out there somewhere and are shaped by the interlocking of the human body perceiving his surroundings. It is important to regard objects holistically in all their diversity and in relation to all other objects, ideas, styles, practices, spaces, and materials that can be attested in a setting. As a perspective, it was subsequently decided to use the concept of relationality and material-associative networks through a careful contextual analysis of the objects together with all their conceptual and material relations present in Pompeii. In this way it became possible to remap the relations that objects had with Egypt from the perception of those dealing with them, thereby being able to transcend modern associations and concepts of Egypt.

4.7.3 Associative networks

In the introduction of this chapter introduced the idea of proximal networks (4.1) as a perspective which could allow a more emic way of assessing the artefacts from the database. The key point was that in this way it would become possible to think about the objects and its cognitive connections in a relational instead of a categorical way; which means that the *relation to* Egypt was investigated instead of examining artefacts *as* Egyptian. In this way Egypt could become a heuristic tool to analyse the emic dealings with objects and the society in which they were used. Associative (or semantic or

cognitive) networks are thus not so much a theory, but rather a tool for the visualisation and re-mapping of artefacts in order to rethink conceptual associations between people and material culture and the way they constitute and affect each other.

This revealed again the complexity of objects; not only are we engaged differently with different objects, objects also interact with each other through different networks, affecting the perception of them and changing the dynamics of experience. The explanation of the networks showed along which lines objects could be integrated in the environment of Pompeii, however, as was stated in the introduction, the network is dynamic and visualises only a snapshot moment within a process of continuous transformation of connections. Lines may disappear and new links are established as the objects are used, produced, and exchanged. Through the dealing with objects new associations arise while other vanishes. In this way Egypt as an association might become obscured within perception. The fluctuations and changes of links are not only influenced by the objects themselves, but also by people dealing with them through a process of social transmission, by children through their parents and through the diverse social strata of Pompeian society. People growing up around objects that their parents call foreign (Egyptian) do not experience its foreignness as profound anymore themselves, and a generation after those people grew up the whole connection to foreignness might be disappeared. Within the dynamics of the inheritance and change of object-significance, horizontal transmission (as was discussed in the introduction of this chapter 4.1) therefore plays a crucial part. That means that not what an object might have signified in Egypt, or the way it travelled from Egypt, but the way objects become integrated into a society through its presence, its use and its associations is what mattered mostly for how objects became perceived and taken up in the networks. Ideas do not cling to an object, the object's agency acts out in a new environment and is subsequently used and understood the way it fits in within the existing framework. What is important in this process of the dynamics of the associational links (the cognitive integration of an object) is that it *enmeshes* an object within society. Innovation and diffusion of object meaning commences as soon as an artefact comes in contact with a new environment; its interpretations become varied because of the social variation of that society (they cause for different links). However, it seemed that even the very basis for the selection of an object in a new context was influenced by horizontal recognition and understanding. This

last notion brings us to the discussion of our objects in the light of cultural embeddedness.

4.7.4 Cultural embeddedness

Through a network perspective it was possible to overcome some of the interpretative biases with regard to the concept of Egypt and to rework the associations of different types of material culture and concepts with the idea of Egypt. This perspective is considered an important step because it acknowledges and takes seriously the different workings and agencies of material culture, as it takes account of the possible variations and complexities of the Roman ideas of Egypt. This reconfiguration however, is only a first step in the reinterpretation process of Aegyptiaca and also transmits new problems which will be dealt with in the last parts of this section. For example, what lies at the basis of the enmeshment of Egyptian material culture? And how do we explain these processes? Cultural embeddedness refers to the way in which objects, ideas, and practices become dependent on cultural context for their meaning and appropriation. Every 'foreign' element newly imported or constructed in the context of Pompeii was understood in a framework already present. This has consequences for how things are integrated, but also for what was selected out of the available repertoire. Of course, the availability of 'things Egyptian' ('Greek', 'Dacian', 'Gallic' or 'Persian' can be interchangeably used in this context) within the increased connectivity of the Roman Empire was larger than what is eventually observed in local contexts. This means that choices were made (intentional and unintentional), and that a choice for something depended on that local context which is subsequently able to provide information about that local context.[725] However, a first remarkable observation that the network analysis made apparent is that almost all of the objects from the database had a logical association with things which were already present in Pompeii. The Bes statuettes were recognised as dwarfs, already used for centuries for their apotropaic qualities and therefore incorporated as such. The mental distinctions between Egyptian sphinxes were not always that large from a Greek sphinx, and both were associated with other (fable) creatures such as griffins, lions, and phoenixes and could likewise be used in the similar contexts, such as in tables, and within the context of painted garden statues. Isis could be associated with a range of other deities and through her association with Fortuna, connections Egypt

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[725] As is put forward as an important methodological aim of globalisation studies.

could vanish. Pygmies in Nilotic scenes might have sometimes been interpreted as inhabitants of *Aethiopia* (part 4.6.), but within the context of wall painting they also could be recognised as the exotic and worldly equivalent of the cupid, and as a consequence of this we see both figures act in similar settings such as hunts and feasts in wall painting. What can be deduced from this observation is that many things were incorporated not because it was considered foreign but because it was familiar; objects were recognised from a Pompeian framework and therefore it were those objects that became selected. Even the actual imports from Egypt that can be witnessed in houses, such as the basalt slab with hieroglyphs from the Casa del Doppio Larario and the Egyptian styled herm of Jupiter Ammon from the Complesso di riti Magici could be directly connected to finds from the temple of Isis (see 4.5, table 4.16). The only uniquely 'strange' object that hitherto has no parallel with any other find, object or painting, is the alabaster Horus statue attested in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati.[726]

With respect to these observations, it can also be reasoned that 'exotic' as concept to interpret these objects should be employed with the utmost cautiousness. Of course, there are instances when something was selected from the repertoire with the intention to signify something exotic, or something foreign, but the case I want to make here is that these are exceptional cases more than they are the norm and definitely not something which can be assumed a priori.

One last issue should be mentioned concerning cultural embeddedness, and that is about the way things become selected. It seems from this last part, that choice always denotes a conscious and intentional process. Nevertheless, it should be put forward here that this is often not the case because choices are habitually made rather intuitively. In most everyday situations the human brain functions in a responsive way instead of an interpretative, because it is developed to quickly react to the environment instead thinking it through, which is a slow and energy taking process.[727] Intentional behaviour in general is much less common, and perception is based and as a consequence of this it is influenced by much more processes that lie outside the brain. Why is this important? It is because of these intuitive associations that objects are recognised and change within their new environment. Because the choice for the way an object will show up in

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[726] This statue will be discussed in detail in 5.2.
[727] The slow, deliberate, analytical and consciously effortful mode of reasoning about the world is described in Kahneman 2011. See also 3.2.

an environment (resulting both from selection and production) rather occurs intuitively on the basis of cultural embeddedness and is not very conscious, means that the process is profoundly influenced by unintentional processes and 'the things themselves'.

This last discussion demonstrates correspondingly how inadequate a concept like 'Egyptomania' is as an explanation for the process of why we see so many Egyptian objects in the Roman world. Many objects and paintings would not have been consciously selected as such, or used as such, and their selection was not always intentionally directed to the acquirement of something Egyptian. It also adds an important general argument to the discussion on modern preconceptions and projections in archaeological research from 4.7.2, because as scholars project modern concepts on historical case studies, they also often make the mistake to ascribe intentionality to certain habits and actions of the past much more than was actually the case.

4.7.5 The agency of Egypt?

The discussion on intentionality leads to another important issue this chapter put forward, that of agency. What is even more significant than choice, is that because of human's intuitive and responsive way of dealing with the everyday world our environment (both spatial contexts and material culture) has much more influence on us than realised. Perception does not take place in the brain, it happens out there.[728] Humans have a distributed cognition which depends on external stimuli and takes place in the world. Cognition is embedded, which means it is relative to ecological, cultural and social fields; the internal representations are selected so as to complement the complex and ecological settings in which people must act.[729] It also means cognition is for a part subjected to the things (objects) which surround people. We do not only interpret objects intentionally, objects influence and shape our behaviour and thoughts unintentionally. Although this thought goes beyond perception of objects, it has large implications for the new line of thinking we set out for this study and it lies at the basis of how objects influence perception and action. This is because perception studies analyses how things are seen on a superficial top tier (but utmost importance therefore) of perception; not what it is in the world, but how people experience them and how things appear to us. However, what is

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[728] For an elaborated discussion on this topic from the field of neuro-biology, see Noë 2009.
[729] See Clark 1997, 221.

important to realise is that how things appear to us is also influenced by 'what things are'; effects present in the object (its material properties for example, its size, colour, weight, polish, etc) that we do not 'pick up' consciously when we perceive objects but affects to a significant extent of how people see things and interpret things (as in pre-ontological and ontological understanding). This is what we call the agency of things, the dimensions, affordances, and possibilities of things and physical properties of things. Therefore it is considered to be vital to incorporate this perspective for its acknowledgement of the power that things themselves possess. The question is how does this change the current understandings about Egyptian objects?

Therefore it is significant to return to the conceptual categories once more. In the previous part it was argued that the objects from the database belong to different conceptual groups than 'Aegyptiaca', but instead to apotropaic statuary, garden-ornaments, religious objects, water scenes, and *mischwesen*-tables. However, if the network method is taken seriously, this cannot be considered to be fixed and stable categories either, but merely a way to deconstruct the former classification. Also, this would still denote a reflective coping (or intentional interpretation) of objects, while the table is used unreflectively in the world. It did not first have to be conceptually classified as a table before the owner could put things on it. The network approach shows that there exist multiple options of interpreting similar objects. We have elucidated that those options depend on the present perception framework of Pompeii, social variations, the way objects are recognised, and with what other objects and ideas they are associated. These cognitive options show all the possibilities, it depends on the context and the viewer what perception is dominant. This means that eventual perception is thus something different than the potential meanings or associations of an object. Further, because the objects from the database perceptively do not belong to Aegyptiaca, it does not denote that could not sometimes be perceived and interpreted or used as Egyptian. The network only revealed that an Egyptian perception is not something that automatically occurs. The examples from the chapter not only showed that Egypt consisted of a multitude of concepts, but also that these were often not a conscious part of perception.

However, although, or maybe even because objects often belonged to other perceptive conceptual categories (which the Egyptian connotation obscured in perception), Egypt was able to unintentionally influence the way people

perceive and use objects. As we just argued above, objects that are handled without conscious and interpretative thinking are able to influence our behaviour, and influence how we perceive other things. People recognise things based on what they know, from a large frame of knowledge which is developed through our interaction with objects, visual stimuli, architecture that surrounds them. The Egyptian connotation, subsequently, did not disappear in the table foot although it was not always consciously perceived as something Egyptian. The Egyptian element of the table influenced the perception of its users. Exchange is always mutual: that what we affect also affects us; what we change will also change us.[730] When for instance a table foot in an Egyptian style becomes enmeshed and a culturally embedded object, and seen as something internal, this means that other similar looking objects will become recognised and categorised on the basis of that table. What it signifies in its new environment or how it becomes used will be based on this; not on the fact that it is Egyptian/foreign/exotic. However, nonetheless, the object is still from Egypt or has Egyptian iconography, and this will become internalised too. As the process of integration and recognition continues many things (once) Egyptian are able to slowly form a cognitive substrate on the bases of which newly arrived things become recognised and integrated. And within the same process of cultural embeddedness that was explained above the enmeshment of an Egyptian artefact will cognitively trigger recognition of other objects. Through this largely unintentional and unconscious process Egypt (as an unintentional hidden reality and as a conscious Roman interpretation) was able to integrate as a cultural part of Roman society.

4.7.6 Narrative and style

Another issue that has emerged during the analysis of chapter 4 (especially from paragraphs 4.2 *representations of deities* and 4.5 *Egypt as style*) is the issue of narrative and style in relation to Egypt. It ties in with the discussion on cultural embeddedness in the sense that recognition and interpretation from an internal framework has implications, and that local recognition leads to different integration patterns within society. It showed another example of the flexibility and variability of the concepts of Egypt in Pompeii. In this case it provided an example of how Egypt can sometimes become the 'Other' through the same process of cultural embeddedness. This is

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[730] As Gosden states: "Patterns of exchange and consumption derive partly from the nature of the objects themselves". See Gosden 2007, 196

something that became clear when we regarded the manifestations of Isis in Pompeian houses (4.2), Egyptian style and mythology (4.5) displayed on wall paintings. From the case study of representations of Isis compared to that of Venus in Pompeii (4.2.3) it could be observed that Venus/Aphrodite was conceived within a narratively structure; meaning she had a background narrative in which her portrayal could be conceived, a history, she was dynamically depicted in various positions as if she was a human being. Moreover, Venus could be used within mythological narratives and on a more meta-level as an allegory. Isis on the other hand always remained an icon in Roman art; in wall painting as well as in statuary she remained a static representation of her cult statue, without 'being alive', without changing position or being part of a story. In a historical sense this is not necessary, Isis has a mythology of her own, which was known in the Roman world.[731] Was this information only available for initiates of the cults of Isis and Serapis? Because it is not reflected in the material culture, it can be argued that although knowledge was present (also in Pompeii), it could not become materialised in a narrative way. Even the painting of Isis in her sanctuary had to be conceived within the Greek myth of Io. Could it be that Isis' myth was unable to become incorporated in the collective memory of Romans? While Venus was culturally embedded in a large corpus of myth, she could be displayed in a much more flexible and vigorous way. Egyptian mythology was not embedded in the collective memory of the Pompeians, at least not to an extent that it could transform itself to wall painting. Greek mythology on the other hand was an all-encompassing and an intrinsic part of Pompeian life.[732] How intrinsically Greek mythology was known in Pompeian society is easily proven by the look of the hundreds of mythological scenes painted on the walls of the Pompeian houses. Not only quantitatively, but even more so qualitatively they show the knowledge of Greek myth; they depict such a large variety of scenes from the lives of heroes and gods of which only a very few consist of direct copies and of which most portray unique images, which means that they were cognitively

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[731] Plutarch in *De Iside et Osiride* as well as Apuleius' *Golden Ass* describe detailed accounts of the myths concerning Isis.

[732] The mythology here is referred to as 'Greek mythology' because the Romans for a great part took over Greek mythology in their own narratives. This does not imply that those myths were conceived of as culturally Greek, they were an intrinsic part of Roman story-telling and intertwined with their own mythology, and only used to refer to the origin. Strictly speaking, we are dealing with 'Roman mythology with a Greek origin' when referring to portraits of Aphrodite and Venus. Roman myths with an Italic origin (e.g., the Sabine Virgins, the story of Romulus and Remus) can also be found, however, to a much smaller extent.

quite accessible as a narrative. Some scenes were showing scenes just before or after a climax moment, some scenes only provide a few hints to the story; all this indicates a detailed inherent acquaintance and understanding of mythology.[733] Isis was thus differently perceived in the context of painting and material culture from deities that could be conceived in Greek mythology. Isis was not the 'Other' when it came to her worship, Romans had many different cults integrated from abroad which all had their place and function in society, however the way she was perceived as goddess was different from some other deities. Isis was not so much foreign, as she was less intimately known. Of course there are intrinsic values belonging to the two deities (Venus as the goddess of love versus Isis the goddess of birth and family values) which make Venus more likely to be approached in a more unrestricted way than Isis. However, the fact that other deities also show this discrepancy in portrayal (such as Mithras compared to Dionysus or to Hercules) is prove that the difference in conception of these deities goes deeper than their characters. If a narrative is present in the collective memory it appears to have had large implications on how subjects are portrayed in material renderings. However, although it difficult to say with certainty, it could be imagined that this must have had consequences for the way Isis was perceived as a goddess herself, even more so because in the Roman world statues of deities were representations of the gods and could be worshiped as gods.

In a similar way Egypt can be approached as a style (part 4.5), which by the same token showed a good example of how Egypt as a heuristic tool within network analysis was able to uncover some of the mechanisms in Pompeian society through the way material culture was used. Whenever the mythological stories were depicted on the walls of houses, they were conveyed in a Roman style execution.[734] Although this seems evident, Roman wall painters (and house owners) were well aware of different artistic styles. They were also able to convey images in the typical Egyptian aspective

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[733] For instance, the painting of Peirithoos greeting the centaurs, arriving for the wedding feast. Or, the painting of Perseus and Andromeda in which Perseus prepares to free Andromeda after negotiating with her father from Boscotrecase, see Woodford 2003, 130-1. An evolution can be witnessed from synoptic images to more condensed image in which the remaining story occurs with less and less images. Only hints to the stories are presented, see Woodford 2003, 45-7. Consider in this respect the scene of Troilos and Polyxena fleeing from Achilles (who is not represented) on an Attic red figure hydria from 480 BC crafted by the Troilos painter (currently on display in the British Museum). Instead of providing an expanded version, the myth only portrays Polexena running and Troilos on a horse. Without any name one knew what had preceded and was to follow.

[734] The discussion in 4.2, but especially in 4.5 seems to illustrate the existence of a 'Roman' style opposed to 'Archaic' or 'Egyptian' style.

style, as well as use other styles. However, on every occasion Egypt was shown in style (which only is attested in a very few cases) it was separately framed and isolated from the rest of the wall. It was for instance made into an architectural feature; however, it could not be used to portray something 'alive', something that was a part of the story, just as could be observed with the example of Isis. When it comes to style, Egypt can be identified as conveyed and used as the non-Roman 'Other'. It was definitely experienced as different from Roman style painting and intentionally used to make that opposition. When can something become the 'Other'? When it is no longer regarded as the self. However, as the Self is what is inherent and an unreflective part of coping with the world, the 'Other' takes a degree of consciousness. When things break down, are deformed, or are somehow out of the ordinary in their settings (as is the case with stylistically enframing Egypt) people suddenly regard them more consciously. They are out of the ordinary and thus experienced intentionally and interpretatively. In this way, people could become aware of Egypt, it became present-at-hand as Heidegger would name it. Through making Egypt present-at-hand in wall painting the different concepts of Egypt that existed in the Roman framework and their inter-relations became present and aware.

First of all, this only holds for the use of Egyptian as a style, because when Egypt was portrayed as a subject, for example Isis and Isiac images (in and outside the sanctuary) or Nilotic scenes, these were also conveyed in a Roman style. Secondly, it also seemed, which is quite remarkable, that this was merely a matter of how divergent styles were employed in wall painting and not something uniquely for Egyptian style. An exact similar way of presentation could be witnessed in the application of Archaic Greek style. This means that the network exposed something significant about the way Romans used wall painting and how they perceived style. Although Roman wall painting had to create a fluid environment in which ordinary life expanded to include extraordinary figures that transcending the boundaries of everyday experience, in order to be conceived they should be executed in a Roman style. Even fantasy figures had to be experienced in a way in which they could be recognised from an internal framework; they needed to be internally accessible. Therefore, deviant styles such as Egyptian and Archaic Greek could only be presented in frames as an independent feature, only to signify 'the strange, the exotic and the ancient' through style; they were unable to convey a narrative.

4.7.7 Choice

The last part of this concluding paragraph deals with a concept touched upon already, but not yet sufficiently problematised. After the deconstruction of Aegyptiaca, the way they can be perceived and how their agency works, it is now is clearer what is at the basis of the integration of objects and how they received new meanings in accordance with other concepts present in society. However, this does not mean that the analysis has come to an end. Because an important interpretation-level is still missing from the analysis, this is the social variability of interpretation. Choices could be narrowed down to the range of what could be appropriated in a certain local context and why. Within the discussion on networks, enmeshment, materiality, and agency of objects I have elucidated how they could be represented, that is: what was the range of their understanding. In this case it could be witnessed that in every instance similar objects could both be experienced as exotic and as something internal to Pompeian frameworks. No single object is therefore intrinsically exotic. However, this means that the question *when* an object was perceived or used as exotic is not yet answered. If we want to say anything about whether rules existed in the choice and application of different styles and objects and their social uses (how they were used to express certain values, but also how these objects were able to change the environment of the house), it is important that we direct our gaze to the house as a unit of analysis.

This means that the next step in the analysis should consist of examples of how these objects were used within domestic contexts. Now that it is established that the objects do not belong to the same categories it is necessary to know more about the intentions, values, and choices of people in order to elucidate whether there were any rules in use. What other sculpture was present; in what locations within the house did they become displayed? Do combinations of Aegyptiaca occur and what does this mean? What values were expressed with the different 'Aegyptiaca' within a certain context in comparison to other objects? Were they differently used than for example Greek looking objects? To give an example, in the previous chapter we it could be observed that the *Casa di Octavius Quartio* displayed Bes and Ptah-Pataikos statuettes next to a water feature, which might have represented the Nile, therefore suggesting a three dimensional Nilotic scene. However, did scene take up a significant part of the space of these gardens? What was meant with creating such scenery? How visible was the sculpture within the space of the garden (i.e. was it meant to be seen?), what else was

displayed in the garden? Was it meant to create an 'exotic atmosphere'? What image did the owner wished to present to the viewer? With these questions directed to case studies of houses it is possible to analyse the choice for particular objects. As this chapter narrowed down the possible generalisations that can be made about the meaning of the objects, the coming analysis will provide an illustration of what an object *can* do in an environment.

CHAPTER 5: DOMESTIC CONTEXTS, CASES OF EGYPT

5.1 From household archaeology to place-making

5.1.1 Introduction

As argued in the concluding parts of chapter 4 it is important to obtain a better insight of the choices made regarding Egypt-related artefacts and acquiring a firmer grip on the context in which they served. It is not only necessary to know what the basis of selection was for certain objects and how they were cognitively entangled in the visual atmosphere of Pompeii, but also, on a smaller scale, it is important to examine how these objects were socially embedded in the physical context of the house. Because if the objects did not signify 'Egypt' per se, what did they do? The significance of the artefacts needs to be disentangled more elaborately within the social and physical context they were actually used: the house. Only by carefully contextualising the objects from the database it is possible to reflect upon its affordances. The object's use and perception is formed within a web of social exchange, power relations, religious and social obligations, ideologies, and pretentiousness; it entails a complex environment. Albeit not completely absent, a detailed contextualisation of the Egyptian objects from Pompeii has as yet not been considered a point of departure within research on Aegyptiaca. Therefore the focus of this chapter concerns (a) the interaction between the way an object behaves within its environment and the way people valued it, (b) the choices made concerning an object in order to transmit certain values, (c) the intentions of the owner and (d) the unintentional effects the interaction has on the viewer.

This means that an important goal of this chapter (in addition to the social embeddedness and choices which will guide this chapter) is the further scrutinising of the social rules and restrictions concerning the use of certain Egyptian objects. Although a large variety in use and understandings of Egyptian artefacts has been discussed in chapter 4, certain patterns regarding the use and appropriation of Egyptian-related objects in domestic

contexts could be established. For example, the green-glazed statuettes of Bes, Ptah-Pataikos, and a variety of animals were never attested in houses of those assured to be devotees of the Isis cult. On the other hand objects directly linked to the Isis cult (statues of Isis, Harpocrates, Anubis, and Serapis) were never seen in the spaces in the house destined for leisure activities (e.g., the garden), while Venus and Dionysus occur quite frequently in these contexts. Such observations need further contextualisation in order to see how such patterns might have behaved; if Isis was not used in a particular house for a decorative function, what was used for this instead? In which part of the house were the religious manifestations of Egypt to be witnessed? In order to answer such questions, two case studies of houses were selected: that of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati (VI 16, 7/35) and the Casa di Octavius Quartio (II 2,2). The two houses were selected because they both represent cases in which ´Egypt´ as a concept seems to have been consciously present in the mind of the owner when he used the objects. Both employ a multitude of objects, forms, and materials referring to Egypt. The Casa degli Amorini Dorati in the form of a shrine with a painting displaying the Isiac deities, but also in the form of an alabaster statuette of Horus and a green glazed lamp depicting Anubis, Isis and Harpocrates. The Casa di Octavius Quartio has three different spaces in the house in which Aegyptiaca were attested by scholars: a painting of an Isis priest in one of the cubicula, a group of faience statuettes in the peristyle, and a marble statue of an Egyptian sphinx next to a water feature. Not only the idea that Egypt as a concept somehow played a part within the use of the objects was important for the choice of these particular case studies, the difference in use of Aegyptiaca between the houses is astonishing and demands a detailed comparison. Comparing these houses, and analysing carefully the exact use of the objects in the way that was discussed in chapter 2, will enable us to elucidate the choice for objects and meaning of the objects in a context, and their social significance. This implies that various concepts of Egypt will be scrutinised, together with their social embedding and the choices made regarding the material, using the house as holistic unit of analysis and using place-making as a methodological toolbox. Which choices were made regarding location and the objects? How were the objects embedded in the visitor-inhabitant relationships which were so significant in Pompeii? The two above case studies can shine a light on these questions, as they both made use of objects with a conscious concept of Egypt in mind. These case studies will subsequently inform about the use of Roman houses by showing

the way Egyptian objects serve within social contexts and how their significance is accompanied by certain social conventions, structures and restrictions. In the end, this chapter will therefore not only present further knowledge regarding the use of Egypt as a specific concept, and the use of Egyptian artefacts, it will also elaborate on the Roman house itself and provide a re-evaluation of the associated social behaviour by means of an analysis of these objects.

Due to its vast scope, it is of importance to this introduction to engage in a few fundamental discussions concerning house and household studies in Pompeii. The way Roman houses functioned in general has largely been constructed upon the evidence sourced from the villas and houses found in Campania and therefore feature in a vast quantity of scholarly literature and debates. These historiographical themes, which have become the central issues when regarding Pompeian houses, will be discussed below and re-evaluated by means of the approach adopted here: place-making.

Houses and Egypt

By means of an introduction, an overall picture of Aegyptiaca and houses will be presented first, in which the quantitative analysis appeared to be especially interesting as a general result. From the total number of excavated houses (359 in total), seventy-one contain artefacts deemed Egyptian (meaning all the objects from the database).[735] Of course, as chapter 4 indicates, this number is not really of any value as it puts all artefacts connected to Egypt in one group. Concerning quality therefore - the meaning of these numbers and the concept and perception of Egypt - it is not a relevant number. In terms of quantity however it can be stated that, considering the overall presence of objects, it is a quite low number. It implies that 19,8% of the houses contains something that in the broadest sense could be connected to Egypt. When specified to individual objects the number is much lower. From those dwellings that specifically contain wall painting, it becomes clearer how low their number is that houses Egypt-related imagery.

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[735] Seventeen partially and 342 fully, numbers taken from Hodske 2007, 23.
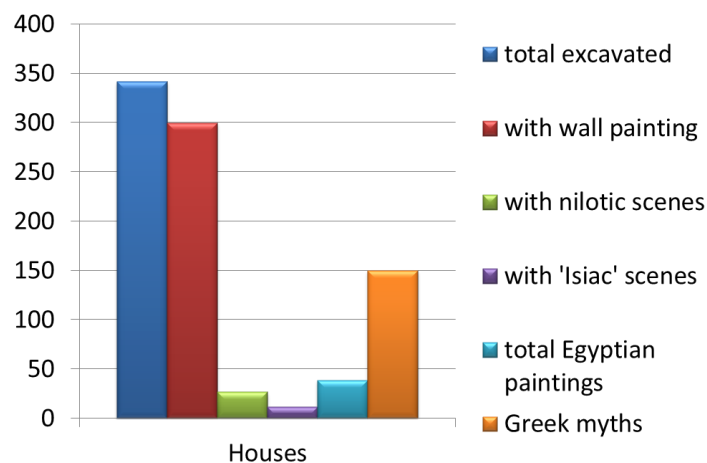
Fig. 5.1) The distribution of houses containing Nilotic or Isiac scenes compared to the total number of houses with wall paintings.

The percentage for houses containing blue/green-glazed figurines (7) is 1,9%, 7,8% of the houses with wall paintings contain Nilotic scenes (twenty-eight houses), 5% of the houses (eighteen) contain Isiac statuettes, and 3,3% (twelve) include artefacts or paintings in a pharaonic style. As discussed above, although Egyptian paintings might be a quite well recognisable genre to a present-day scholar or a visitor to the site and museum, their actual number is relatively low.[736] Furthermore, after GIS-analyses, it appeared that the spatial distribution of artefacts is random.[737] This also showed up from the database analyses dealt with in chapter 4 when discussing the separate object-categories.[738] Taking objects such as the blue-glazed figurines, or Nilotic scenes, it was noted they appeared both in wealthy and modest houses. Although decoration in the form of wall painting or architectural features might be a more obvious sign of wealth, Isiac, pharaonic, and Nilotic scenes are equally randomly spread.[739] On a more general note, the social texture of Pompeii consists of a complex social

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[736] See 4.2 for a comparison of paintings portraying Venus, and of those portraying Isis or Isis-Fortuna.

[737] For distribution maps of particular groups of objects, see Appendix B.

[738] Here the case studies of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati and the Octavius Quartio are put in the broader perspective consisting of houses and Egyptian artefacts found in Pompeii. The previous case studies give a thorough treatment on how Egypt could be applied in houses i.e., the Casa di Ceii, the Casa di Caccia Antica, the Casa del Fauno, the Praedia di Giulia Felice, the Casa del Frutteto, the Casa del Menandro, the Casa del Nozze d'Argento, the Casa del Bracciale d'Oro, the Casa dell'Efebo, the Villa dei Misteri, and the Villa San Marco di Stabiae. As the GIS analyses only produced random results with regard to the distribution of houses containing various types of artefacts linked to Egypt, it was decided not to include them in the present thesis.

[739] See Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 127.

situation of which it is known that members of the elite did not segregate their place of residence from the place of residence of others of lower status. [740] Thus even if a certain socio-economic separation would exist (which chapter 4 in most cases rejected) within the use of certain objects, these would not become apparent by means of spatial distribution.[741] Therefore, in accordance with the above observations, accompanied by the results presented above on houses and Aegyptiaca, it is considered of greater use to analyse two case studies carefully instead of trying to provide a general overview, as it is argued this yields a further in-depth picture of artefact use and therefore provides more results concerning the perception and use of Egypt within domestic contexts.

5.1.2 Roman households
Households and archaeology
As this chapter will focus on the social aspects surrounding Aegyptiaca in the context of the Roman house a specific social group with specific material remains: households, will now be dealt with. This implies it is necessary to engage in the discussion on household archaeology as an approach, as it has become an important perspective within archaeological practice.[742] Household archaeology is an orientation within archaeology which, in its current form, especially concerns subjects such as social change, gender relations, and social stratigraphy but from a clearly bounded unit i.e., the household. Acting as the loci of small-scale social action that embody the complexity and dynamics of everyday life, households can be approached by means of household archaeology. This orientation claims to merge the spatial, social, and material components of the house, hereby rendering it an attractive pattern of thought with regard to the Egyptian contents of Roman houses.[743] Not only as a perspective combining material and social practice is it an appealing framework, it takes a social group as a starting point to furthermore allow a focus on a bounded entity presenting the opportunity to

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[740] Robinson 1996, 135-44. Wallace-Hadrill and Grahame (applying space syntax) proved spatial zoning did indeed existed, but only when looking into small discrete samples and the combination of both finds, wall paintings and house plans. Laurence 1995, 17; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 88-9; Here the finds are most indicative for the presence of wealth.
[741] See Laurence 1995, 199.
[742] For a discussion on household archaeology as an archaeological perspective, see Allison 1999: Ashmore and Wilk 1988: Bergmann 2007, 224-43; Parker and Foster 2012; Madella et al. 2013.
[743] See Allison 1999, 57-77. For a general view on household archaeology as a perspective, see Souvatzi 2012, 16-7.

study material dynamics in a contextualised way.[744] Household archaeology as most often applied, is aimed at daily practices, economic production, skills, subsistence strategies, and its material and immaterial resources.[745] This is also reflected in the way it has been applied to the archaeological site of Pompeii which is familiar with renowned pioneers within this specific field, the most paramount being Penelope Allison.[746] While artefact studies in Italy and Campania had a longstanding tradition, prior to Allison's study the catalogues consisted of very distinct categories (e.g., bronzes, sculpture, and wall painting) exponents of the western aesthetic perception of 'art'. They were always discussed when removed from their original contexts, mainly concentrating on luxury items.[747] Allison's (and also that of Berry) research was the first to illustrate the potential of the artefactual evidence from Pompeii. Furthermore, by focusing on a distinct physical and social setting, they successfully created a more balanced and more dynamic picture of the Roman house as a home and a place of industrial production.[748] Their work can be considered a watershed in Roman artefact studies; the contextualisation of artefacts especially is an important development in the field of Roman archaeology. It can be argued, however, that as to the current endeavour in adopting a strictly functional methodology as emphasised by household archaeology is not considered an optimal approach in order to study the complexity of Egypt-related artefacts and their use and perception. For this research it is most important that the use of Aegyptiaca is properly contextualised. Therefore applying household archaeology in the sense of economic values, storage, and consumption patterns in the case of this research is of less value. As a perspective, however, in addition to contextualisation, household as a focus is significant as it represents a social, spatial, and material unit in which the use, values, and intentions concerning Egypt-related artefacts can be explained. The variety and

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[744] This is significant on a larger scale, too. Being a small-scale unit for social change, the household represents important mechanisms of social reproduction. Here the actions of household members are transformed into specific rules, constraints, and dispositions. See Souvatki 2012, 17; Bergmann 2007, 224-43.

[745] See Chesson 2012, 49.

[746] The employment of the approach developed from (a) a sensed neglect of analytical treatment of the artefactual evidence at Pompeii, (b) the prominence on the study of architecture and (c) the constant emphasis on wall painting decoration of only the largest and most elaborate houses. Allison 1999; 2001; 2004.

[747] See Berry 1997, 183-4.

[748] See Berry 1997, 194. In addition, Allison was able to demonstrate the complexities of the domestic environment and the tension between the ideal of the Roman house expressed in Roman literary practice (e.g., in Vitruvius) and the reality demonstrated in the houses of Campania.

complexity involved with the experience of Egyptian objects can be given a more nuanced place in this way. Moreover, all the objects were valued for their aesthetic appeal and always studied as a separate category while in reality they formed a part of a house and of a household's dealings. It is important for these artefacts as well that they are contextually approached, as they form an important social marker within the social unit of the Roman house, for the decorative and aesthetic aspects can shed a light on values and value-making. Household archaeology gives space and materiality a significant place in its interpretations, however, it does not do so from an ontological viewpoint, but forms a methodological perspective which is different from the theoretical framework as proposed in this research.[749] The strategies deployed in the present dissertation will commence from the vantage point that the physical world and the social world do not present a separate duality, but are in fact enmeshed entities. For this reason they have an equal share in creating realities and affordances. In this case, the concept of place-making is a more appropriate methodological framework in comparison with household archaeology. Furthermore place-making does not present us with a perspective but with a toolbox, giving room to various kinds of analyses all meant to merge spatial, social, cognitive, and material aspects of the house as a social and a physical place.

Houses: art, luxury, and wealth

As this thesis deals with objects and their value to Pompeian citizens, it is important to introduce here the former research and discussions surrounding the topic of Roman decoration and luxury. Also, Egypt often serves as an example of eastern luxury within discussions on wealth and decadence in Roman houses.[750] In addition, on a slightly different note, the Roman literary discourse surrounding *luxuria* has had a significant impact on the way in which scholars have regarded the objects and decoration (including those originating from Egypt) of Roman houses. The debate that emerges when discussing the assumed decadence involved with the embellishment of Roman houses is therefore of a dual nature: with an archaeological and a literary aspect. To start with the latter: in early imperial

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[749] In addition to all the complex discussions intricately related to household archaeology one will involve oneself in after using household archaeology as a perspective (gender studies, Marxism, economic theory, etc), this research deals foremost with the reappraisal and contextualisation of specific sets of artefacts. This implies, that although the social group is important to consider, the household as a social group is not the main focus, but considered an equal force amongst others.

[750] I.e., within the context of Egyptomania.

writings on *luxuria*, this term generally served to refer to a moral judgement towards overtly lavishly adorned *horti*, enormous villas, the possession of great amounts of books and art objects, extravagance in clothing, behaviour and copious dinner parties in the context of the Hellenistic moral laxity of the Late Republican elite.[751] In this guise it has served as a political argument in the context of Augustan propaganda. In literature Augustus' modesty and aversion of luxury was used to personally and physically reinforce his political distance from the Republic.[752] Such political-historical developments found tantamount expressions in the literary discourse of the Late Republic and Early Imperial period, especially in satire.[753] Excessive luxury in the context of the discourse was, at least, considered an example of bad taste and a threat to Roman morality rather than an expression of wealth.[754]

The other side of the debate covers the material remains, which at first sight seems to confirm the presence of excessiveness as scorned in the literary sources. Looking at the houses of Campania and their contents, it is not difficult to deem these as luxurious, packed with marble statues, fountains, large gardens and lavish, colourful walls; some of the Egyptian objects would easily fit the concept of *luxuria*.[755] When it comes to interpreting the contents of these houses, the early imperial writings had a large effect. Both Zanker and Wallace-Hadrill note that luxury of concept is well employed in the houses of Pompeii and, herein following the sources, that the excessive decoration that is attested in some of the domestic contexts of Pompeii can be considered kitsch and a case of bad taste.[756] Through scholarship houses were deemed as idiosyncratic Walt Disney worlds, decadent, kitsch, or as bizarre fantasy worlds.[757] Within this discussion the use of exotic materials (as the majority of the Aegyptiaca were viewed) have been considered an

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[751] See Hales 2003, 22.

[752] Suetonius describes and praises for instance the house of Augustus as: "*It was remarkable neither in size nor elegance; it had short colonades with columns of Alban stone and the rooms were bereft of any marble or remarkable floors*." Suet. Aug. 72.1.

[753] Juvenal's Satire (14.303.9), for instance, criticizes the ivory table legs of a dining table. A well-known example is the scornful account of former slave Trimalchio's dinner party in Petrionius' Satyricon, and the main character's misplaced extravagance exemplifying a lack of taste within the new rising class of wealthy freedmen.

[754] See Tronchin 2012, 336; Zanda 2011.

[755] The case study on the Casa di Octavius Quartio will deal with Egyptian artefacts such as *luxuria*.

[756] See Wallace-Hadrill 1990, 145-92; Wiseman 1987, 339-413.

[757] See 5.3.1.

important part of this concept of kitsch and elite domestic luxury.[758] However, when bringing together the literary and archaeological discussions on *luxuria* it should be noted, that it is hazardous to repute the relation between a literary discourse and archaeological remains as factually, and that the presence of 'abundant' decoration in Roman houses says little about their perception.[759] The term 'luxury' should be treated with the utmost care when considering the material culture within Roman houses. A value determination of how Egypt might have fitted within the decorative schemes of domestic culture cannot be made in advance on the basis of such a strong politically influenced literary theme. This issue notwithstanding, an interpretation of the sculptures, flooring, architectural and wall decoration has to be provided for. Even if 'luxury' is not useful as a descriptive term, the houses of Pompeii and their embellishments illustrate that decorating homes was an important concept in order to socially distinguish oneself.[760] The house was the prime locus of social behaviour. Objects and decorations were indeed of relevance within social gatherings inside the house, for example within the *salutatio* ritual, or the *cena*.[761] Furthermore, for the study of societies, luxury items do provide a valuable tool because its demand, exchange, and consumption were socially determined; it formed to be an active participant in shaping social relations and culture.

Two further important terms scholars often implement in order to explain material culture and social values within Roman households are 'eclecticism' and 'social emulation'. Eclecticism describes the contents of Roman houses

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[758] As put forward by means of the theory of Egyptomania; other Eastern objects also belonged to this concept e.g., commodities shipped from India, see Parker 2002, 40-95.

[759] Although these descriptions of Roman extravagance in housing might have been based on examples from real life allowing people to recognise it (e.g., in the case of the house of Trimalchio) it should not be taken as a literal example that can be found beneath the soil, nor can it be superimposed as a shared perception on rich housing. See Bagnani 1954, 19-39; Treggiari 1998, 33-56.

[760] The tradition of socially distinguishing oneself by means of display was ingrained in Roman culture. Especially gardens and sculpture continued to be important markers of status both in the Republic and in imperial times. Even if ancient authors complained against lavishly decorated villas, it did not cause this tradition to disappear.

[761] In Rome, the dinner became the focus of social life. *Cena* was to Romans what the Symposium was for Greeks. However, during a *cena*, one was more focused on the consumption of food. For more information on *cena* and its social implications, see Gowers 1993, 1-49. The important hierarchy involved with such dinner parties is testified by the following well-known Pompeian graffito: '*The man with whom I do not dine is a barbarian to me* (*at quem non ceno, barbarus ille mihi est*). Gowers 1993; Clarke 1991, 225-6. For a discussion on *salutatio* rituals, see Saller 1982, 829-30; Laurence 1991, 158-9; Gardner 1986, 1-14.

in a more neutral manner than decadence, wealth, or luxuria.[762] Eclectic practice (or visual heterogeneity), as dealt with by Tronchin et al., is described as the practice of collecting items from different origins in order to make it a new whole.[763] It therefore points to an informed practice of people collecting a variety of styles and objects on purpose and its social implications. Tronchin points, for instance, to the intellectual abilities required not only to carry out a version of antiquarian research, but also to combine earlier models in an innovative manner.[764] Although it is true that employing the term 'eclectic' does not place a clear value-claim on the objects in houses, it also denies the fact that the objects in houses might have been experienced as quite different concepts than something decorative, while eclecticism assumes that it is all meant as something decorative and all part of a collection. It further places too much emphasis on the buyer, his agency to consciously acquire 'eclectic things' and thereby dismisses the significant social and historical processes underlying the choice for a certain object.[765] It also makes the decision-making process notably intentional. As was mentioned before, objects become selected from different choice-scenarios, and cannot be put away as sheer eclecticism.

Another interpretation of the use of objects within Pompeian homes comprises of social emulation. This refers to a processual explanation in which classes were stimulated to imitate higher social groups by for instance acquiring objects.[766] It was an imitation of the elite in order to enhance one's own social status. Zanker writes: "*..although the owners of these houses made use of different forms –and achieved differing degrees of success– they all sheared the same aim, namely, to create the illusion of a villa. They all*

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[762] For further information on the concept of eclecticism and collecting, see *Arethusa* 45 2012.

[763] See Tronchin 2012, 334-5; see also Bergmann 1995, 101; Elsner 1998, 109; Neudecker 1998 77-92.

[764] We read: "*The pleasure associated with variety in reading and with selecting models in oratory is attested in the written sources; the domestic ensembles that survive in the archaeological record suggest that a similar delight in choosing from a range of imagery and materials and subsequently arranging them in a personal way likely also existed.*" See Tronchin 2012, 262.

[765] For an explanation of what is acquired and what is considered a luxury item is a combination of a piece's rarity, its provenance, material, craftsmanship and the owner's personal taste, see Bartman 1991, 73.

[766] We read: "*As a social process, luxury functions as the attempt to mark or assert a place within a network of social relationships by the display of consumption of material goods; in this process the goods are valued in proportion to their relative inaccessibly outside the social circle that is employing them.*" Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 145-6.

envisaged their ideal as a world of luxury.[767] Wallace-Hadrill likewise argues for a strong case of social emulation to be witnessed in the houses of Pompeii, acclaiming Zanker's idea on the Roman ideal of the villa.[768] The goods are relative to the practice and the intensity of the practice; the more something is imitated, the less the objects are valued as uplifting their status and the less luxurious it becomes. The process can be attested in the houses of Pompeii, in objects as well as wall painting. It might not be surprising given the dynamic society such as Pompeii with the competitive nature of local politics and the openness of houses, that trends would catch on quickly.[769] Although as a social process it is an interesting theory, the social emulation process has likewise been used to show that certain houses (such as the house of Octavius Quartio) were copying the decoration of villas of their in a naïve and tasteless way.[770] The presence of these artefacts in houses is not only reserved for the wealthy, nor is the number or quality of objects and decoration in general a straightforward sign for wealth and education.[771]

The use of space in Roman houses
In addition to objects, the use of space is considered an important parameter when studying social values in Roman domestic contexts. As the contextualisation of Egyptian objects will extensively deal with its spatial features and as it is a much discussed topic both from a household and a social emulation perspective it is relevant to discuss it here. In the case of artefacts, answering questions such as what is displayed where? What do locations of objects and decorations inform us on the functions of rooms? What do they tell us about issues of public and private use of space? They contain vital clues on how objects - Egyptian and non-Egyptian - were used and valued. Furthermore, the use of space ties in closely with the previous debates on objects, luxury and social values. The way a concept of privacy is acted out in space, for instance, has much to do with wealth and status, just

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[767] See Zanker 1995, 193. Although this view is attenuated, it is argued that the debate only serves to illustrate that architecture can play as much a part in creating fantasy as wall painting but that the villa had as much need for fantasy as the *domus*, see Hales 2003, 138.
[768] See Wallace-Hadrill 1990, 145-92; 1994.
[769] See Hales 2003, 137.
[770] See Petersen 2006, 129.
[771] In the end it is not luxury or decadence that was considered bad taste or excessive; the concept of social emulation led the ancient authors to exclamations of bad taste, see Elsner 2007. The best argument for a case of social emulation is the presence of luxury items in all social strata of Pompeii. This could also have been observed with the Egyptian objects from the database, such as the green glazed statuettes.

as how the structure of the roman house and its decoration is related. A pivotal study which has shed light on these issues with regard to the houses of Pompeii specifically has been published by Andrew Wallace-Hadrill and is titled *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum.*[772] In his view the function of decoration and space is capable of saying something significant about the social activities taking place; decoration thus informs us of the social use of space.[773] This can be observed to be reflected in Pompeii, where the use of decoration displays a distinct hierarchical character.[774] Almost every house (large and more modest) counts similar patterns of a more lavishly furnished and highly decorated peristyle in order to impress guests; while the less frequented (or visited by guests of a lower social status) areas of the house are less excessively furbished and this hierarchy functions on both a space and a time level. It is a hierarchy of social actions, where in the morning the atrium and the tablinum could host the *salutatio* ritual, while the late-afternoon *cena* took place in the deeper space of the triclinium and peristyle.[775] A note must be made in conjunction with the general progress of household archaeology (of which the use of space forms a significant part), because an important development has been made with regard to the use of spaces.[776] The socio-spatial hierarchies therefore contain somewhat generalised views of the functioning of space in houses. The presence of material and spatial nuances on the social use of space as will be employed in this chapter should demonstrate the cases being more complex. Nonetheless, the Roman house reflects important psychological concepts including spatial and material aspects. The concept of privacy is an example of this as it is not only central to understanding environment and behaviour relationships but also one of the most important social parameters applied when bringing together the social and the spatial.[777] The pattern of Roman social life admitted numerous and subtle grades of relative privacy. The house was differentiated according to increasing degrees of intimacy along an axis that ran from the public space of the exterior to the private interior

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[772] See Wallace-Hadrill 1994.
[773] See Wallace-Hadrill 1994; 146; Riggsby 1997.
[774] See Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 39-44.
[775] See Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 140; 1988, 43-97.
[776] While these were once viewed in a very static way whereby a peristyle only and automatically served for a cena, a triclinium always served for dining, the atrium for the salutatio ritual, and the cubiculum for sleeping, it has been revealed by means of a contextual analysis of household artefacts that many spaces could be used in a variety of ways and that they were quite flexible and functioned much more dynamically than previously argued. See Allison 2004; Leach 1997, 50-75; Riggsby 1997.
[777] See Altman 1975, 6; Hanson 1999; Cieraad 1999, 1-12; Pennartz 1999, 95-106.

space.[778] In it greater privacy implied an ascent in privilege as well as an advance toward intimacy with the paterfamilias. Social behaviour was acted out in space and structured by space, but also materialised in situational clues such as decoration of walls, thresholds, and flooring.[779]

To conclude the introduction on the existing ideas on Roman housing, it seems that the issues reflect a continuous debate on Roman housing and their decoration - household, aesthetics, and the use of space are all aided not only by providing a better archaeological context and taking into account the physical rooting of an object, but also by a more social-psychologically embedded approach. Value-making should be analysed from a bottom-up perspective and considered a social process and a material process alike. Both the object has agency, as well as the environment in which it is used. This implies terms such as 'luxuria' an 'eclecticism' are not really useful, as they are superimposed concepts in which the artefacts under scrutiny play no active role in the establishing of values. Social emulation is important to consider as a process. However, it also does not provide a bottom-up argument for artefact-meaning, nor does it take into account the agency object itself and the ability of changing contexts of objects. The aim of this chapter should therefore be to contextualise Aegyptiaca in a way that provides room to both the physical and the cognitive aspects that surround these objects. All these social aspects of the physical space and objects (issues of privacy, hierarchy, social emulation, luxury, social groups in a household context) will be analysed by means of a series of tools classified under the heading ´place-making´.

5.1.3 Place-making

As introduced in the methodological outline (see 3.7), the houses will be analysed according to 'place-making'. This can be defined as the creation of a meaningful context for social interaction by means of studying the agency and the relation between objects, decoration, aesthetics, architectural design, ritual and social performance, and psychology.[780] Bringing these

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[778] See Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 140; Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 43-97.
[779] Affordances in this cues are put up by the owner of the house in accordance with his personal preferences. In order to get a better grip on how issues of privacy and matters of social distinctions are mediated in a house, the present research is greatly aided by adopting a social-psychological orientation. When houses and their contents are examined on how they affect people as a physical environment and how the environment to shape social interaction is applied.
[780] See Fischer 2009, 184.

concepts together within a methodological framework aimed at an embedded perception and experience study of Aegyptiaca, it was chosen to classify the analyses and interpretations under the heading of 'place-making'.[781] The justification of adopting place-making as a method in order to investigate the Roman house is the way it incorporates the thoughts on human experience, human actions, and the physical world as an immersed phenomenon. It therefore corresponds well with the theoretical framework as presented in chapter 3 (i.e., the central ontological assumption that people as well as their worlds are integrally intertwined and the perception-hermeneutical approach that tries to disentangle the way objects work in relation to the way people think about objects).

Before describing the analytical applications that make-up the tools of place-making, clearer characterisation of what place and place-making entail within the scope of this research should be provided for. As became apparent from the process of dwelling (3.7.1), the term 'place', denotes something more than just a location, but is a totality consisting of concrete things with a material substance, shape, texture, and colour.[782] On the other hand, place is not a physical environment separated from people associated with it, but rather the invisible, normally unnoticed and unintentional phenomenon of people-experiencing-place.[783] This dialectic between the physical and the social implies that as a phenomenological concept, place-making offers a way to articulate more precisely the experienced wholeness of people-in-world, the everyday world of taken-for-grantedness. It is therefore an excellent tool to approach the perception of Egyptian artefacts.[784] This taken-for-grantedness in relation to objects and to habits (see chapter 3), occurs because the house as a dwelling allows routinised practices governed by specific schemata of structures, preferences, and prescriptions.[785] This

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[781] As discussed, place-making means the methodological heading of several place-making tools which attempt to allow a description of a dwelling and its physical and cognitive components. It is thus not identical to a place creation, which is a descriptive term, explaining the way of dealing with the environment as an active and conscious intervention, see Seamon 2013, 16.

[782] See Seamon 2013, 11-12.

[783] Relph states: "*It* [place] *is not a bit of space, nor another word for landscape or environment, it is not a figment of individual experience, nor a social construct.... It is, instead, the foundation of being both human and nonhuman; experience, actions, and life itself begin and end with place*", see Relph 2008, 36; Seamon 2012.

[784] Mol 2013.

[785] See Knorr-Cetina 2001, 184; Bourdieu 1990, 52-6. Relph refers to this experience of place as existential insideness: a situation where one feels so completely at home and immersed in a place that its importance of in the person's everyday life is not usually noticed unless the place dramatically changes in some way, see Relph 1976, 55. As can be added here that this corresponds with Heidegger's theory on broken-tool-theory as the

corresponds on a cognitive level to the responsive and intuitive system as explained in part 3.2 (brain type 1, or 'the fast brain', which recognises an environment and responds to it without consciously having to think about the rules, structures and interpretations).[786] It means that the objects and decorative aspects in the house are no longer consciously experienced; they have blended in with the routinised practices of everyday life. It also implies that those unconscious aspects of the house influence these practices, in the way people act and interact, both with themselves and within their environment. As can be observed, this ties neatly in with the previous thoughts on the agency of objects and the environment and forms a situated context for affordances and materiality. Place as a concept catches the complexities of the various layers of perception and offers a stage to unravel these.[787] It recognises the reality of the world (although inaccessible) and the things as agencies of power, and the way people think about this world and its objects. Things are regarded as totalities. This also accounts for the way 'place' is conceptualised in the method of place-making.[788] It is a unity of practices, ideas, and world, and while its workings cannot be reduced to properties, as a methodology it can investigate different properties in order to see how they act within the whole.[789]

How does 'place' becomes a locus of study? How does it transform itself into a method? A house is not just a collection of things, it is lived space. However, the house does not merely consist of people acting; they act in a space. Therefore the space should be taken into account as a structuring force of behaviour within a place-making method. It should also reckon with its social dynamism, social constructions, actions, and rituals *and* with its materiality and the way objects, architecture and space are able to influence social behaviour. The method of place-making should be considered a toolbox including a set of analytical and interpretative techniques in order to

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unconscious taking-for-grantedness of functional daily things that are not consciously noted until they break down.

[786] Kahneman 2011. On a theoretical level place-making corresponds with the ideas of Merleau-Ponty's body-subject referring to the pre-cognitive, normally unnoticed, facility of the living body to smoothly integrate its actions with the world at hand, see Merleau-Ponty 1962.

[787] See Seamon 2013, 12; Graumann 2002, 95-113; it is therefore a concept which can help unravel the 'a-priori layers of perception', see Mol 2012.

[788] As Norberg-Schulz argues: "*A place is therefore a qualitative, 'total' phenomenon which we cannot reduce to any of its properties such as spatial relationships, without losing its concrete nature out of sight*", see Norberg-Schulz 1980, 8.

[789] The properties that add up to experience of something, or the uncovering of the a priori layers of perception, see Mol 2013, 120.

investigate the negotiations between the cognitive and the physical world.[790] Place-making therefore consists of a way of incorporating the concepts of materiality and the social interaction in the analysis of a house. It brings together environmental psychology, cognitive sciences, and archaeology. Although the terminology of place-making is originally applied in the field of environmental design, as a collection of tools it is of use to archaeology as well.[791] It has the benefit of complementing the rather static and quasi topological tools such as access analysis in space syntax with the study of more symbolically charged phenomena of the house. In this way it can provide objects that do have a cognitive connection with Egypt (which as the former chapter explained, is not necessarily the case) a position within the material and social dynamics of the house, which can subsequently clarify what an object could mean in a social space.

5.1.4 The amalgamation of materiality and psychology in the home: the threshold as an example of place-making

To give an example of how techniques of materiality and psychology can be incorporated as place-making into a holistic analysis of the house, the threshold with hieroglyphs from the Casa del Doppio Larario (see fig. 5.3) serves as a good example in order to introduce the analysis of place-making with regards to Egyptian artefacts. In a general way the threshold is an important artefact, as it is one of those features in a dwelling with significant psychological effects on both inhabitants as well as visitors. Furthermore, the way it is physically shaped and symbolically charged through the way it appears is important for the way it was experienced.[792] The doorway as a

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[790] As described in chapter 3, place-making has as its ultimate goal to describe the house as a holistic unit and to give room to the social values connected to the house and its use as a social space. In addition, as discussed above, its materiality and environmental sources that shape and influence behaviour accordingly must be taken seriously.

[791] This term is adopted when referring to research on monumental buildings dated to the Late Bronze Age Cyprus, incorporating space syntax analyses and social encoding by means of Rapoport's 1990 study on environment-behaviour and non-verbal communication, see Fischer 2009a; 2009b.

[792] Examples of these are for instance pattern analysis, material and object analysis, cognitive mapping, spatial behaviour, personal space, individual and group territoriality (i.e., the mediation of public and private space), access analysis, agent analysis, and visibility analysis. For more information on how the psychological concept of thresholds functions in architecture, see Alexander 1974, 277, 333-4 on the concept of entrance experience. Martin has discussed this for Roman society in which she states that the architectural evidence indicates that the experience of entering the house was very important to the Romans. With a slight variation, almost all examples use several elements which accentuate the act of transition from the street to the house. It consists of a spatial sequence from the entry to the entrance room; a prominent frame around the entry doorway, a change in level at the entry, a change in the level of light. In many cultures the entry, particularly to a house, is

psychological concept means access to the other. It shelters the revelations of the Self and the Other referring to issues of privacy as discussed above.[793] With the respectful (and ritual) hesitation at a doorway as the demarcation of change, one provokes a life of community, of being together with others, but at the same time set boundaries and rules to it.[794] The threshold therefore symbolises a pause between two worlds, both for the users of the house and those visiting it. To the house owner a threshold implies the change of space from public life to the safety of one's home as well as a change of atmosphere. Within the house it denoted a change of activities.[795] Moving from living room to bedroom will affect emotions because the functions of the rooms are different. However, the threshold is also a dialogue between those who live (and their social positions) in the house and those visiting. The threshold embodies in this respect social access and accessibility and it structures relationships between people. In a relatively 'open' society such as can be witnessed in Pompeii these rules might have been of even more importance than in present-day (western) more closed societies, in which boundaries are more strictly demarcated. The pause indicates a moment in which a person has to reflect his relation and status (can a slave enter a cubiculum when he does not have a clear task there?) or is forced to ask for permission and the pause becomes an important articulation of power relations (for instance when a guest asks the owner whether he can enter the tablinum from the atrium). The threshold has the physical appearance of the psychological boundary. If refused admittance to the interior space, the door takes on the character of substantial matter and barrier. It is transformed from an inviting foreshadowing of a pleasant meeting into a massive piece of lamented wood.[796] The threshold's agency is therefore profound, because its physicality defines social relationships. This is why its material properties are important to study.

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provided with a specific relevance. In the case of the Roman houses, one most often entered directly from the public domain of the street or from the narrow sidewalk into the house. The entry space provides a transition in public and private space (Watts 1987). For a more environmental psychological approach on thresholds, see Altman 1975; Mark and Frank 1991, 55-7; the concept of crossing boundaries and spatial structure is discussed in Hillier and Hanson 1984.

[793] Jones 1959; Watts 1987; for specifically boundaries in Pompeian houses, see Lauritsen 2012, 95-114; 2011, 59-75; Staub 2009, 205-21.

[794] See Lang 1985, 211.

[795] See Alexander 1974, 277, 333-4.

[796] See Lang 1985, 210.

The house in which a threshold plays a fundamental role, both physically and with respect to this research is the Casa del Doppio Larario (VII 3,13). As mentioned above, a greywacke slab was found here, a so-called *mensa sacra,* which once was a dedication of the sacred banquet of *Psammetichus* II (594-589 BC), sovereign of the 26th dynasty of Egypt (see fig. 4.1 and fig. 5.3).[797] Unfortunately, the house cannot be considered for a comprehensive case study as it is too damaged; it no longer contains any wall paintings, and its finds were too haphazardly recorded to be of any service. However, the excavation reports clarify that the slab once served as a threshold to the triclinium. Therefore it is a fine example of a small-scale example of place-making within a domestic context. Why would the slab served as a threshold? And why was it placed at the entrance to the triclinium? Observing the ground plan (fig. 5.2) it can be noted that the house is reasonably small and modest, In addition, there was not much space for any differentiation of functions, most likely the rooms had multiple functions.[798] Not much is known about the furnishing and decoration of the triclinium (*g*) apart from its location and the threshold. It can be observed, however, that while visibility-wise it is the deepest space in the house, it was not configuratively the most segregated. Rooms *p* and *q* (fig. 5.2 a-c) were carefully hidden from sight. The triclinium was visible from the street if all the doors were open although it seems to be the deepest and most segregated space. Rooms with a serviceable function occupy a more segregated position in the house and are also hidden from view. This corresponds to issues of privacy, hierarchy and display as discussed above. Rooms with a representational but private character had to seem inaccessible but visible at the same time in order to display the extent of the house. The isovist (see fig. 5.2) illustrates how far a person could look into the house when standing in the entrance.[799] If the house permitted it, this was a good way to visually optimise its status (a vista provides the illusion of one's house being larger than it is, while in theory many spaces could still lie behind). This visual trick show one's wealth (or hides the lack of it).[800]

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[797] It is generally assumed that the slab is derived from this house. However, according to Fiorelli, it originates from the neighbouring house VII 3, 11 (Pappalardo 2001, 86). The slab belongs to the same pharaoh as the *Horologium* obelisk from Heliopolis in Rome, placed near the Ara Pacis by August in 10 BC.
[798] Allison 1999.
[799] As mentioned in 3.7, an isovist is defined as the set of all points visible in all directions from any given vantage point in space and can serve to determine view areas and how these affect movement and behaviour.
[800] The first account of a visual axis or see-through (*Durchblick*)in the Roman house was offered by Drerup 1959 147-74. For a more comprehensive account of how vistas work

No doubt looking at the ground plan room *g* represented the most important space in the house. Nonetheless, the most visible position to place the slab under investigation was of course the threshold leading into the house from the street. Why was the slab not located there? If the slab had to reflect the wealth of the inhabitants, or the possession of knowledge of strange and (maybe) magical signs (assuming one was unfamiliar with hieroglyphs), or an extra symbolic boundary, would it not be more sensible to position it in a location where as many passers-by as possible would see it? The workings of social conventions and spatial layout in the Pompeian *domus* are more complex as argued above. The Egyptian slab was placed specifically in this room because the position it took in the house and the functions that were carried out there. It was the most significant space of the house, and might have been used to receive guests, or work relations; more importantly, it was used to receive people that were invited into the house.
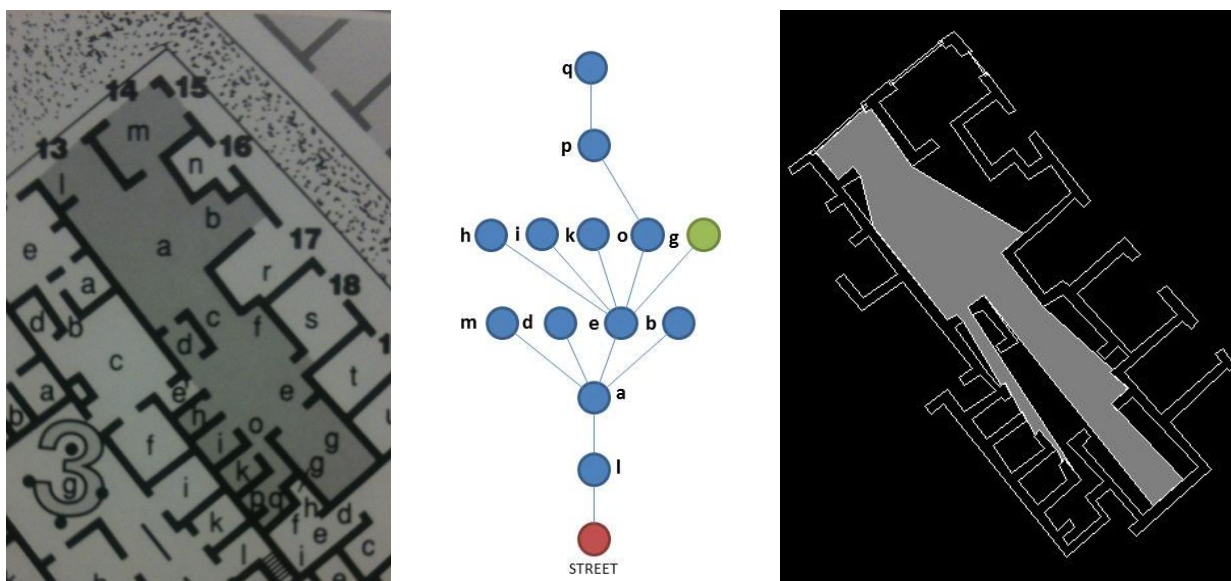
Fig. 5.2 a-c) a: Ground plan and spatial configuration of Casa del Doppio Larario (VII 3, 13). Left (a) the ground plan from *PPM* VI, the triclinium is space *g*; (b) the configuration of the rooms with the root node (red) and the triclinium (green) and (c) an isovist indicating the visibility of the triclinium.

Not every visitor passing by the house needed to see the slab, only those considered sufficiently important by the owner and carefully selected before invited to view it. Three options as to why the threshold was located here can be formulated; first, the slab was placed there because people wanted to create a boundary especially for this room, second, because it was their only

within the Roman house, see Bek 1985, 139-48, Clarke 1991, 16 and Wallace-Hadrill 1988; 1994, 44-6.

space for receiving of guests and way to display their status. So the impression that needed to be made was focused on that room. The third reason could be that the slab was placed there because the main entrance was not in need for such a punctuated boundary. Visitors would not have been explicitly reminded of a boundary as they would not have entered without encouragement. It was therefore more important to utilise specified thresholds in the house. In spite of persistent theories stating that the Roman *domus* was accessible to all members of the public, this was probably merely a visual permission, not an actual invitation to physically enter someone's house.[801] Furthermore, the doors of Pompeii, in general huge and pompous (especially for the small houses) already caused a grand visual impact on the visitor or passing pedestrian. Although the doors were probably opened during the light hours of the day (also to allow for vistas), social restrictions forbade the passing of the threshold, and if need be solved by physical means (e.g., doorman, a dog, or an image of a dog).[802] Therefore putting extra visual restrictions may not have been necessary at this point of entering the house, but only in a later stage when social distinctions became more substantial. A final option for placing the slab in the door to the triclinium instead of at the entrance, albeit contested, is to not display too openly one's cultic preferences. However, this would assume one was familiar with the significance and the associations of hieroglyphs with Isis. With the possible exception of a small minority, this can be seriously doubted.[803]

The second question is why the slab was re-used as a threshold. First of all, as discussed in part 4.5 it could be established that the religious meaning of the slab might have been of significance to the owners and may even have had a cultic importance with reference to Isis, whose temple also housed a slab containing hieroglyphs (table 4.17). It has been determined that the owners of the house might have held a special significance to the Isiac cult, not only the demonstrated by the slab: the lararium also included a bronze

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[801] See Beard 2008, 84-5.
[802] Of which the renowned '*cave canem*' mosaics reminds.
[803] Only those familiar with the Isis cult and those who visited the temple (which housed a limestone slab including hieroglyphs) or those who when in Rome recognised the same writing on the slab as was encarved on the obelisks. The latter might have been difficult because the objects (form, material, and context) are very different, and the recognition would have been solely based on remembering the hieroglyphic script.

statuette of Harpocrates.[804] What is however even more interesting, also with respect to the previous chapter in which was stated that cognitively, exotica are selected for their familiarity rather than their strangeness, is how the slab - which was never intended as such in its original setting- fits in with normal thresholds attested in Pompeii. It has the same colour, size, and appearance as the type of stone most often utilized for thresholds: lava.[805] Lava thresholds were frequently applied for the transition to larger open spaces such as triclinia or tablina.[806] Conceptually, therefore, the slab fits in with the idea of how many other thresholds in Pompeian houses looked like, which could have well dictated its final use in the door opening to room *g*. It cannot be assumed it was especially chosen or imported as it, of course, had the likeness of a Pompeian threshold. However, the way it appeared to the owners might have associated them with thresholds in this case dictating the final application of the object as a threshold. This example indicates that not only selection (as argued in the previous chapter), but also the uses of objects somehow depend on that which is accustomed from existing schemata and cognitive frameworks present in society.

However, except for its physicality which reminded people of thresholds, the hieroglyphs set it apart as an object, rendering it something special to behold. Again, familiarity and otherness go hand in hand within the selection, perception, and use of an object. Thresholds to important rooms of houses often contain mosaics that differentiate the space inside and outside the room in order to mark a difference. However, hieroglyphs never served that purpose in Pompeii except in the present case. Indeed not any other parallel is to be found in Italy. This implies it is certainly remarkable that a threshold contains such features, but in fact it would be for every object in a Pompeian house, for the only other known hieroglyphs present in Pompeii originates from the slab in the Isis temple. Only this other slab could have served as a reference. This poses a problem, however, with relation to the 'Egyptian' perception. Would only those familiar with the cult have known that hieroglyphs could be associated with Egypt? According to Swetnam-

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[804] We should however, be caredul not *a priori* consider such objects to be specifically cult-related, as they could be kept in a household shrine without a connection to the cult, but only as an affiliation to a certain quality of Harpocrates.

[805] Lava is most frequently applied for stone thresholds and in all building phases of Pompei, but during later periods mainly for simpler rooms. Travertine started to come into use contemporarily with the late First- and the Second Style decorations. We do not find marble until the early Imperial period mainly with regard to side plates only, see Staub 2009, 207.

[806] It was the most common, but also cheapest threshold material The more expensive ravertine was applied mainly for smaller door openings.

Burland, laying down the slab as a threshold definitely had religious values (albeit not necessarily Isis cult-related) because of the "*placement at the critical juncture of exterior and interior—a liminal space which, according to Augustine, Romans invoked at least three deities to safeguard—illustrates the power attributed to this object and its sacred script to protect the home and household within.*"[807]

Fig. 5.3) The slab, (probably made out of greywacke) once dedicated to the sacred banquet of Psammetichus II became used as a threshold in the Casa del doppio Larario (VII 3, 13).

Although it could be observed that the cultic association might not have been the only reason for the owners to utilise the slab as a threshold, the argument that the hieroglyphs were perceived as sacred by the owners (if they had knowledge of this) could be valid.[808] A further argument could be made in favour of the existence of a link between this house and the temple, and that the reason why the owners purchased the object was related to cult preferences. The remark Swetnam-Burland makes with regard to the not necessarily cultic association is, however, somewhat problematic: "*The Egyptian nature of an object would strike even a viewer with no cultic association as potent, as the use of largely indecipherable Egyptian phrases in curse tablets and other 'magical' documents attest.*"[809] If the viewer was unfamiliar with the cult, how would he or she have recognised 'The Egyptian nature' of the object? How could a Pompeian have known it concerned writing? In Rome, one might have been aware of the connections between Egypt and hieroglyphs and Isis, because of the profuse presence of obelisks

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[807] See Swetnam Burland 2007, 131.
[808] This was the result of the link to the Isis temple which contained the only other reference to hieroglyphs and, unlike many other Egyptian objects, was publically displayed next to the temple on the sanctuary space.
[809] See Swetnam Burland 2007, 131.

there; however, we cannot assume that it is therefore exactly the same for Pompeians as well. In the case of a substantial number of people not travelling outside Pompeii or Campania, the only other visual connection were the hieroglyphs present in the slab of the Isis temple, also not necessarily known and seen by everyone. For those people unfamiliar with the hieroglyphs, without a necessary association to Egypt or Isis, the unfamiliarity with the signs might however, have catered the same effect? This leads the discussion to the more intentional processes concerning the reason why the slab was used as a threshold. As discussed above, the threshold is a physical boundary with a large psychological impact. However the properties of this particular boundary possessed extra qualities, causing a more profound moment of pause, not only caused by the way it appeared but also by the presence of hieroglyphs. As Heidegger noted (as discussed in 3.4) when things break and seem out of the ordinary as ready-at-hand (*Zuhandenheit*) equipment, they become present-at-hand (*Vorhandenheit*) and human attention is suddenly aroused. One becomes aware of objects instead of non-consciously applying them. The 'foreignness' of the hieroglyphs on the threshold created a perfect moment of pause in which the relationships within the contexts of the house were defined. The threshold of the Casa del Doppio Larario is imbued with extra qualities rendering the boundary even stronger than normal boundaries would have done and not because of its Egyptianness *per se*. Only on those with certain knowledge of the cult, however, would it presumably also have a profound impact caused by the fact it was unknown.

5.1.5 Research objectives
This example of place-making as the bringing together of physical, spatial, social, and psychological data not only served as an explanation of how place-making works, it also demonstrated the practical merits of combining several tools within the interpretation of these objects (especially concerning their social values). Space syntax' access analysis, for example, is a rewarding method in order to get a grip on the use of space, but can be considered a rather one-dimensional tool if one does not include wall painting, floors, lighting, and artefacts in order to study space. It can be argued that the owners made a link to the Isis sanctuary because of the association with hieroglyphs; however, as we do not have other finds or wall paintings to sustain this thought it remains an assumption. However, the way the object was treated through place-making, carefully looking at how

something ends up in a certain context, how it was used and how it was regarded by different viewers, added exactly that which was missing from the previous part: gaining a further insight in the choice people made for a specific object and the social aspects of use and with more detail to the exact locations. In this way the object becomes embedded in the context in which it was used, still making use of the same underlying premises that were discussed in chapter 3 -the cultural embeddedness and the cognitive associations- but in this case the extra step is taken to analyse also the social embeddedness and significance. When there is access to more data than this example can provide, as will be demonstrated in the next paragraphs, this will become even clearer.

5.2 Case study I: the Casa degli Amorini Dorati

5.2.1. Introduction

The first house to be discussed in order to provide an example of the uses of Egypt in domestic contexts is the Casa degli Amorini Dorati (VI 16, 7.38). It has been selected because of a shrine which seems to have been entirely devoted to Isis and her cult which was found in the peristyle area of the house. It therefore exemplifies a case of domestic religion in which Egypt as a concept served to express certain values. These values will be analysed according to the place-making principles as set out in 3.8 and 5.1. The Casa degli Amorini Dorati provides an excellent case study because of its archaeological and historiographical richness. It was carefully excavated in 1902 by Antonio Sogliano. His work presents present-day scholars with a proper contextual representation of the finds of the house. Furthermore, the house was extensively published in the *Häuser in Pompeji* series by Florian Seiler in 1992 and was the subject of Jessica Power's dissertation.[810] Moreover, it is listed in Penelope Allison's online database, which includes all the finds of the house and a detailed description of the rooms.[811] A comprehensive contextual approach directed at the Egyptian objects in the house can thus be carried out as envisioned in the introduction of this chapter.

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[810] Seiler 1992; Powers 2006.

[811] Jacheschemski 1979; Anguissola 2012, 29-36; Sogliano (1903; 1904; 1907, Casa degli Amorini Dorati, *NSA* 4, 549-593); Lipka 2006, 335-9. For the online database project concerning Pompeian household inventory, see http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/house?id=21

All the Aegyptiaca in this case are connected to the shrine, which was attested in the southeastern corner of the peristyle of the house (fig. 5.4a). The shrine consisted of an alcove (of which the pavement has now disappeared) above which on both the south facing and the east facing wall we see two painted panels in yellow within a red frame. On one panel (south), four Hellenistic-Egyptian deities (Anubis, Harpocrates, Isis, and Serapis) are portrayed, the other (east) wall portray objects related to the cult. The shrine also attested a statuette of the falcon-deity Horus (see tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.16). This 42 cm. high alabaster statue once stood on one of the shrine's wooden shelves (see fig. 5.4b). Within discussions on Isis or Aegyptiaca, this shrine has always been treated as an isolated example.

Fig. 5.4 a-b) Left: (a) the Egyptian shrine in the peristyle of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati (photo by the author). Right: (b) the alabaster Horus statue found in the shrine. From D'Errico 1992.

However, there is another find which makes this house important as a case to explore the social values of Egyptian artefacts in context. This is the presence of a second shrine in the peristyle, which housed bronze statuettes of two lares, the Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva and a statue of Mercurius (fig. 5.5a-b). This ostensibly juxtaposition in one space, between Egyptian deities on the one hand and Roman on the other, is a clear starting point in this case study in unraveling the boundaries between first of all the categories of religion, social status, and display and secondly: the appearance of cultural boundaries between Egypt and Rome. To avoid confusing cultural classifications and difficulties concerning the term of *lararium* the two domestic sanctuaries will henceforth be referred to in the

text as the 'Isis shrine' and the 'Capitoline shrine'.[812] Matters concerning research can now be formulated to contribute to answering questions on the use and value of the Egyptian objects: why are these shrines kept apart from each other? How do they differ from one and other? What does that tell us about cults or attached social values? How did the Isis shrine function in relation to the remaining part of the house? Were more objects in the house linked to Egypt besides those found in the shrine? How did the owners deal with these items? This paragraph attempts to show the meaning and use of the shrine and its related objects. This can only become clear if these artefacts are regarded within the network of social and material connections incorporated in the house.

Fig. 5.5) Left: (a) the other shrine in the peristyle (photograph by the author). Right (b): the bronze statuettes belonging to the shrine. From Seiler 1992.

The present case study will be structured as follows: a brief outline of the history of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati will first be provided for, along with a description of the rooms and their contents. Subsequently the analytical part of the 'place-making' shall be carried out. This will consist of a re-evaluation of the objects in relation to the use and experience of the house as well as its spaces by means of the application of space syntax and adopting pattern language as a phenomenological descriptive tool. Attention will further be paid to the configuration, movement, and visibility of the house in relation to the two shrines, as well as a comparison of all the objects, wall paintings and spaces in order to determine the position 'Egypt' occupied in the house. The implication of the analysis for the use of Egypt

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[812] An Egyptian opposing Roman shrine would be a dangerous assumption as it denotes cultural connotations which may not have been apparent. For a further discussion on the terminology of household shrines, see 4.2.

and the Egyptian shrine in its social and religious context will be discussed lastly.

5.2.2 History of the house

Antonio Sogliano excavated the Casa degli Amorini Dorati in 1902. He excavated and restored the house, the progress of which was partly documented in the *Giornali degli Scavi* in 1903 and 1907 and later published in the *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*.[813] The name Amorini Dorati first appears in the *Giornali degli Scavi* 1905 and is derived from the golden inlaid cupids adorning the walls of one of the cubicula (Room I) of the house.[814] The main entrance of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati was situated on the ancient *cardo maximus* (the present-day via Stabiana), close to the Vesuvian gate. During its final phase the house had an entrance on the west side of the street (between Insula VI 16 and the unexcavated Insula V 6) and one on the east side of the street (between Insulae VI 16 and VI 15). Its ground floor measured *c.*800 m^2, implying that with reference to atrium house dimensions in Pompeii it was thus of a medium to large size.[815] According to Seiler, the house consists of three distinctive historical phases: a Late Samnitic, a Republican, and an Imperial phase which span almost 3 centuries. The first phase consists of a forerunner of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, atrium House no. 7 (250-150 BC). This phase is only determinable by means of a limestone wall that runs from Cubiculum C (see fig. 5.6) to Room E. Examples of First Style decoration are preserved, however, in Room C. This causes the date of the first phase to fall in *c.*150 BC, while the wall technique itself could be dated to the late 3rd to the beginning of the 2nd century BC. Another forerunner of the house is the atrium House 38, located at the *Vico dei Vettii*, which had an adjoined taberna (no. 5).

During the second phase of these houses (150-80 BC), as far as can be seen, House 38 is expanded slightly to the south. House 7 included a Tuscan atrium without any side rooms. The most significant changes in the house plan layout can be witnessed during the late Republican period, when the two houses are joined together. It was not a complete reconstruction because the owner applied both the former ground plans as foundation for his new house. The new centre of the room was formed by the peristyle, to which

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[813] *Notizie degli Scavi,* Sogliano 1905, 85-6; 1906, 374-83; 1907, 345-51; 1908, 26-43
[814] In the *Giornale* of August 1905 (*Giornale degli Scavi* 1904-1912, 29-30), from Powers 2006, 30 n. 21.
[815] See Brandt 2010; the house belongs to Wallace-Hadrill's so-called Quartile 4, see Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 81.

many less recent rooms were now exposed to. The main way in is formed by the entrance of House 7, while this opens to a more important street. The atrium behind this entrance, however, did not seem to have changed much.[816] After this major reconstruction the house remains more or less the same in terms of construction. The final building phase before the renovation done after the earthquake (imperial 30 BC- AD 62) also saw important reconstructions and renewals of decorations, although not as major as the previous phases. In this phase a novel water pressure system was installed throughout Pompeii and richer houses could therefore develop elaborate waterworks and fountains, something which also occurred in the peristyle of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. Some of the repaired walls and stylistically interpreted walls date from the period of Caligula and the Claudian phase (AD 30-40). Seiler also notes major work and restoration after the earthquake in AD 62.[817] The damage it caused to this house seems to have been relatively small; however, certain rooms (e.g., Exedra G and Atrium B) were renovated. Notable too are the redecorated rooms in a second phase of the Fourth Pompeian Style which are maybe due to bad renovation or another earthquake. This makes that the house possessed a layout and decoration of a relatively late period in the final phase of Pompeii's history.

5.2.3 Description and discussion of the Egypt-connected objects from the Casa degli Amorini Dorati

A description of the shrine and its contexts will be presented prior to the analysis in order to clarify the angle for investigation. The shrine was situated in the southeastern corner of the peristyle and consisted of a painted background (fig. 5.4a): two yellow panels (one on the eastern wall, the other on the southern wall) with a red border decorated with a white figurative design. The panel on the southern wall includes the Egyptian deities: Anubis on the left wearing a dark red *chlamys* (a Greek type of short cloak often worn by young soldiers and messengers, and by Hermes, the deity Anubis was associated with) and boots with red laces; in his right hand we see a palm branch and in his left a caduceus.[818] He is flanked by Harpocrates in a white garment and holding a cornucopia. Only his head and a part of the shoulder are preserved. Isis is also dressed in a long white

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[816] The floor is raised to level with the new height of the peristyle which is 30 cm. higher. See Seiler 1992, 78.

[817] See Seiler 1992, 81-2.

[818] This staff also connected Anubis to Hermes-he was referred to as Hermanubis in this guise.

garment with long sleeves; a red and black band runs from shoulder to her waist. She holds a sistrum in her right hand; her left hand is no longer visible (it may have held a situla or an ankh). Serapis on the far right is dressed in a long white garment, too. He holds a sistrum in his right hand and a cornucopia in his left hand. Below them, a group of figures are discernible. Due to their bad condition it is not exactly clear what they represent. They may have depicted an Isiac procession or an offering scene. According to Boyce (1937) one of the figures portrays an anthropomorphic 'blue-coloured Egyptian idol', its head is covered by means of a green *nemes*. We can also see the end of a green wooden table on which a metal krater is placed.[819] The upper part on the eastern wall depicts attributes of the cult of Isis. It was created in order to resemble a cupboard on which the objects were placed; other objects are created to look as if they were suspended from the painting's small green frame. Marks on the wall indicate a real shelf was also present. The above objects comprise of a sistrum, an offering dish (described as a *patera umbilicata*) and a situla.[820] Below the painting we see a large *cista* made of reed. It depicts a crescent moon, a smaller *cista* resembling the first but without a crescent moon and with two indistinguishable red objects flanking it,[821] and at the end a coiled *ureus* snake in reddish-brown and black colours. Similar to the southern wall, the eastern wall also includes pictures on the lower side of the panel. They are now hardly visible, but possibly represent two ducks with water plants (most likely a lotus).[822] Finally, the snakes on the lower zone of the shrine should also be mentioned. Their inclusion is traditionally associated with domestic shrines. Nonetheless, they are absent from the other shrine and depicted on the Isis shrine. A number of finds linked to the shrine are all found in situ and seem to belong to the altar. They are described in Sogliano, Boyce, Seiler, Allison and Powers and listed in table 5.1. The objects as listed below were probably placed on the shelves attached to the walls of the shrine and could therefore be directly linked to a cultic context. It is important to consider all these objects within the reconstruction of the use of the shrine, thus including artefacts associated with Egypt or directly with the cult of

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[819] See Boyce 1937, 55-7.
[820] See Boyce 1937, 56.
[821] A *cista* is a box to safe keep for instance jewelry; a so-called *cista mystica* is known to especially serve during the Mystery cults and was believed to have housed snakes, see Alvar 2008, 260.
[822] As discussed in 4.6, the duck holding a lotus flower might connect Isis and Nilotic scenes, indeed a rare combination (see 4.5).

Isis.[823] All the objects together made the final impression on the viewer, and all of the objects played a part in the religious practices of the inhabitants involved with the cult.

OBJECTS FOUND IN THE ISIS SHRINE AT THE CASA DEGLI AMORINI DORATI		
Object	**Material**	**Notes**
Statuette of Horus	Alabaster	
Statuette of Fortuna	White marble	Seated on a throne, head missing
Foot stepping on a toad	White marble	Broken off
Two plates	Porphyry	
Balance		Parts
Disks	Bronze	
Small bottle	Glass	
Cylindrical vase	Lead	Fragments
Lamp	Green glaze	Depicts Harpocrates, Isis, and Anubis
Coin		Neronian

Table 5.1) The objects belonging to the Isis shrine in the peristyle at the Casa degli Amorini Dorati.

The majority of the items make sense within the context of Roman religious practice such as offers (a coin and disks), sacrificial paraphernalia (e.g., lamp, porphyry plates, bottle, small vases) or containers holding ritual ointments or sacred water. The marble statue of a seated female deity is interpreted as Fortuna. She was also mentioned in 4.3.2 where it was concluded that the choice to represent the Hellenistic-Egyptian deities, and Egypt without the characteristics of Fortuna, were mainly found in the wealthier houses, its separation from other Roman deities denoted a social decision rather a cultic one.[824] Another object from this shrine to catch the attention was a lamp depicting the same Anubis, Harpocrates, and Isis (minus Serapis). It was also mentioned within the discussion on green-glazed

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[823] As a study on the sanctuary of Isis demonstrates, the constant focus on the Egyptian statues of the sanctuary overemphasises the "Egyptian" appearance of the sanctuary, while Graeco-Roman aspects, too, played a role in the sculptural decoration of the sanctuary, see Bülow-Clausen 2011, 94.

[824] As discussed in 4.3.2. The choice to deliberately display the Hellenistic version of the deities and the social position of the inhabitants of the house is of relevance with regard to the discussion on social emulation as discussed in 5.1. The reason for this is that, when it was an aesthetic choice to portray all Alexandrian deities, it was not emulated to lower classes as they only appear in the wealthy or larger houses in Pompeii. This is interesting in the light of the discussion found in 4.3. The adoption of Isis as Hellenistic-Egyptian goddess together with Harpocrates and Serapis (and sometimes Anubis) could be established to be a separate 'tradition' from the occurence of Isis-Fortuna, who was never accompanied by these deities within domestic sanctuaries. A question arising from this observation was whether they would then represent two separate deities (*in casu* Isis and Isis-Fortuna) within perception of the followers. The discovery of a statue of Fortuna, who would have made the association between Isis and Fortuna, formed an argument in favour of a socio-aesthetic choice rather than a religious one.

material from 4.4 (and shown in fig. 4.18a). The case is of relevance to the discussion of this shrine and the cognitive links between various concepts of Egypt, because the lamp not only depicts Isiac deities, it also consists of a green glaze which could be associated with Egypt. The material is similar to the Egyptian faience-like statuettes of Ptah-Pataikos and Bes found in several houses and imported from Memphis. It was argued that the owners consciously selected this lamp for iconographical and material reasons. In this case they might have deliberately opted to 'Egyptianise' the shrine and linked several concepts of Egypt to it.

The final and most important object from the shrine comprises a statuette of the Egyptian deity named Horus. Once set in a rectangular white marble base no longer present,[825] it was cut out of a yellowish-pink alabaster and portrays this falcon-headed deity in an Egyptian style. This implies that the statue has a characteristic, formal and rigid pose, one foot before the other and his arms pushed against his side. He wears an Egyptian headdress (*nemes*) and an Egyptian kilt-like garment (*shendyt*). Next to the divergent iconography and style, this statue stands out because of the alabaster which is an unusual material with regard to statuettes, at least in Pompeii. Discussions on this statue link to its connections with the Isis cult and the debate on Egyptian/Egyptianised objects and the concept of authenticity as introduced in part 2.3.1. The question that rises in this context is whether the statuette contained a genuine import from Egypt. Did one know who or what this statue was evidence of? Concerning its possible value as an import, it is difficult to establish the exact provenance of the material. As mentioned before, the source of the material is disputed. While Di Maria and Falanga believe the statue is an accurate Roman copy, Swetnam-Burland and Sogliano deem it an Egyptian import.[826] Further, although many objects in Egypt are made from alabaster, in the Roman period other sources to procure alabaster are in use next to Egypt, such as in Asia Minor, Tunisia, Algeria, and Italy itself.[827] However, even then it contains a unique piece, because as far as is known, not only it is the only Horus-statuette is in

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[825] See Sogliano, in *Notizie degli Scavi* 1907, 549-93, fig. 7; In Sogliano's view the marble base was added later, which may be an argument for it originally being an Egyptian import.

[826] See Swetnam-Burland 2002; Di Maria 1989, 140-1, no. 14.7; Falanga 1989, 302; Sogliano 1907, 549-93, 556. The argument for the statuette being an import from Egypt is endorsed by the Egyptologists Kaper and van Walsem. Based on the material, technique, proportions, execution (the way in which the back pillar ends on the shoulders) and iconography, they opine that the statue beyond any doubt originates from Egypt and most probably date from either the Late- or Ptolemaic period. Kaper and van Walsem, pers. comm., april 2012 (Examination carried out by means of photographic evidence).

[827] Borghini 1989, 136-52; Ward-Perkins 1992, 159.

Pompeii, but on the whole Italian peninsula Horus statues are unfamiliar (except for one object described below). Even in Egypt there are no artefacts displaying this combination of size, material, type, and iconography. Horus would normally occur on an amulet or in bronze statuettes, but never as a larger stone sculpture. Furthermore, although alabaster was frequently utilised during the entire Egyptian antiquity, it never served to create statues of deities. The only iconographical parallel was found in Rome, however, the size and material diverge considerably. This Horus statue comprises of an almost life-size (1,63 m.) statue of consisting of black granite and was, found near the Iseum Campense and currently on display in the Glyptothek München.[828] Just as with the slab of *Psammetichus* II (see 5.1), the discussion on this specific find raises important questions concerning the adaptation of Egyptian artefacts into Roman contexts and the social interaction between inhabitant and visitors of the house. Would the latter have considered the statue to be Egyptian? Would they have recognised it as a statue of Horus? This last notion would be doubtful, as there was no parallel in Pompeii. In addition Horus was unknown to Roman Italy. Even to the Isis initiates and priests, the Egyptian Horus was either unfamiliar or of a too minor significance to display. There is not a single reference to him in the sacral paintings of the *sacrarium* (where all the related cult animals and deities were portrayed), nor is his name to be found anywhere in Latin epigraphy.[829] If the depiction is unknown, matters such as style, material, or distance would have been the decisive features on which any acquisition was finally based, not iconographical meaning.[830]

It can be argued, on the basis of the description and the questions it generated, that objects in the shrine and in particular the Horus statuette are able to shine a light on the perception and use of Egyptian objects and the social values surrounding these objects; beyond their possible value as a

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[828] This statue (black granite, 163 cm., imported from Egypt and dated to the 29th Dynasty) belonged to the Iseum Campense. It was found near the *Santa Maria sopra Minerva* in 1635, implying that both statues were found in an explicit cultic context. However, it cannot be assumed that the statuette of the *Casa degli Amorini Dorati* was purchased because of the knowledge of this particular statue, see Roullet 1972, 90, no. 113.

[829] See Bricault 2005,

[830] Of course, knowledge of the deity could have been present. A number of the inhabitants of the house was clearly somehow connected to and, at least, followers of the cult and had a uniquely profound knowledge as to Pompeii of the cult and its associations. This knowledge becomes apparent by means of multifarious features found in the shrine: (a) the implicit use of Nilotic imagery i.e., of two ducks and lotus flowers (and thus the conceptual connection to the Nile and Isis), (b) the statuette of Fortuna (c) the connection between Isis and Fortuna, (c) the portraits of Isis with all the other connected deities of the Isiac pantheon and (d) the choice for the green-glaze lamp portraying these deities.

sacred object they also carried important social values. Showing off Egyptian deities could enhance one's social status, by expressing an intimate knowledge of and access to the Isis cult. Furthermore. Displaying a rare, exotic and beautiful object in one's house could have made a strong impression on visitors. These are also values that could be directly perceived, while the fact that it was an imported object from Egypt needed to be communicated.[831] The question is in which manner these two concepts, social status, and display and sacred value and religious practices interact inside the house? Was the statue prominently displayed and visible? From where? Was it accessible from the visitor's perspective or from the inhabitants? These issues are well approachable by means of configuration, visibility, and agent analyses.

5.2.4 Description and discussion of the house and remaining finds in relation to the Egyptian shrine

The house, its finds, layout, wall paintings, and contents will now be described. The main focus will lie on the part of the house which accommodates the Isis shrine, the peristyle. Special attention will be given to the other shrine in the peristyle, as it forms an interesting juxtaposition with the Isis shrine, with regard to subject, representation, and position in the space. The rooms will be referred to with capital letters as indicated on the plan (see fig. 5.7). On the basis of decoration patterns and configuration, they can be divided into the atrium zone, peristyle zone, and service zone (fig. 5.6).[832]

The atrium zone
Located at the north edge of the house the atrium therefore does not produce a straight line of vision into the deeper spaces of the house, as often witnessed in atrium houses.[833] With the reconstruction during the late Republican period, the representational function of the house probably shifted from the atrium to the peristyle.[834] As to the configuration and

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[831] This, however, was not a quality immediately visible to anyone who did not purchase the object. Would this have been communicated explicitly? The value of distance, or perceived distance, is an important issue which needs to be discussed within a social and religious context. The workings hereof are further discussed in 5.2.6 in accordance with Mary Helms's theory and the perception of geography and geographical distance.

[832] The various zones, or suites of rooms, are not only indicated by means of the difference in function, but are also differentiated in colour, location, wall painting, and flooring. All rooms cluster as a zone because of the repetition of patterns, see Watts 1987, 153.

[833] See 5.1; Wallace-Hadrill 1994.

[834] See Dwyer 1991, 25-6, 40; McKay 1975, 41, 46; Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970, 313.

decoration of wall painting, four rooms belonging to the atrium zone: the two Cubicula (C and D), the Tablinum (E), and the Exedra (G). They are all physically attached to the atrium and all slightly closed off from the peristyle area.

Fig. 5.6) Suites of rooms distinguishable in terms of function and decoration. Indicated are: the atrium zone (green), peristyle zone (red) and service zone (purple).

Each contain similar wall paintings when compared to other spaces in the house. The doorways to the peristyle and to the exedra could be closed off as was presumably also the case with the doorway to the tablinum. According to Maiuri, the impluvium was out of use at the time of the eruption.[835] The atrium was decorated in Third Style and never redecorated, merely restored. This implies that several walls do not exhibit a true Third Style rendering, but a Fourth Style imitation of Third Style paintings.

This could be a conscious decorative choice. However, it could also be claimed that it was carried out as a cost-effective act. Interestingly, too, the First Style incrustations present in the two cubicula C and D were in all probability left here on purpose and carefully restored, not repainted. The effort made in order to recondition incrustation style rules out the possibility of cost-effective renovation, at least in these rooms. Only the lower walls were newly decorated in a Fourth Style.[836] Rooms C and D were interpreted as cubicula. Room C furthermore was decorated with Fourth Style paintings and displayed alternating red and yellow panels divided by means of a black

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[835] See Powers 2006, 48, following Della Corte's notes that the area was disturbed at the time of excavation, see *Giornale degli Scavi* 1899-1904, 171, 175.
[836] Powers 2006, 162-3; Laidlaw 1985, 236-7; Seiler 1992, 26, 28, 95.

frame.[837] Room D had the same style of decoration as cubiculum C, with red and yellow panels. First Style cornices framed the ceiling. Room C counted two panels with a white frame as pictorial painting, whereas the walls of Room D consisted of floating figures.[838]
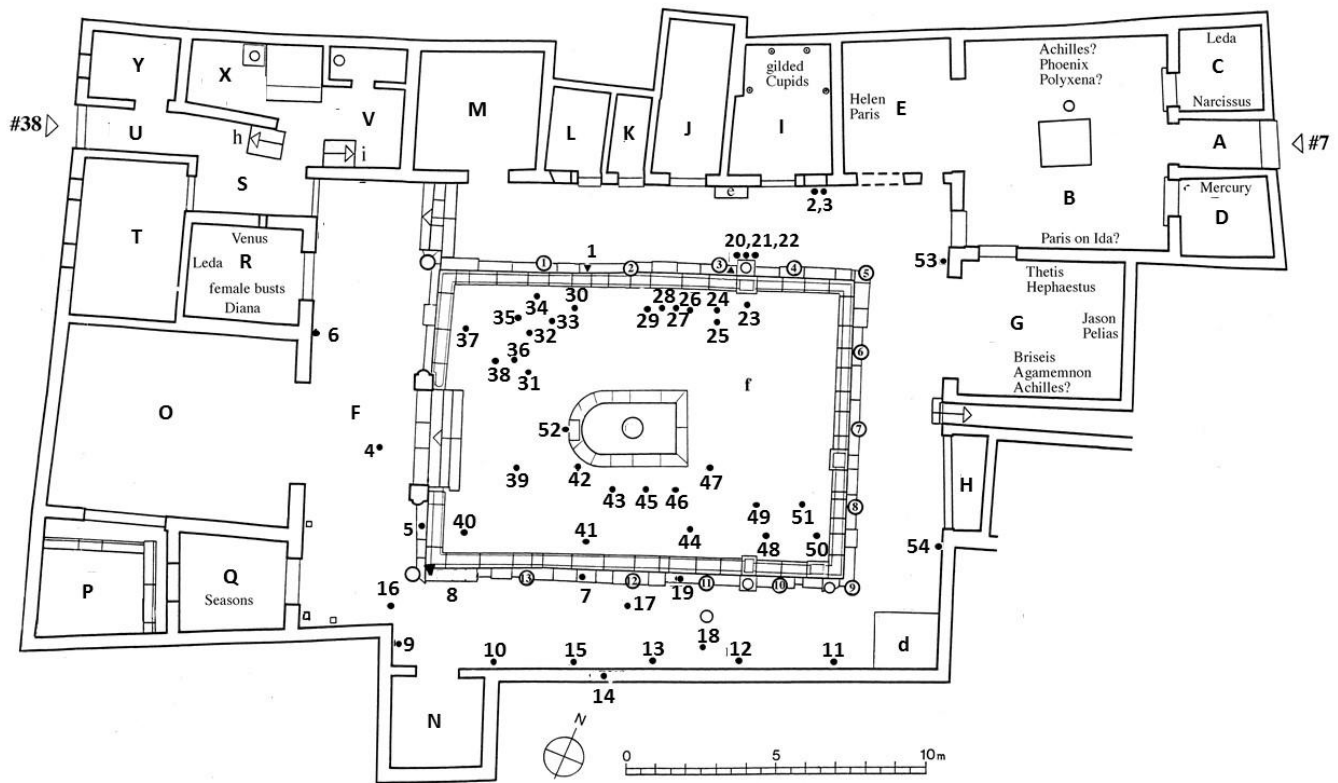
Fig. 5.7) Plan of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. The find spots of all objects found in the house and their characteristics are indicated. The numbering corresponds to the finds listed in table 5.5. After Powers 2006.

All remaining rooms in the atrium zone with the exception of the cubicula displayed large mythological paintings connected to Trojan mythology.[839] The majority hereof display a Third Style imitation applied after AD 62. The west wall of the atrium has a black base with linear geometric decoration and middle zones in red and black. There are no pictures here, but at the very right (against the northwest corner) there is a niche. The north wall contains original Third Style paintings on the east side. At the left side we again see a Third Style imitation. The south wall is largely faded and also restored after

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[837] On the north wall we see Leda and the Swan. The painting on the south wall is no longer visible. It was described by Sogliano and seems to have portrayed Narcissus, see *PPM* V, 728; Sogliano *NSc* 1906 379; Seiler 1992, 27.

[838] On one wall Mercury flanked by two Eros figures is still visible.

[839] See fig. 5.7 for the location and description of these scenes.

AD 62. However, in the centre, a part of a painting portrays Paris herding on Mount Ida. On the north wall a badly visible scene probably depicted the romance between Achilles and Polyxena.[840] Room E represents the tablinum. It measures 15,75 m² and shares its north wall with that of the atrium. Its floor consists of an *opus signinum* with a mosaic representing a geometric emblema in the middle. The tablinum, as with most Pompeian atrium houses, has an entrance to the atrium and to the peristyle, functioning as a transitional room. The present situation does not entirely agree with the past. The entrance to the garden is now demolished and a large opening to the garden where there was once only a window and the doorway which is still visible.[841] Both open up to the tablinum from the atrium and the exit to the peristyle could be closed off. The tablinum has Third Style wall paintings, and also includes scenes from the Trojan myth.[842] This painting knows another parallel in the house of Giasone (IV 5,18), as does the painting of Achilles and Polyxena en Jason and Pelias. The painting in the tablinum is probably the first scene one's gaze is directed at after entering the house. It lies straight ahead and one's gaze will only be distracted when a glimpse of the peristyle is seen. The panel on the north side has, however, disappeared.[843]

The Exedra G had the most elaborate paintings. Along with the way the floor was decorated, its position within the house and shape, this gave rise to the view it had originally served as a dining room.[844] The figural scenes in Third Style painting portray, on the east wall (the rear of the room) Jason and the Peliads. Jason stands before a table on the right while a man with a bull

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[840] This painting could be interpreted in analogy of the painting in the Casa di Giasone (IX 5, 18) which is better preserved. The painting of the atrium is nowadays located in the National Archaeological Museum of Napels: *Museo Nazionale di Napoli* Inv. no. 20559. Polyxena was Priam's, King of Troy, youngest daughter with Hecuba. According to myth, Polyxena and her brother Troilus visited a fountain where Achilles fell in love with Polyxena and killed Troilus.

[841] See Seiler 1992, 30.

[842] The west wall shows a Trojan scene: Paris convincing Helena to accompany him to Troy. Behind him we see Aphrodite. Between Helena and Paris stands a small nude Eros figure. Paris is dressed in an oriental costume and is seated to the left, Helena to the right. Aphrodite stands behind Paris had helps him to convince Helena to leave, Helena is aided by a servant. Eros points to the open door, see PPM V, 738, fig. 42.

[843] The narrative, however, could only be seen in its entirety when standing right in front or in the tablinum. For a further discussion on the paintings, see Hodske 2007 190-1, taf. 80, no. 374.

[844] See Seiler 1992, 35, 97-9. Although Seiler believed the exedra to be for dining purposes, it is uncertain if this function existed until the final stages of the existence of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati.

approaches him from the left.[845] The Peliads stand on the stairs above. The painting on the south wall represents the release of Briseis. We see her standing to the left, while Agamemnon is seated on the throne in the middle. Achilles stands behind him to the left, recognisable by means of his posture. [846] The painting on the north wall depicts Thetis in Hephaistos' forge, picking up weaponry for her son Achilles.[847] It is claimed the exedra served dining purposes, it is uncertain if this function was carried out until the final stages of the existence of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati.[848]

The peristyle zone

The Peristyle (F) was without a doubt the most important part of the house, being the central, the most richly furbished, and (see fig. 5.7) the largest zone in the house. This implied that the principal area of the house was dedicated to private affairs (i.e., living and entertainment) and not for labour related activities. The artefacts attested in the peristyle at least remind us to be careful with linking notions of wealth solely to the size of a house. Whereas this house was not one of the largest estates, with more than thirty marble items, reliefs, theatre masks, herms, and other sculptures found, the peristyle possessed the largest quantity of marble sculpture of all domestic contexts within Pompeii. The majority was arrayed around a large rectangular pool in the centre of the garden (fig. 5.13e).[849] Rectangular plaques decorated with masks are set on pilasters in the garden, and theatrical masks and disks hang between the surrounding columns of the portico. Additional marble reliefs were positioned in the wall of the colonnade around the garden, including the representation of a satyr depicted in a classicising style. Around the pool in the centre of the garden were small herms as well as statues of a rabbit, a boar and a dog, and a bird and a dog.

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[845] Only one similar painting was found in Pompeii to wit on the west wall of the triclinium of the Casa di Giasone (IX 5,18). It is almost an exact copy of the painting in the exedra of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati.

[846] The scene depicts Briseis, Patroclos and Achilles, see Schefold 1952, 54. For issues concerning this interpretation, see Seiler 1992, 111; Powers 2006, 56.

[847] Seiler 1992, 111-2.

[848] According to Allison, the limited quantity of finds from Room G suggests the presence of a storage container (as in Room 10 in the *Casa della Venere in Bikini*, Room 11 in the Casa del Menandro, and Room E in House I 7,19). A ceramic jar which seems a rather utilitarian vessel for this formal area is also noted. Perhapsthe function of a dining room was replaced by means of the triclinia at the other side of the peristyle. However, there may have been a differentiation in the use of dining rooms and that a gathering in Room G was meant for a specific public to recline. Seiler states that, after the earthquake, the exedra was repaired. Next, an extra entrance to the exedra was built in order to give access to the room from the atrium which would probably have now and again served as a reception room.

[849] For a complete list of all the finds, see table 5.5 in section 5.2.5.

Moreover, a marble sundial, double-sided herms depicting Bacchus, children alternated with sculpted and painted marble plaques (pinakes) showing tragedy masks and ritual Bacchic scenes were placed here. Numerous marble fragments including remnants (spolia) of earlier reliefs hint at an abundance of styles and subjects including Oriental themes such as the Libyan queen Omphale wearing Hercules' lion skin.[850] Another important object was a relief depicting Venus and Cupid. It was attributed to a 4th century BC Attic workshop in Greece (fig. 5.13b).[851]

The garden was enclosed by a portico, in which the two shrines were attested. The background of the walls of the peristyle were coloured black, and was moreover polished with marble dust to reflect light, would have made the two yellow and red shrines which are the centre of our discussion two outstanding features within the portico. Two other prominent decorative features on the walls were two obsidian mirrors immured in the east wall (fig. 5.13c). The floors of the portico, which consisted of *cocciopesto* pavement, also counted a large number of inserted pieces of coloured marbles (fig. 5.13d). The 'Capitoline' altar was placed against the north wall of this garden between Rooms I and J. Standing out against the wall it was immediately visible on entering the peristyle.[852] Next to the bronze statuettes of the Capitonline Triad, the lares and Mercury, the shrine consists of a bronze jug and cylindrical bronze container, a lead vase, and an inkwell. The shrine's core coloured base is painted in imitation of *giallo antico*, a yellow limestone with pronounced red veins. Its large red circular form on the front probably imitated porphyry. Ten rooms were situated adjacent to the peristyle, which are considered part of the atrium zone: the cubicula (I, M, N, Q, R), Triclinium (O), Latrine (K), and store rooms (J, L). The cubicula were all richly decorated by means of Fourth Style paintings. However, Room I was the most outstanding space of the area because of the decoration and presumably the most important cubiculum of the peristyle. It did not include any mythological scenes, but a red and yellow pattern with golden inlaid cupids in the walls. The large triclinium was situated on a raised platform

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[850] For location and description of the statuettes see fig. 5.7 and table 5.5. For a discussion of their iconographic theme, see Bergmann, 2008, 56-7.

[851] See Seiler 1992, 123-4. Another Attican votive relief of Aphrodite was found in house V, 3, 10 see Sogliano 1901, 400-2; Bragantini 1991, in *PPM* III, 935-7. For more general information on the import of Greek votive reliefs into Pompeii and Italy, see Froning 1981, 55-6.

[852] It even intruded into the much frequented circulation space of the portico, see Powers 2006, 109.

overlooking the garden. Garden P behind the room may have merely served as a source of light for the triclinium.

The service area

The service area with its kitchen and a few adjacent rooms presumably housed servants and storage. Like the atrium, it was rather closed off from the peristyle zone and also had its own entrance to the street. It consisted of a small undecorated courtyard (S) and a simple floor made of beaten earth (*terra battuta*). A wooden stairway along the north side of the room led to an upper floor. The rooms adjoining to the courtyard are V, X, T, and Y, of which a corridor U led to the street through entrance 38. Of these rooms, Room V may well have been used as a kitchen, while it had a circular *fusorium* and a bench along the north wall.[853] Room X functioned as a latrine; rooms T and Y are more difficult to ascertain. The latter is a simple room and was identified by Seiler as a cubiculum. The finds of the room, which consisted of bronze ornaments of furniture ornaments, a foot, and a marble bust of a young woman, suggests that it functioned as a storage room. Since the stairs to the upper stories are situated in the service area, they might belong to the same zone, however, they could also have belonged to separate tenants and thus consist of apartments of which the entrance was in the service area of the Amorini Dorati.

5.2.5 Place-making in the house: configuration, visibility, and movement

Configuration of the rooms

As discussed in chapter 3 the analysis of the house will be analysed in several parts, of which the first will be devoted to analysing the configuration of the rooms.[854] This implies that the relation between the spaces of the house will be studied e.g., how many adjoining spaces a certain room has, the degree of integration a certain space has in relation to the rest of the house, the level of control a space bears over other parts of the house, and how many spaces must be traversed in order to reach certain spaces. This will present us with an indication of the way in which the rooms were utilised in terms of interaction, accessibility and spatial hierarchies. The spaces will be divided according to convex spaces i.e., spaces where no line between any of two of its points crosses the perimeter.

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[853] See Seiler 1992, 68-9, 73, 94.
[854] See 3.7.3 for a discussion on the exact methods.
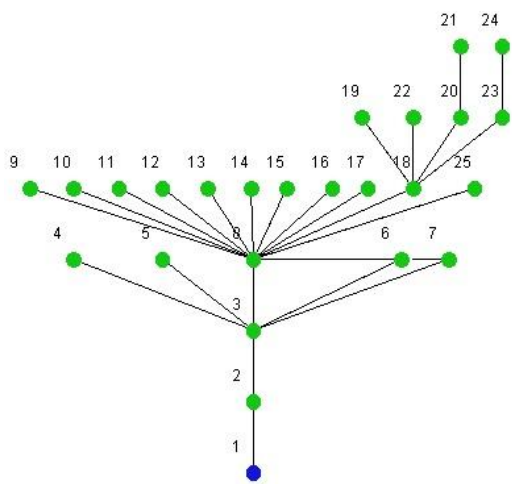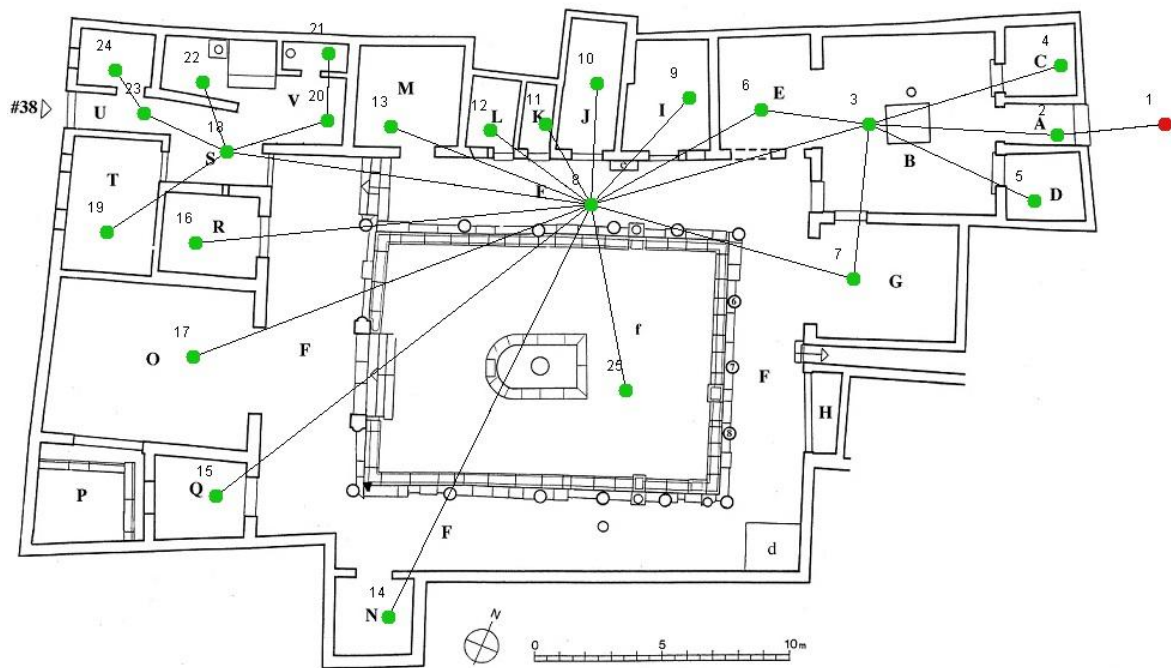
TABLE ACCESS GRAPH OF THE CASA DEGLI AMORINI DORATI					
	Real Relative Asymmetry value			**Depth**	**Control value**	
	MIN.	MEAN	MAX.	TOTAL	MIN.	MAX.
Graph	0,27	0,79	1,27	6	0,08	10,37
Atrium (3)		0,49		2		4,58
Peristyle (8)		0,27		3		10,37
Service area (18)		0,47		4		3,08
The maximum RRA value is represented by Rooms 21 and 24 in the service quarters; the minimum Control value belongs to all cubicula in the peristyle and the garden.						

Fig. 5.8) Access analysis of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati as calculated from Entrance 7. Above: the plan (after Seiler 1992) and graph, below: the configuration and accompanying calculations.

First the results from the access graphs and its calculations (fig. 5.8) will be discussed.[855] Access graphs are most helpful when analysing complex

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[855] The access graph or justified graph, is described in the space syntax glossary as a graph restructured so that a specific space is placed at the bottom, "the root space". All spaces located one syntactic step away from root space are positioned on the first level above it. All spaces two spaces away on the second level, etc. Justified graphs offer a visual picture of the overall depth of a lay-out seen from one of its points. A tree-like justified graph has the majority of nodes many steps (levels) away from the bottom node. In such a system the mean depth is high and described as deep. A bush-like justified graph has most nodes near the bottom. Its system is described as shallow, see Klarqvist 1993.

domestic settings or urban layouts where the configuration can extract complexities not noticeable at first glance. The configuration of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati does in this respect not deliver many surprises with regard to the identity of the individual rooms. For instance, calculating the spaces indicates that the atrium, peristyle, and Room S (the courtyard) are the main dividers of access (i.e., the highest control over other spaces), with the peristyle as the most powerful space in terms of control and interaction. This is not really surprising, as they also occur on the map as central areas, with the peristyle as the most important and largest space. It is the most integrated room in the house. According to space syntax theory it is the space where one is most likely meet other people, and controls the most access to other rooms (a high control value and a high integration value).[856] The cubicula situated in the atrium present another picture, they have the lowest control values within the house and therefore represent the most passive spaces, albeit not very segregated with regard to the overall structure.[857] These rooms were probably utilised for storage, daily activities, and business interactions with clients of a lower status than the house owner.

The area calculated to be the most segregated space also follows the established pattern, which is represented by means of the service quarter. These were located at the very rear of the house (the most syntactical steps removed from the entrance) and meant to be invisible and tucked away in a corner of the house. People who would visit the service quarters from entrance 38 would not have entered any other space in the house but these quarters, as it had its own entrance.[858] Domestic servants furthermore should have easy access to all rooms in the house, as their proximity to the triclinium and peristyle is required, nonetheless, at the same time they

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[856] Calculated by means of the justified graph are (a) connectivity measuring the number of immediate neighbours directly connected to a space, (b) integration describing the average depth of a space to all other spaces in the system; these spaces can be ranked from most integrated to most segregated, and (c) control value measuring the degree to which a space controls access to its immediate neigbouring spaces taking into account the number of alternative connections each of these neighbours has, see Klarqvist 1993.

[857] On the social consequences of higher or lower control values, see Hanson and Hillier 1984; Hanson 1999. For control values applied to an archaeological case study, see DeLaine 2004, 157-63.

[858] It seems that the structure of the house is even more easy to enter if accessed from this area, for the peristyle becomes even more integrated and its control over other spaces even greater than when accessed from Entrance 7.

should also be invisible. [859] These quarters were therefore visually concealed, but configurationally, too, it was the most segregated space. When reviewing the visitor's perspective entering from entrance 7, one should actually omit the entire service area, because it was a self-contained space that if needed to be visited, it was approached from the other entrance.

As to the overall structure (captured by means of the Mean Real Relative Asymmetry value, MRRA), it counts 0,79.[860] On its own this is not a very helpful value, only when compared to other houses it carries value. However, as the general integration measure of building structures within space syntax Access' calculations approximately lies between 1 and 3 and with only six syntactical steps from the entrance of the house to the deepest spaces, the house as a whole can be considered a well-integrated, accessible, easily penetrated, and open structure. Once inside the peristyle, one could reach all the adjacent rooms which were only one step away from that space. Not a single room is more than one step away from the central courtyard (in both Atrium B, Peristyle F and Courtyard S), implying the house accounts for a notably open structure without much hierarchy present within or between the zones. There are also almost no rings to be seen in the configuration (meaning that one can take two different routes to a space), which means there was little choice in routes.[861] The only course where choice was possible is the ring atrium-tablinum-exedra and this was not a very likely route to take.

An absence of rings in a house denotes there was little choice to take various routes and a high degree control on people and activities. This makes sense with regard to a Roman house, as it partly had a public function and as its front doors may have been opened granting a relative openness in access (at least visually) on certain moments of the day which needed to be controlled. The tablinum in this case played an important spatial role in providing access to other spaces. When comparing the atrium, peristyle, and service area, they seem to be hierarchically positioned. When argued from a social

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[859] Recalculating the graph from the service quarter and including all the spaces of the house would provide the perspective of those inhabitants living in the quarters (not the visitors).

[860] The average integration value calculated lies around 1, with the lowest at 0,68 and the highest at 1,49. See Grahame 2000, Appendix 3, 197-9.

[861] The pattern of space becomes intelligible through parameters such as depth and rings within the structure of space: "*Depth among a set of spaces always expresses how directly the functions of those spaces are integrated with or separated from each other, and thus how easy and natural it is to generate relations among them. The presence or absence of rings expresses the degree to which these relationships are controlled, or marked by an absence of choice, forcing permeability from one space to another to pass through specific intervening spaces.*", see Hanson 1998, 78.

context however they include more complexities. The atrium zone was the first area to be entered, but only with a special purpose and permission. Next one could proceed to the most open space (again, only with permission) i.e., the peristyle space. Granted access to the peristyle one had already acquired a better social position. Nonetheless, in this space a visitor was still not free to move, as it was mainly a divider to other rooms and not a goal in itself. The service quarters were the most private zones in the sense that they were remote from the main entrance. However as mentioned, it had its own entrance in order to prevent a certain class of people trespass the peristyle and arrive at these quarters. Segregation is a spatial device which not only removes important formal functions from the public eye but also excludes the reception of guests from the intimacies of informal social intercourse.

As to the link between spaces in the house, the results present normal outcomes with regard to other atrium houses in Pompeii. The courtyard space as the most integrated and most controlling (along with the peristyle being the most dynamic of the three) spaces could also be deduced from the plan and does not show any anomalies when compared to other atrium houses in the town. Of interest, when the shrines are taken into account, both are situated in what seems to be the most accessible and most public space of the house. Neither could thus be classified as syntactically more or less 'private', and both served an equally public function regarding their cult activities.[862] However it might be argued that compartmentalisation within functional spaces had a temporal character where during rituals connected to one of the shrines, no access was granted to visitors. The Roman house, as advocated by Allison, was a dynamic space, the uses (e.g., household activities, private meetings, children's tuition, performing rituals, and receiving guests) of which changed during the day.[863] In the same peristyle, furniture could be moved, and various people were allowed in, changing functions of spaces. This means access analysis alone cannot infer behavioural patterns and social structures in Roman houses.

Visibility
The visibility analysis uses a different technique to analyse space. It looks at patterns of visibility as well as movement and is targeted at the space as one

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[862] Although Anguissola states that there might have been a fence blocking the passage between the North and East portico, marks for any system are lacking. It is not mentioned by either Seiler or Powers. See Anguissola 2012, 43; 2010 29-36.
[863] Allison 2004.

unit instead dividing it into topological convex spaces.[864] Therefore it may form a substantial addition to the configuration by means of taking account of the individual parts of the rooms such as the shrines. That which could be seen from the Egyptian shrine and the locations from which one could see the shrine, can present an image of its use and relevance. Within visibility a differentiation should be made between space that can be moved through (which will therefore generate more people in a certain location) and space that can be seen but is not very likely to be crossed. Fig. 5.9a represents the visibility in terms of possible movement, whereas 5.9c reconstructs the gaze of someone inside the house. Furthermore, fig. 5.9a points at where most people would likely gather/meet each other, while fig. 5.9c clearly illustrates that the main point of visual direction is placed on the garden in the peristyle. As soon as one enters this space, and wherever one moves in this space, the garden attracts constant visual attention.

In general terms, the Casa degli Amorini Dorati does not illustrate the traditional 'visual axis' important within Roman housing, which consisted of a sight line from the entrance until the rear of the house.[865] Did that have any consequences as to the pattern of the house? Without an axis, the house would have been experienced as less open, both by visitors and the inhabitants. The extreme decorative emphasis placed on the peristyle might be a consequence of this. The impression had to be made here and therefore the impact needed to be more elaborate. Another interesting observation that affects movement and visibility in this house is that it can be witnessed that during the most recent renovations, the entrance leading from the tablinum to the peristyle zone was significantly narrowed. The doorway (once as wide as the tablinum), was reduced to 70 cm. However, the remaining part of the opening was not covered and turned into a window space implying a conscious decision in order to exclude access, but maintain visibility. People located in the tablinum could see that which was inside the peristyle, but were clearly denied any access. This may have to do with strong social distinctions, which went hand in hand with the development of the peristyle into the most prominent space of the house.[866] People visiting the tablinum space were clients, not guests. Clients should be visually impressed

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[864] For a discussion on the use of VGA (Visibility Graph Analysis) and isovists, see part 3.7.3. See also Turner and Penn 1999, 1-9; Benedikt 1979, 47-65.

[865] This could be partly corrected when one was granted access to the peristyle through the Exedra G, see Anguissola 2012, 45.

[866] As discussed by Dwyer 1991; McKay 1975; Boëthius and Ward-Perkins 1970.

(something important concerning negotiations and transactions) but physically denied access, informing them that their status did not allow them to enter the more private areas.

The guests of a higher status were, of course, directly lead into the peristyle from the atrium or through the exedra G, which was (in contrast with to the tablinum) not closed off during the renovation of the house and provided an appealing view on the peristyle next to its paintings. Entering the peristyle area in this way also created a visual axis to the Triclinium O. The paintings of room G, as mentioned, consisted of large Third Style mythological scenes on a white background. They were that well visible that the scene of Pelias and Jason could not only be seen, but even recognised as such when viewing it from the western portico and the triclinium O at the other end of the peristyle. Whatever remained of the function of the exedra after the construction of Triclinium O, it remained an important showcase.

The peristyle zone in terms of visibility shows a large open space with separated rooms in the form of cubicula suited for private affairs and small scale interaction. In terms of visibility it is notable that there is no single way of looking into another cubiculum space from any of the cubicula surrounding the peristyle, while there are no direct sight lines between door openings. This implies that while the cubicula are syntactically quite open and shallow spaces (as the above configuration showed) a considerable amount of privacy could be accounted for in these rooms since no one could see one another from another room. Only from Room N could one theoretically view into other rooms and be seen from other rooms. However, the narrow doorway which could be closed off prevented this, while the garden and its columns made it furthermore difficult to look beyond the garden inside another cubiculum.

What can furthermore be inferred when observing integration patterns from visibility analysis from DepthMap? Fig. 5.9a illustrates that the most visible spaces, those marked in red, consist of the entrance to the peristyle and three corners of the peristyle, excluding all those in which the Isis shrine is located. This means that from these points, it can be seen by most other spaces. It is most likely, too, that if any routes exist in the house, they will have passed through these spaces as fig. 5.9b confirms. The longest straight lines (in red) will generate the most movement, and it can be observed that they run between the red areas of fig. 5.9a. This means that the Isis corner is

a visually less integrated space and allows for a relative amount of privacy within both vision and movement. However, from the cubicula, people were able to see the Isis shrine while the Capitoline shrine remains hidden from sight. It should of course be stated that this only denotes a relative form of privacy, because if the shrine was really meant to be private, the remote spaces of the house would have been more suitable for this. However, when the two shrines are compared, the Capitoline shrine is situated on the axis of the two most visible points of the house and evidently took a more prominent position in terms of visibility and movement.
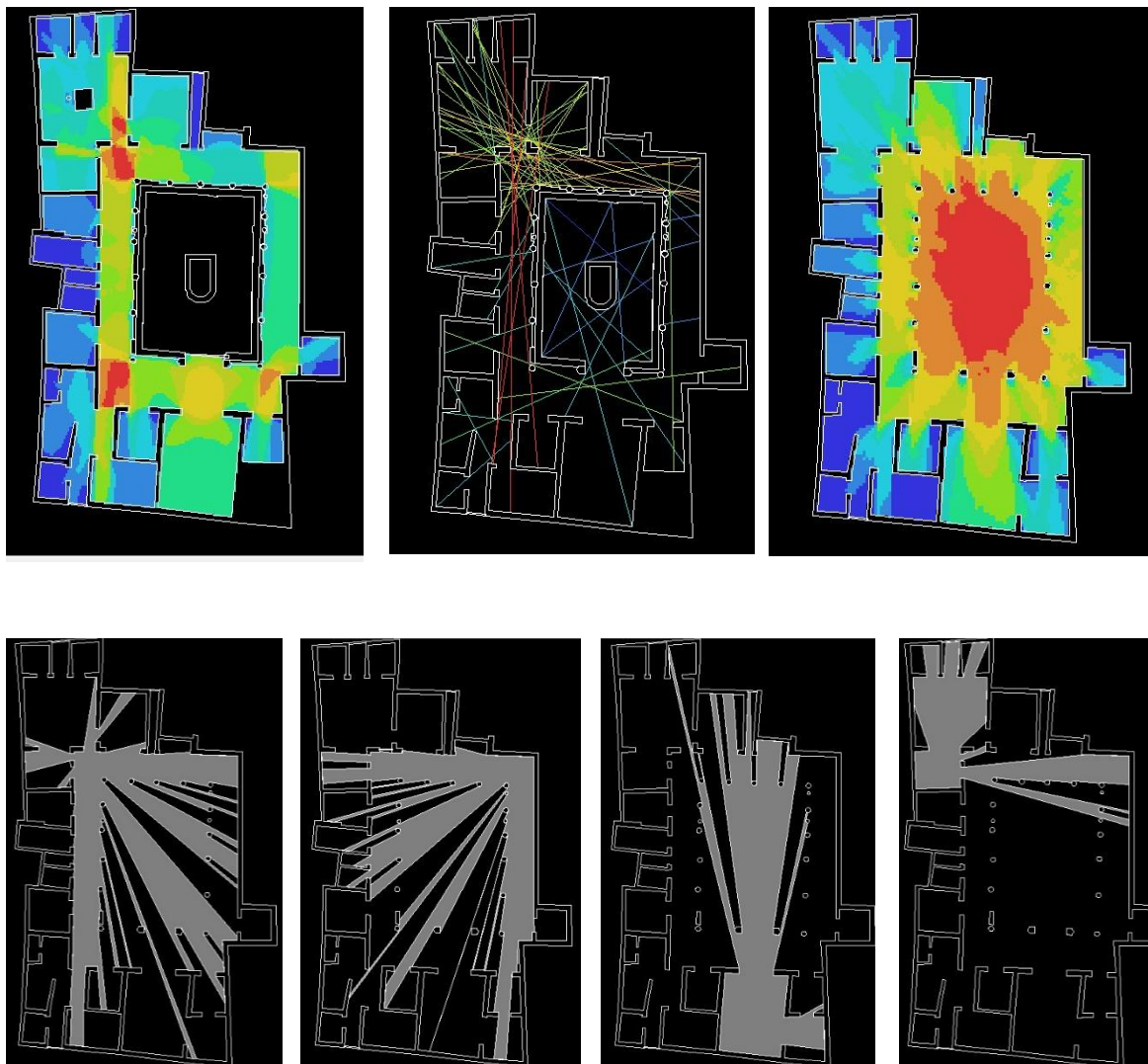
Fig 5.9 a-g) Visibility in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. a) Visibility in terms of movement. b) Fewest line map of the house. c) Visibility without taking into account movement. d) 360° isovist from the northeast corner (position of the Capitoline shrine) of the peristyle. e) 360° isovist from the southeast corner (position of the Isis shrine) of the peristyle. f) 360° isovist from the position of the Triclinium (O). g) 360° isovist from the position of the Tablinum (E).

Furthermore, the Capitoline shrine was the first thing one would see when entering the peristyle from the atrium. The visual emphasis on such shrines is not uncommon to Pompeian atrium houses. They are often situated at the end of the central vista that runs from the entrance to the rear of the house (Casa del Larario del Sarno I 14, 7), or they take up prominent positions in either atria (e.g., the Casa del Menandro) or peristyles (Casa di Giulia Felice), where in both cases large elaborate architectural shrines were constructed. The statuettes placed in the shrine and the shrine itself were of high quality and would have made a notable first impression on visitors.

After entering the peristyle area the view would be directed towards the garden, which, as illustrated in fig. 5.9c, was visually the prime focus of the space. However, as was also witnessed in the example of the tablinum window and the access to the peristyle, it was configurationally one of the lesser accessible spaces. The reason for this is that the entrance into the garden was located opposite the triclinium. Only after arriving at the upper part of the portico (or had been invited here) one could descent via a stairway to the garden. This is an effective way in order to socially distinguish between the spaces in a certain zone. The permission granted to spaces and entrances, would cause the guest to realise his or her visit was appreciated and his was status high, however, due the structure it placed the control at the inhabitant, which had to grant the access. Furthermore, although a peristyle garden has a functional meaning of providing light into the house, the garden was also the best place for visual display, as it was the central space of the area and the majority of the visual attention was drawn to it. The main view from Triclinium O is directed to the garden (fig. 5.9f), while the rest is invisible from this room.

It appeared from the agent and visibility analysis that the shrine dedicated to Isis seemed to have been situated in the more private area of the public space of the peristyle. This means one could visit the shrine in relative privacy, be seen by people, but not be passed by physically. It was not considered an interaction zone. However, this poses an interesting query concerning the visitor-inhabitant relations. The route for visitors did not move along the shrine dedicated to Isis but along the Capitoline shrine: but how visible was the Isis shrine from that route? Because of its colours (bright yellow and red against a black background) and the size of the shrine which was larger than average, it was easily noted. Was the size of the shrine larger because people could still see it while not being able to pass it by

directly? While the shrine could easily be distinguished, it might be questioned wether the particular paintings of the deities were recognised. And could the statue of Horus be seen in walking along the other side? The painted figures are fairly large (Anubis, the only deity fully preserved measures 43 cm., the image of Harpocrates is smaller, but the other deities are of equal size), an knowledgeable visitor may have recognised the deities.[867] Furthermore, from the side of the Isis shrine which visitors would actually see in passing from the other side of the peristyle looked upon the deities and not on the cult items, which might have been deliberately done in order to recognise it more easily. The statuette of Horus is more difficult to recognise, albeit with its 42 cm. of equal size to the painted deities, one was unfamiliar with the statuette from an iconographical point of view. Although one could see the statue's outstanding material and colour, the other shrine and its bronzes, and the marble explosion in the garden would have probably drawn more attention at the first gaze. Does this imply that this statuette of Horus was less meant for public display than expected? Were the shrines used in different ways? Was the Capitoline adopted for 'public' display while the Isis shrine had a more purposeful cultic function? Studying movement might give more clues on these matters.

Movement
Looking at movement through the house allows for a different way of detail than the visibility analysis can provide. An agent analysis by DepthMap was carried out in order to acquire a first glance of the possible routes through the house. Regarding the movement in general (fig. 5.10a), this agent analysis shows the same axis attested in the isovist analysis. The most important route runs around the peristyle and ends in the principal triclinium. It illustrates that the main routes were around the peristyle garden, the portico space. However, all the cubicula are clearly not part of this route and seem to have a more segregated position when it comes to movement.
Like the configuration, the movement also ignores the service area, except when the route was started from that position (fig. 5.10c). Interesting also is fig. 5.10b, which presents the route from the position of the main entrance.

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[867] Although the painting is well preserved, it is not that clear as it once was. On the other hand, the white figures against a yellow background are less visible in general than for example, those against a white background. The recently restored paintings in the Exedra (G) are well visible. The frame depicting Pelias and Jason can be recognised from the other side of the house.

This would be the most likely route to be taken by visitors to the house. It can be witnessed from the figures that it does not make much difference if one commences from the main entrance or from the atrium to the peristyle, which might indicate that there was no social differentiation between these spaces, emphasizing the public function of the atrium. The atrium itself, however, is relatively segregated from movement as can be concluded from all analyses. Further, the house not show any differentiation which route around the portico could be taken, the route of b (visitors) and c (servants) are both directed along the south-west side of the portico, while the northeast is not clearly marked as a route. This implies that when one was approached from the entrance and went to the triclinium O, the main route went along the Capitoline shrine and the cubicula and did not pass the Isis shrine.
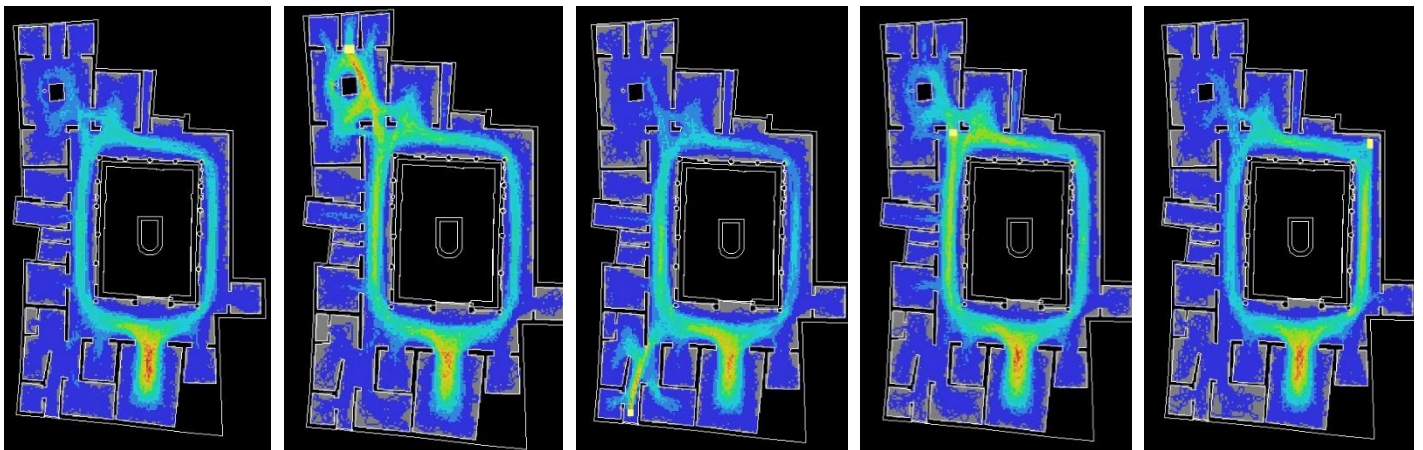
Fig 5.10 a-e) (a) Agent analysis for the Casa Degli Amorini Dorati. a) General movement through the house. (b) Agents set out from selected location: entrance atrium. (c) Agents set out from selected location: slave entrance. (d) Agents set out from selected location: entrance from atrium to peristyle. (e) Agents set out from selected location: from the Isis shrine.

Looking at the general axis of the house it can be seen that this runs along the north side of the portico, while the sight line is diagonal. In a 'normal' atrium house the sight axis runs in a straight line from the entrance to the rear of the house, while the route to that same rear end takes along the edges (along the atrium, the peristyle etc.). This house does not allow for this kind of use of space, because its layout deviates from 'normal' atrium houses. However, it provides the north side of the house with a more private character than usual. Is this the reason why we see the Isis shrine in this corner? It was not hidden from sight, but it is also situated off the main route likely taken by inhabitants and visitors.

Remarks

By means of these spatial analyses (i.e., configuration, visibility, and movement) an attempt was made in order to get more grip on the house and its functioning. The argument of space syntax causes social rules to be embedded in the structure of space.[868] This proved to be difficult however, to discern from configuration alone for the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, most probably due to the multi-functionality of many spaces in this house (and Roman houses in general), and to the dynamics and versatility of functions in the house.

5.2.6 Place-making in the house: pattern language

This section will seek to refine the view of social organisation and the utilisation and experience of place by looking at the material nuances of place-making. This means that the house as a whole unit is taken in order to observe what the various parts do. Pattern analysis, as it adheres to the way in which people unconsciously structure their environment, shares numerous similarities with space syntax. However it takes notice of more than just the structure or the graph visualisation of space, and also includes decoration, colouring, light, height difference etc.[869] Pattern analysis, as explained, aims at a holistic description of the house regarding all things important in experiencing a house in addition to spatial and configurational structures. Nuances that remained invisible during the space syntax analysis can in this way be brought to the surface. The parts that will be explored are colour and composition schemes, pavement types, lighting, and level changes as was explained in section 3.7.3.

Colour and composition schemes

Firstly the colour schemes in the house will be dealt with in order to infer whether any patters evolve concerning use and experience of the rooms. Studying colours in this sense is significant, as a repetition of the same colours can visually (and therefore cognitively) relate certain spaces or single out units of use.[870] Colour schemes can also present an inference on the way in which the room was experienced such as rooms to traverse or stay in. Studying the composition of paintings is able to illustrate such details. The

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[868] Hillier and Hanson 1984; Hillier 1998; Hanson 1999.
[869] It takes place at higher level of investigation as well. As a comparison between houses, however, here the focus of the pattern analysis will lie on the structures of the house, rooms, and various components hereof.
[870] See Watts 1987, 281.

walls in rooms could either be (a) centralised, in a 3x3 composition style with a central picture, or (b) consist of multiple (four or five) vertical divisions without a central emphasis, whereby (a) often points to non-circulation and static rooms (to-movement) and (b) to rooms with movement (through-movement).[871] Regarding colour and composition, the three areas that were noted in the previous section can also be separated in terms of decoration: the atrium has Third Style paintings with large central figures portraying mythical scenes, the peristyle is decorated in the Fourth Style and therefore has an entirely different atmosphere, and the service area has no decoration at all. However, more can be discerned from the decoration.

The predominant colours for the lower, middle, and upper zone for each room indicates that red and yellow are the most common colours in all styles, followed by white and black as secondary. Table 5.2 illustrates the details per room. First, the atrium zone not only has a different execution in style and themes on its walls, the colours of the atrium are different than in the remaining part of the house too, to wit mainly red and yellow. Rooms C and D in this case clearly also belong to the same zone because, although they were redecorated at a later stage in the Fourth Style, they tie the space together in similar red and yellow panels. This means that in this respect both rooms form an extension to the atrium and are not decoratively separated.[872]

Looking at the peristyle much differentiation in colouring can be noted. Although red and yellow are still used, white and black rooms are also seen; green and blue colouring (which are the most expensive colours) are only used in very few occasions and only to apply certain details.[873] Cubiculum I has the most blue and green, however, the Capitoline shrine also has some blue, and lastly, some details of the mythological scenes in the exedra G have them. Interestingly, these rooms are all placed together and again, they form the first visual impression a guest receives when he is allowed to the peristyle. It marks all three spaces as special to the inhabitant.

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[871] This is seldom the case in rooms with a circulation function.

[872] Although the focus of attention in houses in general shifted from the atrium to the peristyle space within the later phase of the town's existence, it is not a constant or repetitive rule for houses in Pompeii. Certain owners put more effort into the decoration of their atrium when compared with the peristyle.If we compare it to the Casa del Poeta Tragico (VI 8,3-8), which also had many Fourth Style paintings in the atrium space, we see that the predominant colours for example do not contain yellow, but are mainly black, red and white. For the house and its paintings, see Bergmann 1994, 225-56.

[873] On colours, prices and techniques, see Béarat 1997, 65-9.

As to the shrines' analysis of the colour these also reveal patterns. The main colour of the portico walls in the peristylium were black with small architectural details and several small landscapes, below which we see panels depicting plants. The walls on the north side included doorways to the cubicula (the west and south sides were adorned with inserted marble reliefs and the east side with obsidian mirrors). The black paint created a clear contrast with the two shrines, which were both brightly painted in yellow and red. This must have indeed, as also argued above, visually singled out both shrines as well as that they became experienced as a different part of the portico. The black of the portico unified the garden space expressing no differentiation in that particular area except for the shrines. The shrines were not a part of the peristyle, albeit situated in that space. There was clearly a need to distinguish both shrines from the remaining part of the space. Shrines such as these, are normally situated in visible locations of the house, as they also comprise an element of social display in addition to their religious function, as mentioned in section 4.3.[874] However, in order to separate the cultic activities from all the other more 'worldly' activities going around in the peristyle, they were segregated by means of colour in order to be experienced differently.[875] Furthermore, by means of their colours the shrines visually refer to each other, as they are painted in similar colour frames. This may also have caused the shrine of Isis to be more recognisable as a shrine (quicker than when deciphering all the figures) and a cultic place of domestic worship from the other side of the peristyle.

The fact that the portico walls isolated and separated the two shrines by colour, is all the more interesting because by means of its paintings it attempted to draw the garden into its sphere of experience. This can be determined from the paintings with plants and from the landscapes as figural details that were situated along the black frames of the wall, as to connect the plants and waterscapes in the garden to the garden itself. Bergmann shows an identical use of such paintings for Oplontis noting that: "*in the landscapes, distant islands, boats, and porticoes (like the one in which the observer moves) themathically mirror theviews through the columns and trees, suggesting that the self-referential nature we noted in Varro's text*

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[874] Following Brandt 2010.

[875] The experience of privacy and function within Roman houses varies. It can clearly be observed in this case that applying space syntax' access analysis does not suffice to expose all the details in the complex social conventions within the Roman house. Conclusion: as the spatial layout of Roman houses was shallow, open and integrated, there was a larger need to differentiate privacy, social rules in terms of decoration and not in the configuration of space.

typefies the villas themselves. In fact, landscapes are ubiquitous on the walls of Roman porticoes, and are specifically recommended in Vitrivius handbook published in 20 BC."[876] By means of applying such scenes (as shown in figs. 5.11 a, b) in the porticoes of peristylia, they were able to not only expand the actual frame of reference but also connect the garden and portico space. The landscapes observed on the walls are vistas similar to the garden as a vista. They could feature as a continuation of the garden spaces on the walls.[877] In effect these paintings created a larger garden. At the same time, by means of their repetitive character, they frame the portico as one unit

Fig. 5.11) West wall of Room F, west portico. Two of the (probably) four landscape paintings from the peristyle. The left is in situ above the door opening to Room Q, the right painting is situated above the door to Room R. Photographs by the author.

As to the rooms surrounding the peristyle, when comparing these to the atrium zone, they are mainly characterised by means of a huge differentiation in terms of colour instead of framing them together as a single unit (see table 5.2). Only Room M displays the same colour scheme as the portico. Furthermore, the diversity between the rooms is seen in both colouring and composition. Sadly nothing is known about the decoration of Room O, but Room I was mainly yellow, J was red, M was black, R was yellow, Q mainly white and N yellow again.

COLOUR ANALYSIS OF THE CASA DEGLI AMORINI DORATI (VI 16,7)					
Room	Predominant colour	Secondary colour	Iconography	Style	Composition
Fauces A	Black	White	Still life (birds)	3	
Atrium B	Red		Mythological	3	Multiple vertical divisions without a central emphasis
Cubiculum C	Yellow	Red	Figures	4	3x3 composition style with a central picture
Cubiculum D	Yellow	Red	Floating figures	4	3x3 composition style with a central picture

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[876] See Bergmann 2002a, 98; Pappalardo 2009, 64-82.
[877] See Bergmann 2002b, 15-46.

Tablinum E	Yellow		Mythological		3x3 composition style with a central picture
Exedra G	Black	Yellow	Mythological		3x3 composition style with a central picture
Peristyle F	Black		Landscapes, obsidian mirrors	4	Multiple vertical divisions without a central emphasis
Exedra H	-	-	-	-	Centralised
Cubiculum I	Yellow	Red	Gilded cupids	4	Centralised
Cubiculum J	Red			4	-
Latrine K	-	-	-	-	-
Storage room L	-	-	-	-	-
Cubiculum M	Black			4	3x3 composition style with a central picture
Cubiculum R	Yellow	White		4	3x3 composition style with a central picture
Triclinium O	-	-	-	-	-
Cubiculum Q	White			4	Centralised
Cubiculum N	Yellow	Red		4	3x3 composition style with a central picture
Courtyard S	-	-	-	-	
V	-	-	-	-	
X	-	-	-	-	
T	-	-	-	-	
U	-	-	-	-	
Y	-	-	-	-	
Isis shrine	Yellow	Red			Centralised
Capitoline shrine	Yellow	Red			Centralised

Table 5.2) The analysis of the paintings at the Casa degli Amorini Dorati.

The use of secondary colours and small details is different for all the rooms, of which Room I is the most unique. It is painted in yellow and red (common colours within Pompeian wall paintings) but in a unique pattern and intricate design. It also contains gold as a decoration use for the four gilded inserted cupids. The other spaces in the peristyle are also (as deducted from the main and secondary colours) deliberately singled out as individual spaces. Each cubiculum therefore contains a unique and individual spatial unit. Whenever an individual would enter one of these spaces he would experience another world. This makes sense when it is related to the organisation of space in Roman houses. When the peristyle became the core of the house instead of the atrium, there was a larger emphasis on creating privacy than before, and the function and status of rooms should be demarcated clearly. As the Roman house did not allow for this in terms of spatial configuration, demarcation was established by means of decoration. Making the cubiculum a distinct unit separated from the open and dynamic space of the peristyle, privacy and tranquility could be experienced. Social

conventions were also attached to such decorative demarcations, which in its experience as different unit provided a boundary for people to enter except they were of certain status, were granted permission or had specific tasks.

Pavement types

Also through pavement the use of a house and the perception of spaces can become clearer. In addition to the experience of related and separated spaces it can also inform us on movement. Related rooms often share similar pavements. Circulation spaces are frequently unified by means of identical or similar pavement. A distinction within pattern analysis concerning pavement types is also made by Watts, who divides pavements into centralised, bordered, background, directional and utilitarian types.[878] Utilitarian examples are the simplest and are often found in service spaces. Background pavements are slightly more decorative and often include solid white mosaics with a white border and overall geometric patterns in black and white. Bordered pavements also tended to emphasise the centre of the space, however, the centralised pavements contain a real central feature with a background pavement. Such features may be an emblema or a central area of opus sectile, or a centralised pattern with an opus signinum floor or a carpet of a geometrical pattern.[879] Pavements can also contain what Watts calls a 'Marker', a way of treating the pavement which modifies the space, marks particular features, or stimulates particular directions or behaviour.[880]

The various pavement types are shown in table 5.3. In the case of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati the pattern of pavements complements the previous previous observations. The three structures are also maintained in flooring; a simple pavement in the form of a *battuta* in the service area, where only room Y consisted of a *cocciopesto* floor, lavishly paved floors in the peristyle area, and lesser elaborate pavements in the atrium zone. Starting with the atrium zone, the pavements of the Exedra G and the tablinum had mosaic emblemata. They represent Watts' centralised pavements, often found in

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[878] See Watts 1987, 156.
[879] See Watts 1987, 297.
[880] They include impluvia and patterns marking the table and couch positions in a triclinium, both are also centralized. Thresholds between sub-spaces or *scendiletti* (i.e., patterns marking bed positions) serve to divide a space. Other markers include raised platforms, designs indicating a direction or movement, and figural compositions. As to outdoor spaces, water channels form a special type of border around the edge of a space. In the peristyle, blocks of stone often serve to mark the corners, see Watts 1987, 298.

rooms which formed the destination of a visit. The clear change in pavement between the atrium and the tablinum also signified a different function and a social demarcation. One may presume that permission was required in order to enter the tablinum by certain groups. The change in flooring was an effective way to break up the movement and present a room with a higher status. The remaining rooms in the atrium all have resembling *cocciopesto* floors and are meant to move through.

The pavements in the peristyle contain an elaborate pattern which separates the portico space from the adjacent rooms even more markedly than the painting. First, the floor of the portico will be discussed. The quality of this pavement is of exceptionally high and unique value, consisting of a large number of imported limestones (fig. 5.13d). Although scattered pieces of marbles within flooring has been used since the Republican period (in the case of Villa dei Misteri and the Casa del Fauno- the largest houses of Pompeii), it was never applied as abundantly, nor were stones of such a large size used.[881] Although on the whole the portico pavement (i.e., the most important route for movement in the house) shows a similar decoration, an *opus signinum* floor inlaid with pieces of marble, more attention has been payed to the western part (the part in front of the triclinium O) than to the pavement on the northern, eastern, and southern sides. It seems furthermore, that the southern side (i.e., the side of the portico with the least number of rooms) displays the least bit of quality out of the four parts of the portico. In the western part, the marble pieces are larger and cut into distinct shapes and are surrounded by a white tesserae pattern, whereas the other parts of the portico exhibit *opus signinum* with merely irregularly shaped pieces of marble in a lower quantity and quality. Although the entire portico should be considered a dynamic space and a through-route, a distinction is made between the most important part (where the triclinium was located) and less important parts. It structures both movement and as well as it shows hierarchy. Although the portico space seems to be one open and integrated segment of the house in terms of the configuration, the pavement points to a significant compartmentalised and differentiated use including specific patterns of movement in order to structure experience behaviour for both visitors and inhabitants. This culminates in the west side of the portico, where the pavement actually consists of the afore-mentioned

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[881] When marble stones are found they are usually attested in enclosed rooms or atria. See Powers 2006, 153.

'Marker', almost literally leading people to the Triclinium O by means of diagonal lines of similarly cut marble fragments. It also connects the triclinium to the garden by the creation of a route between those spaces through a deliberately designed tesserae pattern. In this case the pavement is therefore clearly directional. This is interesting, as most circulation spaces in particular are frequently unified by means of adopting the same or a similar pavement in order to stimulate through-movement, as for instance the atrium illustrates.[882] This portico as a circulation space did the opposite in the western part through its pavement, it made people stop.

Next to this, the portico pavement seem to connotate an extension of room O, denoting that its experience was directed outwards and extended into the peristyle. This was very different in comparison to the cubicula, which pavements created a room in which activities were pointed inward. The floor of the portico stimulates movement through it while together cognitively shutting off any access to the other rooms causing those rooms to be experienced as more private. Rooms Q and R are related in the sense that they share similar 'carpet' floors while O is crafted in another manner. Rooms Q and R could therefore be considered as similar spaces in terms of hierarchy. However, besides Q and R, each room presents us with a unique pattern pavement scheme. This indicates again the way in which these rooms are supposed to be experienced: as different, independent, and private units.

Although the shrines contained similar colour schemes, when it comes to flooring differences can be observed. The space in front of the Capitoline shrine at the north side of the peristylium does not demarcate any boundaries by means of a different pavement, however, the floor of the Isis shrine diverged from that of the portico. Although the original pavement is lost, the hole in the corner clearly demarcates the shrine from the remaining space. Of course, as the other shrine is an architectural feature, there was no negative space available that could demarcated the space if that was desired. However, the effect is that the Capitoline shrine appears to be a more integrated part of the peristyle than the Isis shrine, which again establishes a distinct breaking with the surrounding spaces and thereby formed an individual, privatised corner.

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[882] See Watts 1987, 156.

PAVEMENT ANALYSIS OF THE CASA DEGLI AMORINI DORATI		
Room	**Material**	**Type (Watts)**
Fauces A	*Cocciopesto* with white marble inlay (∅ 5 cm.) irregularly distributed	Directional
Atrium B	Red coloured *cocciopesto* with even distributed marble pieces (same size as the fauces)	Directional
Cubiculum C	Unknown	
Cubiculum D	Unknown	
Tablinum E	Black and white mosaic; white background black band, and emblema in the centre with four floral motifs; coloured tesserae used for small details	Centralised
Exedra G	Black and white mosaic, with large emblema in the centre depicting a black and white geometric figure	Centralised
Peristyle F north	*Cocciopesto* with marble inlay, large pieces and various types of marble with no particular shape; between the marble pieces are bands (horizontal and vertical) of smaller white rectangular stones	Directional
Peristyle F east	*Cocciopesto* with marble inlay, large pieces and different types of marble with no particular shape; between the marble pieces are bands (horizontal and vertical) of smaller white rectangular stones	Directional
Peristyle F south	*Cocciopesto* with marble inlay, large pieces and various types of marble with no particular shape; between the marble pieces are bands (horizontal and vertical) of smaller white rectangular stones; the stones are smaller than the east and north side	Directional
Peristyle F west	Different pattern, white tesserae in geometrical pattern (circular alternated with rectangular patterns), in between carefully cut marble pieces; one diagonal band with diamond shaped marble, one diagonal band with square and hexagonal shapes white marble and one with coloured marbles	Directional, with the inclusion of markers
Exedra H	None	
Cubiculum I	Black and white marble, two bands (one with floral, the other with geometric patterns) are put in vertical and horizontal position creating a square just after entering the room	Directional including markers
Cubiculum J	None	
Latrine K	None	
Storage room L	None	
Cubiculum M	Grey *cocciopesto* floor with tesserae geometrical decoration	Background
Cubiculum R	Grey *cocciopesto* floor with tesserae geometrical decoration, the area near the threshold has a different pattern	Background
Triclinium O	None preserved	
Cubiculum Q	Same as Cubiculum R (but with different patterns) grey *cocciopesto* floor with tesserae geometrical decoration, the area near the threshold has a different pattern	Background
Cubiculum N	*Cocciopesto* floor inserted with larger marble stones	Background
Courtyard S	None	Utilitarian
V	None	Utilitarian
X	None	Utilitarian
T	None	Utilitarian
U	None	Utilitarian
Y	None	Utilitarian

Table 5.3) Analysis of the pavements of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati.

Boundaries (thresholds, frames, and openings)[883]

As was discussed before in part 5.1, openings between spaces were not all treated equally; important rooms have special attention drawn to them by means of the door openings and elaborateness of their thresholds, while public spaces show wider openings than private ones. Because of this hierarchy it is possible to trace the experience of rooms.[884] Table 5.4 shows the different boundaries between spaces within the house. The boundary between rooms is as important as the rooms themselves, as they cause the psychological effect of moving into a different space and experiencing being in a different space.[885] The boundaries between spaces in Pompeian houses in general were emphasised in a variety of ways, by means of material, size and decoration, as witnessed in the example mentioned in part 5.1. In the case of the present case study it is possible to assess all the boundaries in order to get a better grip on the functioning of the house. As many Roman houses possessed open layouts, the boundaries helped to reinforce the distinction between spaces, and put a halt to the flow of movement from one area to another.[886] The boundaries are marked not only by means of thresholds, but also by means of frames and the size of openings, and a differentiation in decoration. They all influence the sense of accessibility to the room, its status and the way in which the user experienced it. Large frames are experienced as more open and public than narrow ones.[887] Important transitions are more prominently marked. Does a threshold consisting of mosaics cause another reaction, another experience than one made of travertine? The material that was used might say something about the importance of the room in contrast to other rooms. In addition, it also provides another clue about the way in which people moved through the space. The boundaries in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, corresponding to the general usage of boundaries in Pompeian houses, are of diverse nature. They exist of thresholds, doors that could be shut, or sliding doors. The entrance to the Tablinum (E) for example could be closed, presumably by means of a sliding door. The thresholds in the atrium are all made of travertine.

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[883] For more information on boundaries, see 5.1. On boundary as a concept, see Jones 1959, 241-55; Lauritsen 2012, 95-114.
[884] See Watts 1987, 182.
[885] As discussed in 5.1.4.
[886] For a discussion on privacy and doorways, see Wallace-Hadril 1988.
[887] See Laurence 1994, 102-5.

			THRESHOLD ANALYSIS OF THE CASA DEGLI AMORINI DORATI (VI 16,7)			
Room no.	**From**	**To**	**Material**	**Decoration**	**Closing**	**Dimensions in cm.**
A	Entrance	Fauces	Travertine		Yes	172
B	Atrium	Cub. C	Travertine		Yes	151
B	Atrium	Cub. D	Travertine	Narrowed door opening	Yes	103
B	Atrium	Tablinum E	Mosaic	band with square panels depicting figures[888]	No	271
B	Atrium	Exedra G	Marble		No	127
B	Atrium	Peristyle F	Travertine		Yes	118
F	Peristyle	Exedra G	Mosaic	Black and white geometric design	Yes	218
F	Peristyle	Tablinum E	Mosaic	Cut away after which the entrance became a window and a small door opening	Yes	Narrowed (new opening 67 cm.)
F	Peristyle	Exedra H	Lava	No threshold, but a small wall not meant to step over	No	302
F	Peristyle	Cub. I	Travertine	No	Yes	110
F	Peristyle	Cub. J	Travertine	No	Yes	104
F	Peristyle	Latrine K	Travertine		Yes	89
F	Peristyle	Store r. L	Travertine(?)[889]		Yes	78
F	Peristyle	Cub. M	None (?)		Yes	130
F	Peristyle	Cub. R	Marble, mosaic	Black and white geometric pattern	Yes	130
F	Peristyle	Garden	Marble		No	-
F	Peristyle	Tricl. O	Unknown		?	297
O	Tricl. O	Room P	Lava		Yes	-
F	Peristyle	Cub. Q	Marble, mosaic	Black and white floral pattern	Yes	129
F	Peristyle	Cub. N	Rectangular pieces of black and white limestone (?)		No	117
F	Peristyle	Courtyard S	None			133
S	Courtyard	V	None			
S	Courtyard	X	None			
S	Courtyard	T	None			
S	Courtyard	U	None			
S	Courtyard	Y	None			

Table 5.4) Analysis of the different boundaries of the rooms in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati.

Being of a similar material and size, they thereby reinforce (together with the floors and red and yellow colouring) the experience of the atrium zone as a unity. The only exception here is the entrance to the tablinum, which deviates in being larger but also consisted of a more elaborate mosaic

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[888] Consecutively (from left to right) a figure seemingly cut off and no longer recognisable, a bird (swan), flower, cornucopia, cornucopia, flower, flower, fish (dolphin).
[889] Storage Room L contains a loose marble/travertine threshold.

threshold. This pattern was also observed in the Casa del Doppio Larario (see 5.1). The tablinum was the most important room to enter in the atrium, but also a point in which visitor-inhabitant relation became notable. Although perhaps not as unique, and therefore not such a strong symbol, as the slab with hieroglyphs, this threshold aimed for a similar psychological effect.

Further, the demarcation between the atrium and the peristyle zone again becomes emphasised by means of putting up boundaries. There is only a narrow frame in the form of a doorway between the two spaces. The other entries from the atrium to the peristyle consist of similar small doorways via the Tablinum (E) and the Exedra (G). This is uncommon to Pompeian houses, as they mainly possess larger frames. However, it could be carried out in order to create a vista towards the rear of the house and glance at the peristyle from the atrium (pointing to the owners most valued possessions). As the design of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati did not allow for a vista from the main entrance it may not have been necessary to place a larger frame from the atrium to the peristyle area. In order to allow light (and a view on the peristyle), the tablinum possessed a window on the south side (see plan in fig. 5.7) as well as a small door from the tablinum to the peristyle which could be closed off.

Concerning the boundaries in the peristyle area, they repeat the pattern witnessed in painting and flooring, of bounded and private rooms. All rooms have thresholds, many have decorative features to emphasise them visually, all could all be closed off, and not one is identical.[890] Room I, the most important cubiculum, had an extra indoor boundary in the form of a *scendiletto* in mosaic-form (a rug-like demarcation of the bed space, see fig. 5.12). Even when access was granted to this room, one was confined to the mosaic boundaries. Other such boundaries could be found in Rooms R and Q, which contained different motifs behind a marble threshold. Interesting, too, is that all thresholds consist of travertine, except for Room Q and R as well as the entrance to the garden, which were made out of white coloured marble. Again this bound the rooms together, emphasizing the importance of the rooms on the west side, and on the portico, and the garden.

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[890] This is confirmed by means of the argument that in comparison with the atrium, the thresholds located around the peristyle are characterized by means of an individual design, which the room it belonged to defined, aiming for the space to become a uniting entity, see Staub, 2009, 217.

Fig. 5.12) *Scendiletto* in the form of a mosaic in Room I. The round holes once carried the golden cupids after which the house was named. Photograph by the author.

Door openings can also be assessed. The most significant case in terms of accessibility and openness is the Triclinium O. This room was highlighted to a large extent by means of its doorway. It had both a higher and wider opening than the two adjacent rooms. Its function as the most important room in the peristyle became apparent from the very moment one entered the space. The portico itself enforced this by means of the framing of the triclinium by two square columns (while the other columns were round), the only columns present on the western side of the peristyle. The entrance to the garden also has a boundary in the shape of a small staircase. Interestingly, the fact there was an entrance to the garden only became visible from the western part of the portico space, thus after when one was located in or near the Triclinium O. The stairs suggest it was possible to enter the garden and that it was closely linked to the use of the triclinium and west side of the portico. The cubicula on the other sides of the peristyle are all smaller, denoting their private character and again providing a boundary from the dynamic and open space of the portico. Rooms L, and K (interpreted as a latrine and storage room respectively) on the north side are equally small and lower than Rooms M, J and I.[891] I also had a window and although the doorway of room M was slightly lower than J, it was also wider than J and I. It seems clear from this survey, that the construction of doorways in the case of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati was depended to a large extent on the importance and the function of the room.[892]

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[891] The reason why Room J was equal in height and width to Room I could have had to do with its function, but also with the size of the room. The reason for this is that whereas Rooms L and K were similarly sized, Room J was almost as large as Room I, only narrower. Therefore it might have needed more light from outside.

[892] In this way it corresponds with Laurence, 1994 and Wallace-Hadrill, 1988; 1994.

Light

Analysing the light, lighting conditions and variations within a Pompeian house, provides a further clues in the way in which the house was experienced. The effect for instance when traversing from the bright street into a darker corridor and then into a brighter atrium is makes a visual impression and accentuates the transition from moving from a public into a private domain. Light furthermore dictates the way in which spaces could be used. Brighter rooms were spaces with more activity, while darker spaces allowed for more tranquility. Moreover, the experience of a space is affected by means of the interplay of surface colour and reflectance with the amount and source of light.

The three direct light sources when entering the house are the atrium, the peristyle and Room P which by its lack of a door, seems to be primarily used as an extra light source.[893] The fact the owners could devote an entire room to this informs us of the wealth of the family and the importance placed on lighting. The extra source of light (and garden to look out on) might even have created a more striking impression than an elaborate wall painting. It certainly presented the location not only with more light, but also had an enlarging effect. In this case Room P plays an important role in providing an extra light source for Rooms O and Q. This effect would have probably also have directed visual attention to the area behind the garden space, immediately seen when one would enter the peristyle. This denotes a clear indication where the final destination of the walk through the peristyle should end. It also places Room Q slightly higher in the hierarchy of rooms than Room R, as was also indicated by the distance of Room R to the service area. The deprivation of a light source is also indicative of the function and reception of various spaces, as it can hide rooms from sight. The hallway (Room 01) to the upstairs apartments is for example dark and easy to ignore when one is in the peristyle. The service area likewise would not have generated the amount of light that the Rooms Q and O would have. In this way the owners could make up for the lack of axiality and symmetry in the

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[893] Whether Room S was also open or not remains undetermined. There must have been a light source in order to make the labour possible. However, it is quite plausible to assume that the apartments were located directly above the rooms considering the two sets of stairs in the area. Therefore the incoming light would in no case be really intense. Seiler 1992 (fig. 89) does include an opening above Room S.

house. The visual axis in this way was shaped in a diagonal direction by means of light.

Level change

Level change is a final phenomenon to observe with regard to the experience of space. Within Roman housing, it is an important tool to hierarchically define spaces. This starts already at the entry to the house from the street. When entering a house, usually the visitor has to go up, either sloping up the length of the *fauces* or stepping at the juncture of the *fauces* to the atrium. In the domus, the *fauces* often had a level change, not necessarily constructed for the reason of making an impression to visitors, but nonetheless contributing to the experience of entry.[894] The use of a slope to is characteristic for dynamic trhough routes, as static rooms never slope. However, in the case of the Amorini Dorati the level change also occurs within the house. At the end of the north side of the portico (behind the entrance of Room M) a staircase ascends to the western side of the portico space and to Triclinium O and the Rooms R and Q. The upward movement contributes to the sense of importance of the space.[895] Interesting, too, is that although the pavement is raised at the south side of the portico leading to the west, no stairs were constructed here. A flow of movement was allowed on the south side while movement on the north side was obstructed. The stairs on the north side therefore pointed to an extra cognitive boundary directed at guests. Clearly, the circulation was forced to stop here in order to make the visitor aware of one extra moment of permission in which the relation between guest and host was dispatched. After these stairs and the raise in level, one had visual access to the entire peristyle, and all its the secrets. Moreover, as the garden was situated on a lower position than the western portico space, when viewed from the entrance to the peristyle the western part resembled a theatre stage, something that became endorsed by the use of the square columns and the opening of Triclinium O.

Pattern analysis

Including the patterns and nuances of decoration, frames, thresholds, and lighting issues, provided a much clearer picture of the functioning of this house than could be inferred from configuration alone. The concept of

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[894] This might also have had the initial functional reason of draining the water from the impluvium onto the street. See Jansen 2002.
[895] See Watts 1987, 311.

pattern analysis assumes that patterns were locally (culturally) shared and were followed unconsciously by all involved in the design of a building.[896] Many things became clear in this way on the individual uses and experiences of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. Within the side of the portico for instance, the Isis shrine took a rather segregated position within the portico space when regarding decoration, the main movement emphasis was put on the western side of the portico, and the visual emphasis was placed on the garden. As to the frames, lighting, and the level change, all the attention in the peristyle was supposedly aimed at the large triclinium, resembling a theatre in the way it stood out in the space. The cubicula could be considered as separated, small universes which had nothing to do with neither the outside space nor the other spaces in the peristyle area.

5.2.7 Place-making in the house: object analysis

The previous analysis of place-making dealt with the decoration and the internal structures of the house. Much was learned about the way in which the house was used and experienced. However, for the final step it is necessary to combine the information acquired in the above analyses with an analysis directed towards the objects present in the house. As stated in 5.1, the focus is placed on the analysis of those objects with aesthetic value for the owners. Therefore, the emphasis of this section lies on the peristyle area of the house, because it was here one wished to make an impression and express their values through objects. Where were such objects located, from where could they be seen and what did that signify? What effect did the objects create? Specifically, this section is interested in the statuette of Horus and the other objects in the shrine and the way in which they should be regarded within the context of the remaining part of the house and its contents. Not only is it important to retrieve the personal choices and intentions of the owners, it is of equal relevance to observe how the objects and their material worked in order to create a certain atmosphere and allow for unintentional effects on the space. A viewer is not always meant to capture and analyse the iconology of all individual paintings and sculptures, all things together served to create an atmosphere and make an impression on a visitor.[897]

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[896] See Watts 1987, 353.

[897] In general, painting, space, and objects are analysed separately resulting in a too narrow focus on the iconographical understanding of Roman wall painting. This was the main critique point forwarded by scholars such as Berry and Allison who opted for a more

No.	Objects	Material	Location	Specific	Iconography/ decoration	Pompeii Inv. no.
	FIXED AND SEMI-FIXED MARBLE AND BRONZE OBJECTS IN THE PERISTYLE ZONE					
1	Oscillum	White marble	Peristyle	Portico north between columns 1 and 2	Female mask	55405
2	Candelabrum	Bronze	Peristyle	North portico near Room I	3-legged base in the form of lion's pawns	55555
3	Lamp	Bronze	Peristyle	North portico near Room I	*Firmalampe* with a single nozzle and a ring handle	55554
4	Plaque	Bronze	Peristyle	West part near the central pilasters	Dog's head	55282
5	Oscillum	White marble	Peristyle	West portico near the first intercolumniation	Dancing maenad and naked youth	55404
6	Patera	Bronze	Peristyle	West portico between doors of Rooms R and O	Concentric incised rings	55561
7	Oscillum	White marble	Peristyle	South portico, second intercolumniation	Bearded centaur looking at a Corinthian helmet on one side; reverse: bearded centaur on a rock preparing to throw a stone	55403
8	Oscillum	White marble	Peristyle	Portico near the southwest corner column	Male theatrical mask	2953
9	Two-sided relief	White marble	Peristyle	West wall of the south portico	Front: female tragic mask, back: satyr mask	20465
10	Two-sided relief	White marble	Peristyle	South wall of the peristyle on the east side of the door to room N	Front: a female tragic mask; reverse: mask of satyr	20462
11	Two-sided relief	White marble	Peristyle	South wall west of the Isis shrine, between columns 9 and 10	Front: theatrical mask with a bearded slave; reverse: young satyr	20464
12	Relief	White marble	Peristyle	South wall, opposite between columns 10 and 11	Attic grave relief showing Venus and Cupid in a grotto	20469
13	Two-sided relief	White marble	Peristyle	South portico, opposite space between columns 11 and 12	Front: five theatrical masks; reverse: mask of beardless satyr and bald Silenus	20463
14	Head	White marble	Peristyle	South wall of the peristyle	Bacchus	2973
15	Relief panel	White marble	Peristyle	South wall of the peristyle	Naked satyr	20472
16	Pedestal	Grey marble	Peristyle	Southwest corner of the peristyle	Cylindrical	-
17	Capital	White marble	Peristyle	South portico near column 12	Corinthian	
18	Oscillum	White	Peristyle	South portico	Mask of a female	55513

contextual approach within the analysis of material culture of domestic contexts resulting in the perspective of household archaeology. See also Bergmann 2002b, 15-46.

		marble		between columns 11 and 12	maenad	
19	Head	White marble	Peristyle	South portico between columns 11 and 12	Head of a male	55514
20	Puteal	Travertine	Garden	North portico on the stylobate between columns 4 and 5		58843
21	Cista	Lead	Garden	North portico on the stylobate between columns 4 and 5	Snakes	18877
22	Base	White marble	Garden	North portico on the stylobate between columns 4 and 5		58842
23	Pilaster and base	White marble	Garden	North side of the garden between columns 3 and 4		-
24	Column base	White marble	Garden	North side of the garden corresponding to column 3	fragmentary	-
25	Furniture leg	White marble	Garden	North side of the garden corresponding to column 3	fragmentary, lion's pawn	-
26	Sun dial	White marble	Garden	North side of the garden between columns 2 and 3	Sundial with incised lines to mark the hours and a pyramidal gnomon	20588
27	Pedestal	White marble	Garden	North side of the garden between columns 2 and 3	Form of a club	
28	Part of a colonnette	White marble	Garden	North side of the garden between columns 2 and 3	Fragment of a colonnette decorated with three rows of leaves in relief	20584
29	Two-sided relief and pilaster	White marble	Garden	North side of the garden opposite space between columns 2 and 3	Front: two masks face each other; back: two beardless tragic masks	20458
30	Two-sided relief, base and pilaster	Grey marble	Garden	North side of the garden between columns 1 and 2	Bearded male deity on both sides, one with ram's horns	20364
31	Square base	White marble	Garden	Northwest part of the garden opposite column 1		
32	Square base	White marble	Garden	Northwest corner of the garden		
33	Three-legged base	White marble	Garden	Northwest part of the garden corresponding to column 1		20586
34	Table support	White marble	Garden	Northwest part of the garden corresponding to column 1	Shaped as a club and lion skin	20587
35	Rectangular base	Gray marble	Garden	Northwest part of the garden		
36	Two-sided mask relief and pilaster	White marble	Garden	Northwest part of the garden corresponding to column 1	Front: three theatrical masks, back: two masks facing each other	

37	Herm and pilaster	White marble	Garden	Northwest part of the garden	Smiling child	20455
38	Trumpet-shaped base	White marble	Garden	Northwest part of the garden	Base for a table	20585
39	Statuette	White marble	Garden	West side of the garden between the steps leading to the west portico and the pool	Omphale wearing Hercules lion's skin	53851
40	Two-sided mask relief and pilaster	White marble	Garden	Southwest part of the garden in front of the intercolumniation between the southwest corner column and column 13	Front: three theatrical masks: back: satyr, snakes and a thyrsus staff	20459
41	Herm on pilaster	White marble	Garden	South side of the garden corresponding to the intercolumniation between columns 12 and 13	Bacchus	20363
42	Portrait head and pilaster	White marble	Garden	South side of the garden near the central basin	Portrait of a male	20526
43	Statuette	White marble	Garden	South side of the garden near the central basin corresponding to the intercolumniation between columns 12 and 13	Cat attacking a bird	20372
44	Two-sided herm on a pilaster	White marble	Garden	South side of the garden corresponding to the intercolumniation between columns 11 and 12	Male bearded figures on both sides	20365
45	Statuette	White marble	Garden	south side of the garden corresponding to the intercolumniation between columns 11 and 12	Statuette of a boar with a small dog on its back	20370
46	Statuette	White marble	Garden	South side of the garden corresponding to the intercolumniation between columns 11 and 12	Rabbit	
47	Rectangular base	Traver-tine	Garden			
48	Herm on a pilaster	White marble	Garden	South side of the garden between	Bacchus	

				columns 10 and 11		
49	Two-sided relief on a pilaster	White marble	Garden	South side of the garden between columns 10 and 11	Pilaster has beard and genitals; relief front: two mask facing each other; back: dancing satyr and a Silenus	20460
50	Fluted pedestal	Lime-stone	Garden	South side of the garden near the intercolumniation between columns 9 and 10		
51	Herm on a pilaster	White marble	Garden	South side of the garden between columns 9 and 10	Child	20361
52	Rectangular base	White marble	Garden	Near the pool		
53	Mirror	Obsidian	Peristyle	Inserted in the east wall		
54	Mirror	Obsidian	Peristyle	Inserted in the east wall		

Table 5.5) All the objects from the peristyle of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. Based on Seiler 1991 and Powers 2006.[898]

Which objects were placed in the zone serving as a route for visitors as reconstructed in the above section? The first visual confrontation entering the peristyle was the Capitoline shrine displaying bronze figurines of a profound quality. It was smaller than the Isis shrine, and contained fewer items than the Isis shrine (five against thirteen). The placing of the shrine, on the right side of the peristyle, can be held as a quite common position for such objects. The owner could express his piety and the way in which his house was protected, meanwhile presenting him with an opportunity to show his wealth. The fact, however, that the peristyle area was not symmetrical, rendered the shrine much more prominent than usual. It even obstructs the flow of movement from the atrium to the other spaces. As to the visitor-inhabitant relationship, it establishes this particular shrine as an important first point of impression after entering the peristyle. The quality of the statuettes (all of bronze which and of exceptional quality), and the careful crafting of a miniature temple, added to this.

Following the usually followed route through the house, as was inferred from the visibility and agent analyses, the objects that caught the attention of a passer-by after the shrine were the marble sculptures placed in the garden (5.13e) and on the north side of the portico. These have been found more or

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[898] The small finds were not included in this table. For a complete survey on the finds in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, see Powers 2006.

less in situ and are described by Sogliano.[899] Powers made further refinements on the position and objects within the house.[900] It is interesting to note that although many reliefs were inserted into the south and west part of the portico walls, the walls of the portico on the north side are empty. The reason for this could be that the cubicula were situated on that side. However, both the west and east parts have rooms on their sides and these do count a number of reliefs and relief marks. The east side included no marble reliefs, but did have two inserted obsidian mirrors.

A noticeable fact is that all the objects in the garden and portico were made of white coloured marble, indicating that object-wise, the garden and the portico also were linked together next to the paintings. A very large quantity of marble was present in the garden, in fact, this house included the highest number of sculpture of all Pompeian houses. They seem to include a predominant Bacchic Leitmotif according to Seiler as the sculpture displays theatre masks, maenads, saters, wild animals, and busts of Dionysus. Seiler describes the sculpture stylistically as Attic, Hellenistic, or Neo-Attic.[901] This theme is not uncommon to the decoration of gardens, as Bacchus is often associated the wild outdoors, and *otium*, two themes closely connected to Roman gardens.[902] The majority of the statues do not show any sign of paint, some have minor traces. As the garden was situated on a lower level, those crossing the portico space would have had a good view on the garden and its contents. The description of the garden sculpture will commence at the north side of the garden and the portico, which is considered the main route.

It first displays a marble sundial with a bronze gnomon.[903] Further it included a marble *puteal* for water, a marble altar which could have belonged to the Capitoline shrine, marble bases and a several double-sided herms.[904] The number of marble objects on the north side (twenty) is slightly less than the south side of the garden and portico (twenty-four). The difference in quality is, however, more noteworthy. Several herms and reliefs were encountered on pilasters, but only one *oscillum*. The majority of the marble objects consist of furniture or bases of some kind (twelve out of

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[899] See Sogliano 1906, fig. 5; Sogliano 1907, figs. 18-32; Seiler 1992, 530-625.
[900] See Powers 2006, fig. 3.
[901] See Seiler 1992, 123-5.
[902] See Von Stackelberg 2009, 94.
[903] Similar to the sundial found in Oplontis, see Bergmann 2002a, 118. For more general information on Greek and Roman sundials, see Gibbs 1976.
[904] One herm may depict Jupiter-Ammon.

twenty).[905] Was the marble as material and its quantity on its own already sufficient to make an impression? Did the quantity matter more than the quality of the objects? On the one hand, the interior of the house contained a lavish number of marble objects that seemed to have been specifically grouped together. The inhabitants must have valued the marble as material too, next to what the marbles displayed in subject. However, it would probably be stretching the argument too far to remark that only the marble mattered, and not the subject of the sculpture. That this also mattered can be observed when the sculptures at the south and north sides of the portico are compared. Whereas the north side of the portico did not include any high quality sculpture, the south side did. The difference witnessed between these two sides cannot be set aside as a mere coincidence. There must have been an intentional decision behind the positioning of the sculpture. The south side only has two marble bases or furniture, but has no less than eight reliefs (out of which six were secured in the wall), six statues, and four herms. The southwest and south side counts the most Bacchic themed sculpture, wild animals, herms of Bacchus and Maenads. Not only the number and quality stand out on the south side, it also provided the most exclusive pieces found in the house: a 4th-century BC Attic grave relief, the alabaster statuette of Horus and a statue of the Lydian queen Omphale. The latter was in a Hellenistic styled statue which reminded of Rhodian sculpture (no. 29 in table 5.5). It was found just after descending the stairs of the garden on the south side (see fig. 5.13a).[906] Was the value of these pieces on the basis of their style and age a qualification equally important to the owners than to the archaeologist? Although valid to question, this assumption does seem to hold ground. Firstly the statue of Omphale was made of an expensive kind of marble (possibly Parian) and was placed on a base made out of black stone.[907] Furthermore, it was placed more or less in the centre of the garden, and most importantly it was the first object to be witnessed from up close after descending to the garden.

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[905] The total amount of the oscilla counted five, all made of marble. The majority of oscilla were made of wood, or even of wool. Oscilla were hung up as offerings to various deities, either for propitiation or expiation or in connection with festivals and other ceremonies. The fact that these consisted of marble presents them with a prominent decorative purpose over their original religious value, see Dwyer 1981, 247-306.

[906] See Seiler 1992, 124-5. It is noted here that the statuette of Omphale contained stylistic and technical similarities to late Hellenistic sculptures from Rhodes. It is dated to the 1st century AD, see Mastroberto 1992, 106; Powers 2006, 155.

[907] Omphale's base has been identified as black limestone, see Seiler 1992, 117, no. 8. It was not further specified and is now missing.

All these factors, compared with the position and quality of the other marble sculptures in the garden seem to denote that this statue was of added significance to the owner. This also counts for the Attic grave relief secured in the south wall of the portico. Because of its deviant style (as the analysis of section 4.5 indicated, it could be recognised by viewers) and the way in which it was inserted into the wall (being positioned in the centre of the south wall and standing out from all the other reliefs, which consisted of double-sided theatre masks), it seems that the owners were aware of the value of its antiquity. The most lavish pieces of sculpture and reliefs seemed to have been deliberately placed on the south side. How to interpret this divergence between the two sides of the portico? It could be that the north side of the portico, visited by guests and inhabitants more frequently and housing more everyday activities, did not include the most important artefacts, which were preserved for the more private and less traversed south side. This may shed an interesting light on the use of the south side and of the Isis shrine. Because the space was more private, it also might have been an additional step towards intimacy for visitors. Presumably within the social gatherings in the context of the house, this space was used for ambulatio, to walk around during dinner parties.[908] In addition to the landscape paintings and plants discussed above, the marble reliefs in the portico also aided in drawing the portico space into the garden, as the north side also included marble reliefs inserted in the back wall referring material-wise to the sculpture in the garden. When walking around the portico, the attention was drawn towards the garden and its sculpture, with the marble reliefs serving as a visual reference between them. Through the marble sculpture a cognitive connection was created between two spaces. It is significant to note that the Isis shrine was deliberately not part of this dialogue.

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[908] A popular pastime during dinner in order to establish social interaction, see O'Sullivan 2012, 98.
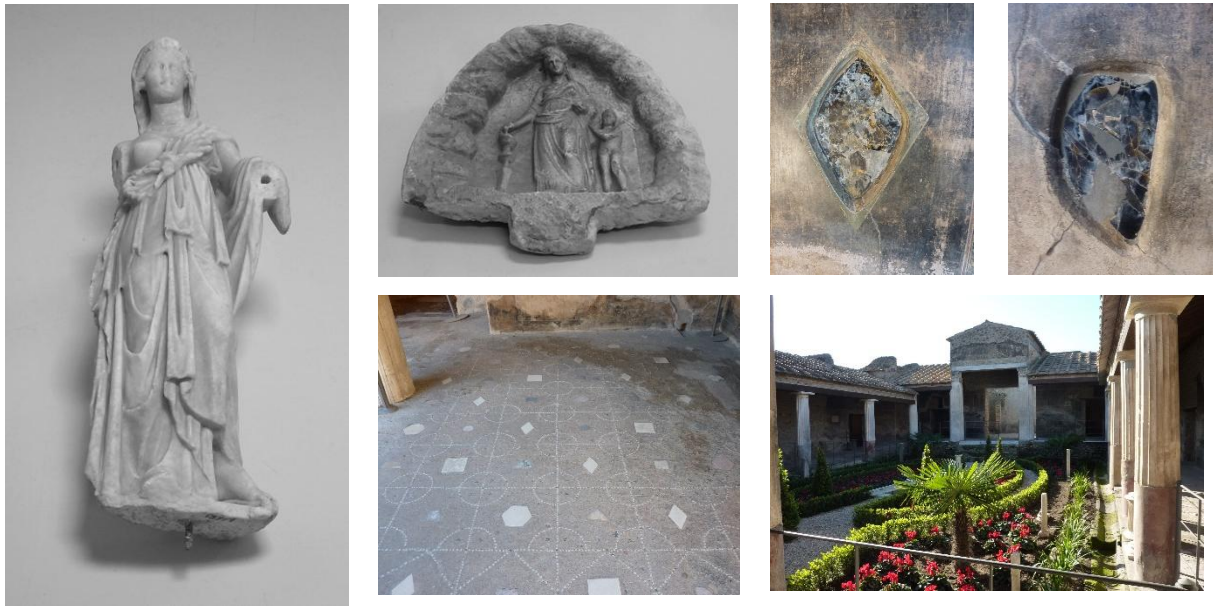
Fig. 5.13a-e) Impressions from the Casa di Amorini Dorati: the statue of Omphale (a-left), of the Attic grave relief (b-above centre), the obsidian mirrors on the east portico walls (c-above right), the flooring of the portico with the marble pieces inserted (d-below centre) and the garden (e-below right). Illustrations of the sculptures from Powers 2006, photographs by the author.

The east portico has no marble sculptures, however as said, two obsidian mirrors were placed in the walls (Fig. 5,13c). The east side was not important in the sense of rooms or specific functions. Room H may also have stored objects, as a wooden cupboard was attested in that space, but it seems to point to a storage room rather than space for explicit display.[909] The west side, supposedly the most important space of the portico has unfortunately not preserved its reliefs. They have perhaps been looted, as the area of the triclinium O was clearly disturbed after the infamous eruption.[910] However, marks in the wall still indicate that reliefs were present on this side. Interestingly enough, the marks next to the Triclinium O are placed directly on the line of the pavement change. As with the pavement it emphasises the change in atmosphere, initially set by means of walking up the stairs and witnessing a change in pavement to a more luxurious type with large varied pieces of inserted marble. Next on eye-level by way of the reliefs and on ground level by means of the pavement, one experiences walking into another zone of the house; a zone of social gathering and dining.

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[909] The space contained a wooden cupboard. However, no finds were attested, see Seiler 1992, fig. 278.

[910] The marble pavement of the room has been removed, see. *Giornale degli Scavi* A,VI,4:171. According to Allison's website entry on the discussion of the rooms of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati evident breaches suggest this room had been heavily looted. Allison, Pompeian households, an on-line companion.

Finally, when the south-east corner is reached, one could see the shrine of Isis from up close and one could view the paintings and its contents in detail. This was, concerning the regular route through the peristyle, the last space in which any display took place. In the mornings, rituals may be performed. It was indeed maybe more important as cult a place for the inhabitants, judged by its size and contents, however, it might also have been part of the ambulatio during which the most prominent sculptures were revealed to guests. What were the owner's intentions with regard to acquiring and displaying this statue? As to the Casa degli Amorini Dorati a conscious choice for objects related to a concept of Egypt could be established with a fair amount of certainty. However it could not thereby not be stated that the shrine in the corner of the peristyle was intentionally 'Egyptianised' in any cultural sense.[911]

Interesting in this case of 'Egypt' as a concept, is the link between that what is on display and the material it is made of. This is not only the case with the statue of Horus, but also with the green-glazed lamp portraying Egyptian deities referring in both ways to Egypt. As discussed in 4.4, green glaze was frequently connected to Egyptian iconography. Although this connection might have grown weaker over the years, the owners of the house of the Amorini Dorati appeared to be aware of it. Choosing for green glaze may therefore have been intentional. The conscious decision in these cases could have been to acquire and exhibit a statue especially, but also a lamp, which would enhance the sacredness, the importance of origin, and Isis's old age. The owner was able to accomplish this by means of the statue.

In addition to the intentions of the owners of the statue and the shrine, which impression would the shrine and its contents have made to a viewer? Of course, it might not have been as frequently visited as the other spaces, and when it was seen up close it was at the end of a route full of visual astonishment. In this way its afore-mentioned uniqueness must be nuanced. However, in addition to the owner's cultic intentions (to be further discussed below) it was certainly also a part of public display. The shrine made an impression as a whole visually, because it was such an isolated feature in the space and evidently did not belong to the garden and portico space.

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[911] If the term 'Egyptianisation' should be applied, this seems to have been by association rather than by intent. Egypt was integrally connected for the owners to the concept of Isis, because they knew she was Egyptian in origin.

However, at short range individual artefacts caught the eye, of which the most prominent was the statuette of Horus, because its unusual iconography, but also because of its physical properties such as height and material. Although alabaster objects are present in Pompeii, it is rarely utilised when producing statuary.[912] The height of the statue is also extraordinary when compared to 'regular' house shrine statuettes. The statue is carefully polished, providing it with a coating no marble could have achieved. By means of this treatment the stone developed a translucent effect and made a soft, almost malleable, appearance. Whereas marble translucency evokes a visual depth resembling human skin, the polished alabaster exceeds the marble effect to arrive at an experience transcending human 'realism'. Lastly, the colour resulting from the transparency of the alabaster can be considered an important property. In relation to other statuary in Pompeii this should also be considered atypical. Depending on the absorption and refraction of light, it occasionally seems to be yellow, orange, or pink. These latter traits are not consciously noted by the viewer, as was made clear in part 3.3. However, they were the first to catch one's eye, causing them to be perceived as extraordinary. Looking into all these properties, and comparing them to that which is usually found in house shrine-statuary in Pompeii (where the majority of statuettes are made of bronze or marble), one can assume that Horus was an eye-catcher, standing out in 'otherness'. A cognitive link between Egypt and alabaster might already have existed, and although Horus was unfamiliar, its rigid pose could also have been recognised as Egyptian. The style would also have added to its otherworldlyness perhaps even to notions sacredness.

Remarks on place-making in connection to previous interpretations
Configuration, visibility, pattern, and object analysis as place-making could add something valuable to the previous discussions of the house and its sculpture. Petersen for instance connects the sculpture from the shrines and the peristyle together, linking the Bacchus to the other shrines.[913] She establishes an explicit religious link between the presence of the relief portraying Venus to Isis and her shrine has been established: "*Despite*

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[912] Although alabaster is sporadically attested in Pompeii, its use is not an uncommon phenomenon. In fact, other Egyptian artefacts made of alabaster are found in Pompeii in the shape of four alabaster canopies. Although their exact find spot is unknown, they probably played a role in a funerary context, see Di Maria 1989, 134, 138. It may be remarked here that alabaster is only encountered in vases and bottles, never in statuary, see Allison 2004.
[913] See Petersen 2012, 323-4.

Seiler's reservations about the relief's connection to religion in its new domestic context (perhaps Seiler was influenced by Cato's complaints), I believe that it can be affiliated with household religion and ritual in a number of ways. Some scholars have linked this depiction of Venus with Venus Pompeiana, the patron deity of the city (Jashemski 1979.2.163; also see the discussion in Seiler 1992.131). If she can be understood as such, then she together with the gods in the sacellum directly across the garden represent imperial, city, and domestic deities watching over the domus. It may be of some significance that Venus is placed in relative proximity to the Isis shrine, perhaps also evoking the syncretic Isis-Venus."[914] Although the south wall of the portico consists of marble relief plaques connecting the garden to the portico, the shrine in the southeast corner is clearly not a part of this space as the study of the painting, sculpture, and flooring indicated. One should be cautious to automatically link sculptural programs to religious connotations; the relationships in the case of Petersen are assumed without taking any account of the experience and use of the space. Firstly there is no necessary connection between all the 'religious' sculpture in the house and the peristyle general. Secondly, the analyses indicate that the shrine was experienced as a separate unit. Moreover, one should take care not to lump all seemingly religious images together, as there is a difference between religious sculpture belonging to cult practice (as in shrines), and religious sculpture part of a decorative scheme.[915] Everything in the Roman material world is in one way or another religious, however, not everything is cult-related.

5.2.8 The shrine in context

First of all, in a general argumentation the house included a careful spatial segregation with a functional basis, as three clear areas could be discerned from the access analysis. The social position of the person and nature of the meeting determined in which of the three zones one would end up and how that goal should be reached. Such nucleated and specialised divisions integrated within a house emphasises the organic solidarity.[916]

As to the shrine and its objects, and especially concerning the Horus statue, it seems that when scholars reviewed this object it was always analysed

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[914] Petersen 2012, 330.
[915] As noted in Dunbabin 1999 and discussed in 4.2.
[916] As social cohesion which depends on the interdependence arising from specialisation of work and the complementarities between people and is bound together by means of occupational differences rather than worldview. See Durkheim 1893.

together with all the other Aegyptiaca found in Pompeii and not in its own use-context.[917] This was counted as problematic as it does not provide the actual environment in which it was appropriated. Within the discussion on Aegyptiaca, the statue of Horus was said to stand out for its unusual material, iconography, and height. It was deemed an import, a case of longing for the exotic, part of the 'Egyptomania' and a link to the Isis sanctuary. Or, as mentioned above, deliberately used in order to 'Egyptianise' the cult of Isis.[918] Facing the facts, the statue is indeed exotic and unique, in Roman Italy as well as in Egypt.[919] In the context of Roman Italy it does not concern a familiar subject (Horus), has no parallels in iconography or in material. Its only connection to the Isis sanctuary is, as with objects from the temple, that it was most likely imported from Egypt. It has never been mentioned in this discussion on Aegyptiaca, however, that when looking into the context of the house, the statue was not an anomaly at all. It did indeed fit in very well with the owner's personal taste, values, and preferences when acquiring exotic objects. The alabaster statuette of the falcon-headed deity and the manner in which it exhibited, corresponds with other objects found throughout the house. The owners of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati seemed to have put a lot of effort in acquiring outstanding objects in every setting of their house. Six points of interest stand out in particular when contextualising this.[920] (1) After the earthquake of AD 62 when most of the house was refurbished, the atrium of the house was not rebuilt but carefully restored, thereby preserving the first style incrustation of the two cubicula.[921] (2) as was noted above, the garden in the peristyle contained the highest number of marble sculptures found in a Pompeian house. This peristyle consisted of a floor with a huge amount of pieces of imported marbles of outstanding size when compared to other flooring in Pompeii (fig. 5.13d). (3) two obsidian mirrors located in the south wall of the peristyle (fig. 5.13c) described as: '*extremely rare in these contexts*'.[922] (4) the use of gold for the cupids in room I. (5) the marble Attic relief (fig. 5.13b) is an ancient piece which seems to have been acquired especially for that

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[917] See Tran tam Tinh 1964; de Vos 1982; Swetnam-Burland 2007; Di Maria 1989.
[918] De Vos 1981.
[919] Prof. dr. O. Kaper and prof. dr. R. van Walsem, personal communication, February 2012.
[920] Following the research presented in Seiler 1992 and Powers 2006.
[921] See Seiler 1992, 95; Powers 2006, 163-4. Although the restoration of the paintings may have been carried out because it was less expensive than applying a new painting. This does not count for the incrustation in the cubicula, which it would have taken less effort to remove and redo.
[922] See Powers 2006, 152, 157.

reason, considering its location. Lastly, (6) the statue of Omphale (5.13a) indicates they valued Eastern motives, quality marble as outstanding individual sculpture to adorn the garden. Reviewing this evidence the statuette can be placed within the a network of objects and of personal values and tastes instead of being viewed as an isolated exoticum. The inhabitants of the house were in general interested in acquiring special objects, material, and antique pieces. Possessing imports or deviantly styled objects such as the Horus statuette may have belonged to this habit.

However, although the owners went to great length in creating a lavish collection to display their status, they did not include Horus within the context of garden display and *otium*, something which could be observed in other houses.[923] Clearly, the owners of the Casa degli Amorini had a different concept of Egypt in mind –associated with the cult of Isis- which meant that it was not considered appropriate to use Egypt in the context of leisure and *otium*. This is a significant conclusion for three reasons: first of all this means that there were underlying rules considering the use of Egypt in this case (when someone took Isis seriously as a deity it meant it could not be used as exotic display), secondly, the Horus statuette is pulled out of the context of the exotic, and thirdly, it means that there were indeed different concepts of Egypt present which could be materialised through similar looking objects (objects referring to Egypt), however, they were differentiated through use and context. The habit of creating a leisure space was one of ingrained social learning, something that people *naturally* did (habitus), but how that was filled in dependend on personal preferences. For the owners of this house it was the marble sculpture, Bacchus, the theatre, together with the portico paintings, the plants and waterscapes that created the desired *otium,* leisurly, and playful atmosphere of the garden.

Turning to its position in the house and the way it was used, was the Isis shrine more isolated because of the practices and belief structure that deviated from other 'normal' and 'Roman' cultic practices? Probably not, as many shrines encountered in houses included Isis-statues and paintings in a non-isolated way (as observed in part 4.3). Although its separation from the other Roman deities did not have a cultic motive, the cult was evidently important to the inhabitants, and played an active role in their lives not only

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[923] Such as Section 4.4 and 4.6 demonstrated, and as following case study will also illustrate. As discussed by Zanker 2010 and von Stackelberg 2009, and in 4.5.

as aesthetic display. Regarding the cult of Isis it is difficult to reconstruct the rituals performed in the house, for hardly anything is known about private veneration of Isis. Comparing it in the light of public rituals may overgeneralise the events taking place in the privacy of a Roman house.[924] The Isis cult knew some differences in structure and outlook from other cults, but it is not known how much this played a part in Pompeii and within domestic contexts.[925] The objects that are found in connection to the shrine however, elucidate part of its use. There was an oil lamp in green glaze depicting the Isiac deities that could be lit, while the many offering bowls present in the shrine concur with the notion that libations and lustrations were of importance during rituals for the Isis cult. From what is known through historical sources offerings were mostly done with Nile water, wine, or with milk and that the animal most important for offering rituals was the goose.[926] However again, nothing is known concerning required offerings and intervals and its affect on everyday life.

In which way did the statuette of Horus serve as a cult object? Swetnam-Burland interprets the presence of the statue as a clear case of sacred practice, she states: "*A statuette of Horus found in the Isiac shrine of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati (fig. 6) recalls the ushabty found in the sacrarium shrine of the Temple of Isis. Just as images of the genius and lares from shrines were cult objects, this statuette would have been the focus of family veneration.*"[927] Would Horus have been the focus of private veneration or was he placed there in order to evoke an Egyptian atmosphere? Could the statuette have been venerated as a god? In general Romans could simultaneously conceive a representation of a deity to be both a statue and a god.[928] This is not

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[924] It is, for instance, unknown whether hymns for Isis (so-called aretologies) were also sang during private rituals or that they could only be chanted in public in attendance of an official priest.

[925] There was a strong focus placed on ethics. Aretologies left to historians seem to represent invocation of ethical norms. These would have been known by initiates and offered clear rules for everyday life. The main rules could be subsumed under being morally pure, chaste, and focused on abstention Misfortune and illness or personal wrongdoing led to rituals of public and private contrition, Deviating practices from other cults concerned the open confession of the cause of the misfortune, presumably the result of a consultation of priests. See Alver 2008, 181.

[926] On religious systems concerning Isis, see Alvar 2008, 305-44. More than merely purificatory, water from the Nile was a much applied mediator turning offerings into assimilable material for the gods, see Alvar 2008, 314.

[927] See Swetnam-Burland 2007, 70.

[928] See Weddle 2010, 228. Statues in Greek texts were were frequently referred to as 'the deity' rather than 'an image of'. Platt also assumes that the difference between image and concept is often obscure. See Platt 2011, 78; Gordon 1979, 5-34.

limited to the cult image, but to each and every representation of the deity which could manifest itself in the object in order to listen to the worshippers wishes and partake in the rituals. For this to take effect for Horus, one should assume that the owners knew that Horus belonged to the Egyptian pantheon, either as 'Horus' or (more probable) a the 'falcon-headed deity', as the name Horus seems to have been unknown in this period and place.[929] However, a more problematic issue than whether the owners knew which god they were dealing with, is: would they venerate an animal-headed deity? Although not necessarily true in an Egyptian context Romans believed that Egyptians worshipped animals, and this was considered a characteristic un-Roman and uncivilised act; the Egyptian deities often served as an example in literary discourse to show barbarism on the part of the Egyptians.[930] To an initiate of the Isis cult, this may have been less problematic, being familiar with the jackal-headed deity Anubis (present in the shrine in the shape of a painting) and Apis, a bull. However, it is has as yet not been established with absolute certainty that they were the subject of actual veneration.[931] This doubt becomes sustained looking at the finds connected to the Iseum Campense in Rome, where many statues of animal gods are encountered. These animal statues seem to have been used to evoke the atmosphere of Egypt rather than that those animals were truly worshipped. Both Lembke and Roullet argue that such imports were merely to create a proper Egyptian atmosphere and that users would not have known the exact religious significance of the statues.[932] The deities that were important and were really actually worshipped were the Hellenistic deities of Isis and Serapis, as these had their own sanctuaries and cult statues.[933] Their statues in a public context, next to portraying anthropomorphic statues, were also always made out of white marble, as to further 'internalise' them for the Roman worshipper, for which this was normal.[934]

The animal statues from the Iseum however, did not only created an atmosphere, but also might have added invidual sacredness, maybe

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[929] It is not rare for a Roman family or *pater familias* to worship an uncommon and 'foreign' deity. The Roman pantheon was large and theologically all existing gods could be integrated into the *praxis.*

[930] Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984.

[931] See note 871.

[932] See Roullet 1972, 39-41; Lembke 1994.

[933] Lembke 1994.

[934] For a more thorough discussion on the use of marble in Roman public cult statues and the Isis cults, see Mol 2014, 110-19.

especially when they were actually imported from the land that hailed Isis. If Horus was an import, the statue could likewise have have accumulated value on the basis of this geographical distance.[935] For the owners it may have been of extra significance that the statue came from Egypt, both on a social level and in a cult-related way. A comparison with the sanctuary of Isis in Pompeii might present a number of final clues concerning the reception of the Horus statuette and its role in the shrine. These include, such as mentioned in part 4.5 (table 4.17), a number of imports as well, such as a squatting male deity, an ushabty, and a limestone stele containing hieroglyphs. The faience ushabty mentioned by Swetnam-Burland as displayed in the sacrarium, was actually found in a sacrificial pit in the court of the temple, and therefore most probably part of a ritual and not to endorse the atmosphere. However, the stele was displayed in front of the sanctuary. The imports in the sanctuary supposedly had a sacred value especially because they were imported from Egypt. Finding the ushabty in a sacrificial pit endorses this view. Authenticity as a concept therefore in some instances might have played a role. Although none of these objects indicate they were actually venerated, the argument that an object sometimes mattered as an *import* can be sustained through the finds of the Iseum. The complete haphazardness of the objects in both subject, object, material, age and provenance, and the absence of a direct link to the Isis cult, suggests that they were important because they came from.[936] The statuette of Horus, just as the ushabty and the stele, could have carried similar importance, meaning that it provenance was of more significance than what the statuette actually signified. While it is unlikely they were the focus of veneration, all these imports could well have been considered sacred objects, connected to the origin of Isis, and be used in rituals. Stating therefore, that such objects had a purely decorative function, in order to 'evoke Egypt' or to 'add to an Egyptian atmosphere' is oversimplifying the case.[937] If an Egyptian atmosphere was required, it was of course not really necessary to acquire a genuine Egyptian import. The sphinx from the Iseum was locally produced, and could without any problems be placed in the sacrarium of the Isis temple.[938]

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[935] On the deliberate acquisition of practices or objects as source of prestige and power, see Helms 1993.

[936] As can be witnessed from, for example, the Iseum Campense and the sanctuary at Beneventum dedicated to Isis, See Lembke 1994 and Müller 1968.

[937] As Lembke 1994 for the Iseum Campense.

[938] The examples from Lembke in Rome should be seen as unique and incomparable to a site such as Pompeii. The Iseum Campense was a display case of the Flavian emperors. The

Combining all the evidence of the sanctuaries in Rome and Pompeii, the imports, and the statue itself, the most reasonable explanation within a cultic context is therefore that the Horus statuette was sacred because it was Egyptian; it was not completely decorative, but also not venerated in the way Isis was venerated.[939] The Horus statuette therefore brought the owners an elevation of the domestic shrine in both a cultic and and on a social level.

5.2.9 Conclusion

Looking at the house size, the inhabitants of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati did not own much space with which to impress their visitors. Because of the dense urban pattern in Region VI, people could not easily purchase space when one's wealth increased. One could however, make up for this by means of decoration, consisting of expensive material as well as of objects considered exotic and luxurious, in order to create a marble pleasure garden. The inhabitants had also acquired prime pieces in a collection-like fashion, (e.g., the statue of Omphale, the 4th-century BC Attic grave relief). The cubicula were experienced as individual private spaces, and although the peristyle was more public, the garden sculptures were only to be enjoyed by the inhabitants, but also to select group of invited guests. Physical boundaries and material hints were put up to structure the behaviour of these visitors and it could be noted that the careful compartmentalisation within the house had social, aesthetic, and religious reasons. However they were not eclectic. Petersen indicts scholars like Zanker to be erreouneaously searching for a unified decorative program in painting (based on iconography) and equaling the lack hereof to a case of 'bad taste', as Zanker does denote explicit eclecticism.[940] However, as became clear from the pattern analysis, all the rooms in the peristyle were intended to function as single units and therefore deliberately do not display an overlapping theme. Their decoration serves to separate them as individual spaces. Within these individual spaces, a search for unification, for things that fitted together, continued.

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imported statues from Egypt depicting animals should here be considered as an imperial way of decorating and a symbol of his power rather than as sacred objects.

[939] The Egyptianness of Isis was undisputed and did probably not really vanish in the perception of Romans, although the cult over the years of course became more and more approached and used from local perspectives. It was Roman, but viewed as Egyptian of which aretalogies reminded the followers. As an Isis hymn from Kyme states: '*Hail, Oh Egypt, that nourished me.*' (*c*.100 AD), or the Maroneia aretology from the 2nd century BC: "*You are pleased with Egypt as your dwelling-place.*"

[940] See Zanker 1998; Petersen 2012, 323-4.

Through the method of place-making, some significant new insights were noted about the position of the Egyptian shrine. It took up a rather segregated space in the peristyle. Furthermore, no traces of Egyptian influences were encountered anywhere else in the house. Presumably, this had to do with the way in which the owners dealt with the concept of Egypt, in their case linking only to the cult of Isis. They took the cult seriously; therefore no Egyptian statues were placed in the garden space or in the portico. *Otium* and exoticism could impossibly be connected to Egypt in this house, they used a Bacchic theme for this. There has been made a conscious decision to separate the two shrines and dress them accordingly. It seems that owners deliberately separated them, but the separation had to do with other reasons than just being a cultic decision. A social reason was behind the separation, as it provided an extra moment to display wealth, knowledge and personal values through the positioning of sculpture.[941] The notion of Greenwood that: "*The homeowner wanted to be perceived by outsiders a loyal Roman citizen (the Isis-lararium is not visible in the tablinum) but probably identified himself primarily as an Isis worshipper. While religious beliefs may not have been directly associated with either* [Romanitas] *or* [luxuria]*, this further suggests that the paterfamilias had strong oriental, and hence luxuria-associated preferences.*"[942] is therefore difficult for several reasons. First of all in terms of being a loyal Roman citizen by displaying 'Roman' gods can be considered a modern projection. The shrine, with the Capitoline gods displayed, is equally unique as the Isis shrine, and therefore does not display 'true Roman manners.' Further, although Isis origin was Egyptian, something strongly emphasised by the inhabitants, it does not equal 'oriental', for the relationship with the east was more differentiated and complex. In this respect the links to concepts such as the oriental and to *luxuria* should be nuanced. A marble statue of Omphale has been put up with a different purpose in mind than an Isis shrine and do not belong to the same category. The owners of the Amorini Dorati wanted to display a sense of luxury everywhere, also in the display of the Isis shrine; however, they did not accomplish that *by* putting up the Isis shrine.

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[941] See 4.3.4. Interestingly, the way the shrine was erected (this is the most lavish and exclusive example) including paintings of the Hellenistic Isis and companions and excluding the Isis-Fortuna type we mainly encounter in Pompeii, counts only three more examples here from large and rich houses, and are not socially emulated to houses of the lower classes. Within the psychology of aesthetics it thus denotes a preference of the elite.
[942] See Greenwood 2010, 135.

5.3 Case Study II: the Casa di Octavius Quartio

5.3.1 Introduction

The Casa di Octavius Quartio, or Casa di Loreius Tiburtinus (II 2, 2), is the second case study to be included in chapter 5. It presents a different example of employment of Aegyptiaca and another image and use of Egypt than the Casa degli Amorini Dorati.[943] It was excavated between 1916 and 1921 by Spinazzola as part of a larger project that tried to uncover Insula II, where the house was located.[944] Later excavations in parts of the house were carried out between 1933 and 1935.[945] Although the Casa di Octavius Quartio has rarely been analysed in its entirety, it has been discussed by various scholars.[946] A complete study of the house was presented in 2006.[947] Whereas the Egypt-connected objects from the Casa degli Amorini Dorati presented a clear cultic context and a nucleated locus of objects all closely connected to Isis and carefully separated from the rest of the objects and styles of the rest of the house, the 'Aegyptiaca' of the Casa di Octavius Quartio were dispersed throughout the house (see table 5.6 below). As indicated in the table, it contained green-glazed statuettes of Bes and a pharaoh (section 4.4), a marble statue of an Egypt-styled sphinx (4.5), and a painting of an Isis priest holding a sistrum. In its diversity and outreach of the employment of Egyptian objects in domestic contexts it therefore presents an ideal counter example with regard to the previous case study.

In general the development of architectural construction and decoration of the house of Octavius Quartio (for a plan, see fig. 5.14), like the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, belongs to the final phase of the building activity in the town (62-79 AD), and reflects the change of focus from the atrium to the peristyle area in an extreme manner. Although there still is an atrium, its decoration was very modest and many rooms were still in a state of renovation during 79 AD. The tablinum, once an indispensable feature of the traditional atrium-house, was completely absent in favour of a large peristyle area with a garden occupying more than half the house.

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[943] The former name of the house, Loreius Tiburtinus, was invented by Della Corte 1932 on the basis of grafitti. However this could not have been the real owner of the house, as research into Pompeian family names revealed that while there may have been a family of Loreii as well as a Tiburtinus, there was no "Loreius Tiburtinus" in Pompeii. The currently employed name however, D. Octavius Quartio, at present the name giver of the house, was most probably also not its owner.

[944] See Spinazzola 1953.

[945] See Maiuri 1947.

[946] Della Corte 1931, 182-216; Mariuri 1942; 1947; Jashemski 1979; 1997; Clarke 1991; Von Stackelberg 2009; de Vos in *PPM* 3, 42-108.

[947] Tronchin, 2006; see Tronchin 2011, 33–49.
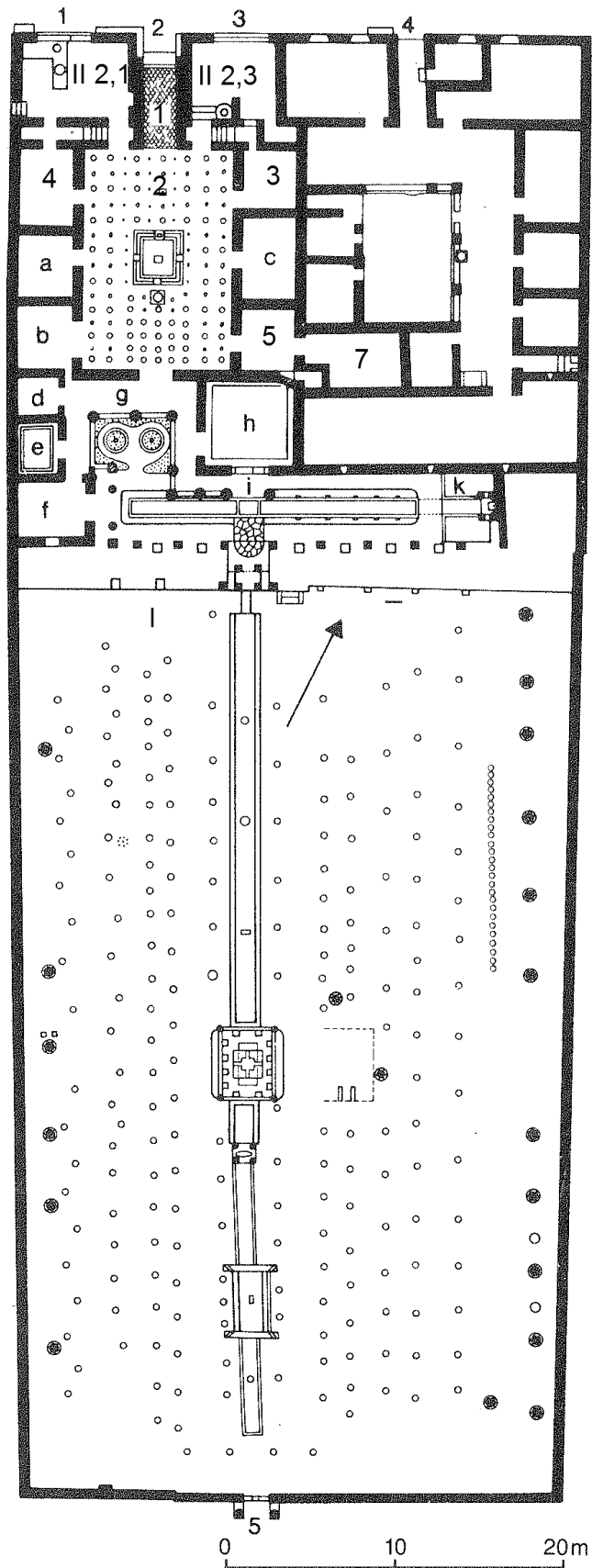
Fig. 5.14) Plan of the Casa di Octavius Quartio. (After Clarke/de Vos 1991, 195 (fig. 108). Room numbers correspond to *PPM*.

Of interest in terms of interpretation of the house and its owners, especially in relation to the discussion in 5.1 on *luxuria*, is that most scholars agree that in this case the owners tried too hard to ornament their house. A clear consensus exists that the inhabitants of the Casa di Octavius Quartio decorated their house in a tasteless manner: too many sculptures, water features, plants, fountains, and architectural features adorned the place. It has been referred to by Zanker (later followed by Clarke) as: '*An idiosyncratic Walt Disney world*'. La Rocca declared the house and its contents as kitsch, while Hales describes it as: '*the bizarre fantasy world that was his* [pater familias] *home*'.[948] A collection of remarkable subjective aesthetic judgements were made through these comments, based on the large number of fountains, waterworks, and architectural features, but mainly on the seemingly 'eclectic' sculptural finds that were spread through the house which did not display a clear theme or possessed any underlying thoughts in composition or iconography.

It is clear that judgements as quoted above are profoundly influenced by the historical accounts previously discussed (in part 5.1), which called the exceeding lavishness of the new elite into question and seem to directly accuse the owners of a house such as the Casa di Octavius Quartio of bad taste. The reflection between the written words and the physical remains is that strong, that the story of Trimalchio and this specific house became inextricably linked. Referring to the discussion in 5.1, the Casa di Octavius Quartio is considered to be the ultimate Trimalchio home.[949] The waterworks and canals (also called '*Euripi*') which the house flaunts so frankly, supposedly reflect exactly those which were once mocked by Cicero.[950] Moreover, and of importance to this research, the Egyptian artefacts play a substantial role in the so-called Trimalchio-indictment, as examples of lavish exotic display. This latter statement makes this house a specifically

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[948] Clarke 1991, 197; Hales 2003, 161. Zanker states: "*This is a 'Walt Disney world', in which an owner with little taste has tried to imitate the leisured country world of his betters, consistently choosing quantity over quality.*" Zanker 1998, 156; La Rocca notes the house: "*...con l'architettura movimentata, irrequieta dei tanti piccoli ambienti, sovraccarichi di rifinimenti kitsch.*"La Rocca 1976, 241.

[949] It has been remarked that: "*Like the rich former slave Trimalchio in Petronius' Satyricon, these new bourgeoisie imitated the wealthy aristocratic upper class in their desire for the material trappings of wealth*", see Clarke 1991, 207.

[950] Atticus mentions in conversation with Cicero- "*Atticus: For my part, this is the first time I have been at the place, and I cannot have enough of it; I think scorn now of splendid villas and marble pavements and fretted roofs. When one looks at this, one can only smile at the artificial canals which our fashionable friends call their "Nile" or their "Euripus." Just now when you were discussing law and jurisprudence you ascribed everything to nature; and certainly in regard to these objects at any rate which we seek for the repose and refreshment of the mind, nature is the only true mistress.*" Cicero *De Legibus* 2.2.

interesting case study, as it touches on an important debate on exoticism and Egypt. Therefore the case study to follow will be treated in the same way as 5.2, carefully analysing the house, its configuration, decorative patterns, and materials. How does the presumed 'kitsch' or 'eclecticism' express itself when discussed contextually? Can differences be discovered in the context of this discourse when the house is compared with the Casa degli Amorini Dorati?

Yet another question guiding this case study again concerns domestic religion. In addition to being a material example of cheap taste of the new elite, the Casa di Octavius Quartio has often been dealt with as the example of Isiac worship within domestic contexts. This opinion has its origin in writings of Della Corte, who interpreted the house as being owned by an Isis priest.[951] He explained many finds in the context of Isiac worship; tying all finds and structures together as one large ritual space for Isiac worship.[952] The two canals in the peristyle and the garden, for instance, Della Corte considered as representations of the Nile, the amphorae in the garden played a part in Nile water libations, whereas a room with a painting of a priest served as a ritual space for Isis, etc. Tran tam Tinh, de Vos, Wild, Hales and others followed this train of thought which subsequently was reflected in more recent and general studies as well.[953] Clarke states that: '*room f is of exceptional quality and contains several possible references to the cult of Isis*'. Hales calls the room an "*Isiac sacellum*", while Platt mentions that "*The sacro-idyllic structures of the garden and portico (tempietti, aediculae and nymphaea) and the room decorated with Isiac paintings point to cult and ritual more than is usual in a domestic Roman house.*"[954] Whereupon did Della Corte base his statement that had such a profound impact? Principally, on a single painting encountered in Room *f* depicting an Isiac priest holding a sistrum. (fig. 16b). Although there is a connection to Isis, the explanation of the room as a cult room devoted to Isis seems rather doubtful on the basis of one small painted figure, let alone when drawing the entire house and its finds into this context and declaring the pater familias an Isis priest. Although Tronchin, after looking carefully into all paintings and artefacts of

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[951] Della Corte 1932; 1965, 374.
[952] See Della Corte 1932, especially 196-200.
[953] Tran tam Tinh 1964; de Vos and de Vos 1982, 138; Wild 1981, 221; Clarke 1991, 194-6, Hales 2003, 161-4.
[954] See Platt 2002, 88. Although it is mention here Isiac paintings are spread throughout the room, in fact it only contains one painting.

the house, presents a much more nuanced picture of the house and its owners, she still holds that followers of the Isis cult must have lived here: "*While the Egyptian artifacts and the various references to Egypt in the Casa di Octavius Quartio made these exotic and fashionable references, they probably also indicated that the owner of the house was a devotee of Isis, though not a priest of her cult.*"[955] The nuance here lies in the fact that the house owner is not a priest but still an adept of the Isiac cult.

The two discussions on cult and exoticism in relation to Egyptian artefacts conjoin pleasantly in this case study. The objective is therefore to try to carefully re-place the Egyptian artefacts within the context of the house, while analysing the objects more closely as well as the context, configuration, iconography, and material of the finds. At the same time Egyptian artefacts must not be dealt with as belonging to a similar category. Moreover, any *a priori* interpretations about their use and perception should not occur. In the coming sections the material and rooms will be discussed, where after the analysis of the house and its contents will take place in accordance with the method of place-making.

5.3.2 Description and discussion of the Egypt-connected finds from the Casa di Octavius Quartio

AEGYPTIACA FROM THE CASA DI OCTAVIUS QUARTIO (II 2, 2)				
Object	Subject	Material	Ref. no.	Find location
Figurine[956]	Bes with the head of a baboon	Blue-green glaze	PMS 10613 B	Viridarium (behind the space south of the triclinium)
Figurine	Bes	Blue-green glaze	MNN 2897	Northwest corner of the small peristyle garden
Figurine	Pharaoh	Blue-green glaze	MNN 2898	Northwest corner of the small peristyle garden
Figurine	Sphinx	Marble (white)	PMS 2930	Midpoint of the upper canal, north of the basin
Painting	Isiac priest			Room f, south wall, east side

Table 5.6) All the objects connected to Egypt found in the Casa di Octavius Quartio.

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[955] See Tronchin 2006, 344.

[956] The figurine belongs to this house, see Di Goia 2006. However, it is not mentioned in Tronchin 2006. Because di Gioia mentions that the statuette is found behind the space south of the triclinium, she points to the space at the canal, this was however, not a viridarium. It migt mean that she meant west of the triclinium, in this case the statuette would have been found at the same location as the other faience figurines.

Firstly, in order to construct a proper foundation for this analysis, the Egyptian objects found in the house will be discussed in the light of the previous research. The objects are presented in table 5.6., their location in the house is indicated in fig. 5.15. In brief they consist of five items (generally accepted as linked to Egypt) and two objects maintaining a weaker link to Egypt, one by means of iconography, the other by its context.[957] The 'ascertained Aegyptiaca' consist of (a) a figure of an Isis priest (from the example above), (b) a marble statue of a sphinx in Egyptian style, and (c) statuettes of Bes and a Pharaoh consisting of blue-green glaze, together with five more blue/green-glazed fragments of bases (some with feet) that could not be iconological identified. The two more 'difficult' objects consist of a marble statue of an ibis (found together with the blue/green-glazed objects in the small peristyle garden) and a bronze lamp depicting Jupiter-Ammon encountered in the kitchen of the house. Looking at the general overview of finds from the house presented in table 5.6, the first thing to be noted is the variation of both objects and contexts in with the objects were found compared to the previous house of the Amorini Dorati. They are found in three separated locations in the house, both indoors and outside, also, they display a variety of objects that is characterising for the overall finds connected to Egypt within Pompeii, which raises the question whether a single concept of Egypt was present within the employment of these objects. It is therefore interesting to see this variation present in a single unit.

The first object, mentioned above in the light of Della Corte's interpretation of the house, is the painting of an Isiac priest, located in room *f* (see plan in fig. 5.15 and fig. 5.16a-b), of which the function is somewhat obscure. The room is decorated in late Fourth Style rendered in a high quality, consisting of large white panels depicting small floating figures and medallions. The larger representations in the central panels, sadly, have been removed and their location therefore remains unknown. The Isiac priest figure is portrayed on the south wall. His head is traditionally shaven, he wears a white garment holding a sistrum in the right hand and a situla in the other, as could also be observed with the paintings of priests in the sanctuary of Isis.[958] It is not usual to depict Isiac priests (albeit that we see sistra more often). Moreover, a graffito was found written beneath the painting (no longer

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[957] Both are not Egyptian artefacts. In spite of previous interpretations, it is unclear whether they were utilised or perceived as Egyptian.
[958] Reference numbers 8922 and 8969, now displayed in *the Museo Nazionale di Napoli*.

visible today) and probably read '*Amulius Faventinus Tiburs*'.[959] The graffito resulted in the statement of the owner being an Isiac priest.[960] However, is it likely to presume that the name would refer to one of the inhabitants of the house?[961]
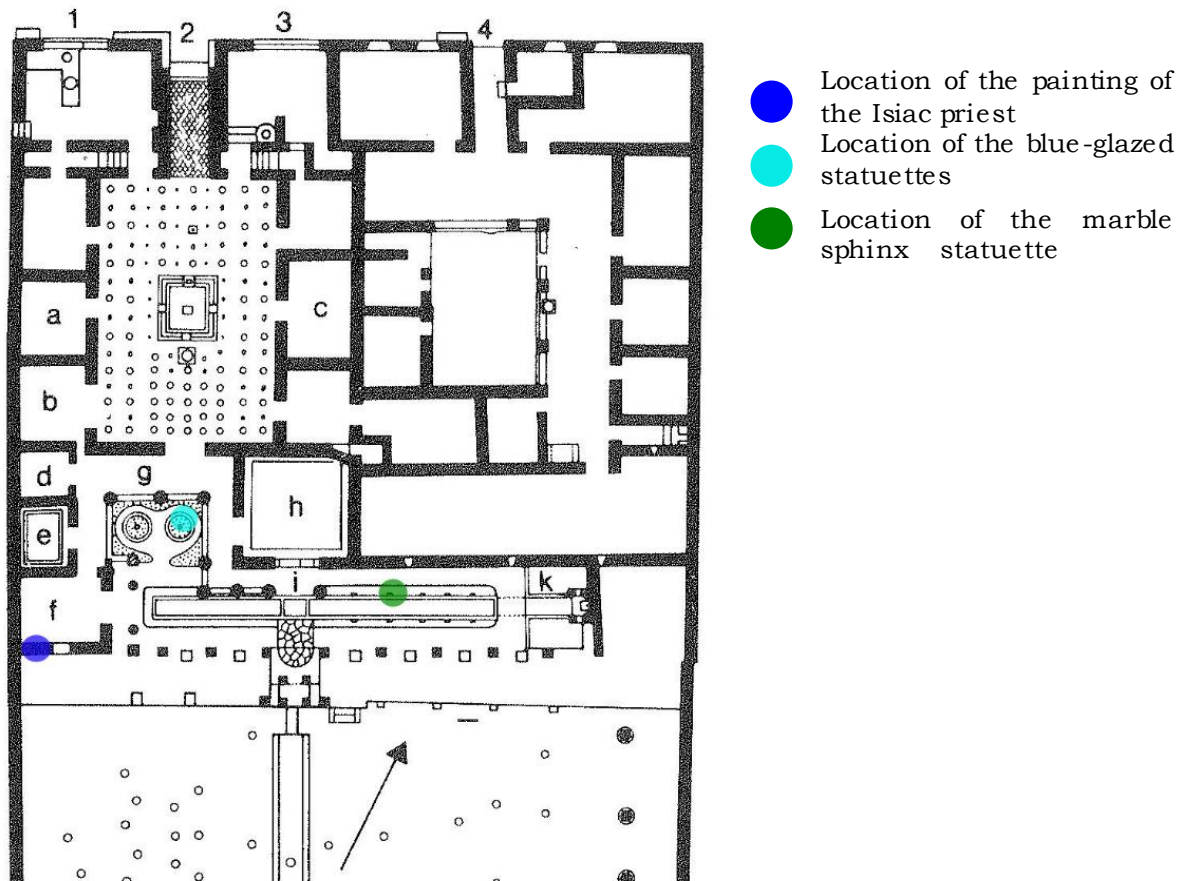
Fig. 5.15) Plan of the Casa di Octavius Quartio (II 2,2). The location of the objects deemed to have a connection to Egypt. After Clarke 1991.

If it was the owner, or a close relative, it would not have been necessary to write his name underneath the picture. The connection seems questionable. It is equally plausible, that by means of a joke, someone wrote the name of an Isis priest he or she knew beneath a decoration of an Isis priest that was

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[959] See *CIL* IV 7534; Vidman 1969, no. 490; Tran tam Tinh, 125-6, no. 5; Bricault 2005,504/0214. Clarke, however, states it could also have been '*Amplus Alumnus Tiburs*', which means 'the illustrious disciple Tiburs', see Clarke 1991, 196.
[960] See Della Corte 1932, 192.
[961] As presumed in Spinazzola 1953, 427-29.

painted there with no particular reason else than decoration.[962] As mentioned, only one out of ten panels in the room includes anything Isis related, but it nevertheless led Della Corte to believe that the entire space should be seen as a cult room.[963] The error observed in his argument, and that of Tronchin, is not only by linking the function of the house and its inhabitants to one small painting, but also the fact it is still assumed that 'things Egyptian' automatically connect to Isis. In the light of the previous analyses within this dissertation, the house of Octavius Quartio actually does not follow any of the rules that could be observed regarding the veneration of Isis in a domestic context. We encounter no house shrine paintings, no statues of Isis or other Egyptian gods, no sistra, no lamps, no amulets. In fact, the painting of the Isiac priest is the only direct connection to Isis. On the other hand, the Octavius Quartio house presents a rather a-typical domestic context in general while it does not follow standard housing patterns; no shrine has been attested at all. However even then it remains interesting, that such a profound conclusion on the house, its owners, and contents was reached on the basis of so little and unpersuasive evidence. If it comes down to cultic references in sculpture, these are far better represented by Dionysus than Isis, and when wall painting is considered, the deity which is mostly depicted is Diana, while there is no single painting of Isis.[964] No scholar has related the house owner to Dionysian mysteries or to the cult of Diana. Again, Egypt seems to be discriminated again because many scholars still regard it as a deviant category. Therefore all Egyptian things were connected to the Isis cult, whereas the Dionysian sculpture could be interpreted as adornment. A directive for this specific section is therefore to contextualise and balance the *a priori* cultic interpretation of the artefacts.

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[962] Was it not more probable that even in the case it was a name that should refer to the picture, it was a name of a known priest or follower of Isis not related to the house? Or that it was a joke?

[963] See Della Corte 1931, 192.

[964] Tronchin considers the possibility the owners were Egyptian: "*Another possibility, though one that stretches the imagination, is that someone living in this area of the house was actually of Egyptian descent, and arranged for the statuettes and paintings to be placed here almost as a memento patriae.*" see Tronchin 2006, 51-2.

Fig. 5. 16a-b) Room *f* in the Casa di Octavius Quartio. On the south wall (extreme left): an Isis priest can be seen. The opposite (northern) wall shows a depiction of the personification of summer. The central panel in the west wall is missing, just as the most left painting, the painting on the right wall shows a medallion of a Meanad drinking wine. Fig. b) shows a detailed picture of the Isis priest. Photographs by the author.

What was seen on the remaining walls of this room? There are figures on the west wall opposite the main entrance, among which the central panel of the room (probably containing the most important figures of the painting) are lost. The northern wall has two heavily damaged panels and depicts a personification of the summer season. On the southern wall we see the Isiac priest, and a personification of the autumn. The other discernible figures represent so-called Dionysian portrait medallions. On the east wall a maenad offers a drink to Silenus, while another maenad drinks from a cup on the west wall (see fig. 5.16a).[965]

Because of this small painting of the priest not only the use, but also the gender of the user of the room was inferred. It was identified as a space used by the patroness of the house, guided mainly by the idea that Isis was predominantly popular amongst women.[966] Tronchin, who follows Clarke's interpretation, states: "*The concentration of Egyptian iconography in room f and the garden might suggest that the residents of this area of the house were devoted to the cult of Isis. The cult was especially popular among Roman women. Given the "feminine" iconography of room f—which includes female personifications of the seasons and Venus—it may be argued that this was a*

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[965] See *PPM* III, 70-9.
[966] See Clarke 1991, 196.

space primarily used by the matriarch of the family who may have also been a member of the popular Isiac cult in Pompeii."[967]

This interpretation is problematic for the following reasons: firstly, a single portrait of a priest does not denote 'a concentration of Egyptian iconography', it is only one small picture and it is Isiac, not Egyptian in iconography. Secondly, the cult of Isis is no longer defined as a cult mainly followed by women, it was popular among male and female followers from diverse social strata[968] Lastly, the discussion on gendered spaces in Roman houses is equally perilous and making a connection between painting and gender, is an even more dangerous projection than the classification Egyptian. The fact that there are a number of women depicted on the walls does not say that the room was used by a woman.

Fig. 5.17) Statuettes of Bes and a Pharaoh (from Tronchin 2006, after Della Corte 1932, fig. 38). These statues were destroyed after the Allied Forces bombed the Pompeian storage rooms during World War II. From Tronchin 2006 45, fig. 38.

[967] See Tronchin 2006, 51-2.
[968] See 4.4.

The second group of objects consists of the green-glazed statuettes in the northwest corner of the small peristyle garden (*g,* see plan in fig. 5.15). It counts a figurine of a pharaoh and of Bes, as well as at least five other figurines of the same material.[969] Only photographs and descriptions of these two statuettes remain (see fig. 5.17). The chance they were also imported from Memphis, as almost all of their chemically analysed equals were derived from 4.4, can be considered plausible.[970]

According to Tronchin, (who follows the central thesis of Swetnam-Burland seen in part 5.1.4), whether or not the statues were imports is of no real importance, the significance lies in the fact that they "*were clearly intended to appear Egyptian...By nature of their material, style, subject matter, the statuettes of Bes and a pharaoh would have been Egyptian to the eyes of any visitor to this house.*"[971] When one can assume it is imported from Egypt, the chance the owners were aware of this fact can indeed be argued. They were all placed together in the same location implying it can be fairly safe to say this was done on purpose and that the owners had a concept of Egypt in mind which was linked to this group. The Pharaoh as an individual sculpture is significant in this respect, as it is the only statuette of this kind giving voice to such iconography. Would people have recognised a portrait of a pharaoh? Only two other references are found, both within domestic contexts: paintings of pharaoh statues in the triclinium of Casa di Bracciale d'Oro (VI 17, 42) and in the Casa di Frutetto (I 9,5).[972] No other statues are known. The statuette from the Casa di Octavius Quartio wears an Egyptian *shendyt* (a kilt-like garment made of cloth and worn around the waist) and a *nemes* (a striped head cloth), typically worn by pharaohs. Although it has been argued that the dress of Egyptian immigrants in Italy may have been known to the residents of Pompeii (as Tronchin 2006, 51 argues), this is highly doubtful. First of all it not likely that immigrants from Egypt would in general have continued to wear traditional Egyptian clothing in Pompeii. Furthermore, as the *nemes* was exclusively worn by pharaohs, symbolising his divine power, it would never have been worn by common Egyptians.[973]

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[969] Five bases were found, all with traces of feet, and thus.the largest assemblage of green-glazed statuettes attested in Pompeii. All were destroyed when the Pompeii Antiquario, where the statuettes were stored, was bombed in 1945, see Tronchin 2006, 45.

[970] See section 4.4 (table 4.14) after the chemical analysis of Mangone et al. 2011.

[971] See Tronchin 2006, 49.

[972] See figs. 4.21, 4.22 and section 4.5.3 for a discussion on these paintings.

[973] "*The group of these two statuettes would have conjured up a foreign land populated by unusual figures (the appearance of dress of Egyptian immigrants in Italy might have been known to the residents of Pompeii)*", See Tronchin 2006, 50.

The iconography may therefore be difficult to be the sole identifier of the statue to view as something Egyptian. In this case the material, as discussed in 4.4, does play an important role, as does the fact that it contains a larger number of statuettes. All the objects in the peristyle garden consisted of green glaze, which may have been more important than that which they represented. Two questions arise in terms of perception that should be a separated guide the interpretation. What was the effect of these statuettes on the viewer? What were its values to the owner? It is mentioned about the objects they once were: "*Allusions to a mysterious and distant land, peculiar religious practices, magic, and even the aping of the Egyptomania of Early Imperial style are all elements conveyed by statuettes like these glazed terracotta ones.*"[974] It is the same statement as made by Swetnam-Burland about the threshold with hieroglyphs from Casa del Doppio Larario (discussed in part 5.1.4), that people would have immediately recognised that something was Egyptian, and that it was therefore considered magical and powerful.

The third object, a marble sphinx (discussed in part 4.5.5), was found together with many other white marble sculptures along the upper canal in the peristyle (Fig. 5.18), also called the 'upper *Euripus*'. The sphinx consists of white marble and made in a characteristic Egyptian style. It is reclining, has the body of the lion, the head of a human being (pharaoh), wears a *nemes* and is male. A small bronze boss depicting the face of a gorgon is placed between its paws. Although it has been argued that the marble clarifies the Italian origin (imported Egyptian statues were normally made of coloured stone), this does not necessarily be true. Indeed the time of Ramses (i.e., during the New Kingdom) small white limestone statuettes such as this are known in Egypt.[975]

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[974] See Tronchin 2006, 50.
[975] Although Tronchin 2006 states that the material is unusual for Egyptian objects, white coloured sphinx statuettes are known to be from Egypt. For the context of Rome and Tivoli, see Roullet 1972; Lembke 1991.

Fig. 5.18) A white marble statuette of a sphinx found near the upper canal (Inv. no. 2930). A bronze coin includes the face of a gorgon. From Tronchin 2006, 405 fig. 62.

Many questions can be raised concerning this statuette which are considered of interest in the discussion on the use and perception of things Egyptian. Would the location between other Graeco-Roman-themed sculpture for instance argue against Egypt as 'something special' and something that should be 'set apart' in Roman contexts? Does it call the recognisability of Egypt as stylistic feature into question or the importance of its style? What is the difference between this context and the green-glazed statuettes? The statuette was already dealt with (see 4.5) as an argument of the multifaceted associations surrounding artefacts and the way in which these associations influenced the integration of 'exotica' in the environment of Pompeii. The cognitive associations with this particular statue, as argued, were much more complex than merely 'something Egyptian'. When the context and social significance of the statuette is analysed here this should be the starting point of interpretation.

This section contains two objects that are in some way also connected to Egypt, but not always included as Aegyptiaca. First of all the statue of a bird which the excavators described as "*un ibis avente sul petto una serpe in atto di beccarlo*". It was found in the small peristyle garden together with the green-glazed statuettes (fig. 5.19a).[976] This is a difficult case, because the

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[976] *Giornale degli Scavi,* Tronchin 2006, no 94

identification of the bird statue as an ibis may have been based mainly on the fact it was discovered together with the Egyptian statuettes and clearly differs from other ibis depictions as well as other statues of ibises encountered in Pompeii.[977] For this reason Tronchin stated that the identification of the bird as an ibis was 'erroneous' and she opted instead for the statue to signify a heron.[978] However, the context of the house shows clearly that too strictly applied iconographical interpretations might not be helpful. There can be a discrepancy, between what objects represent to us, and what people thought it represented in Pompeii (emic vs. etic). And even if although people that know a thing or two about different bird species might have known it was a heron and not an ibis, how do we know for sure that the owners knew, or cared? The concept of an ibis, although it was present in wall painting, was of course not that strong in Pompeii as ibises did not exist in Italy. Moreover, it seems that the concept of ibises and herons might be quite blurred, as both birds can be observed in Roman wall painting fighting snakes. The ibis appears frequently in Nilotic scenery (fourteen paintings, one mosaic), now and again accompanied by snakes. An identifiable statue consisting of *rosso antico* representing an ibis with a similar snake coiled around its beak resembling the statue of the Casa di Octavius Quartio was found in Rome.[979] In terms of perception, therefore, the interpretation of an ibis cannot be excluded, despite the iconographical characteristics.

The final object, a lamp decorated with a portrait of Jupiter-Ammon, was found in the kitchen of the house (fig. 5.19b) and is one of the objects interpreted by Della Corte to be used during Isiac rites.[980] Tronchin does not follow this interpretation but notes that: "*The two bronze lamps indeed are*

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[977] Statues encountered in Egypt depict the ibis in black and white, with a smooth head, wings, and a body from no feathers protrude as with this statue. They have long necks, long, thin, and curved beaks, and long legs. The Isis temple also includes such an ibis. This painting is to be found in an inaccessible part of the sanctuary and therefore not open to the public. However, the renowned painting of the Isiac ritual from Herculaneum, the ibis statues from the Casa di Marcus Lucretius, the Nilotic mosaic from the threshold of the exedra in the Casa del Fauno (VI 12,2) and the Nilotic painting from Room 9 of the Casa delle Nozze d'Argento (V 2, i) present ibises in exactly the same way.

[978] See Tronchin 2006, 160. Herons also feature in the art of Pompeii, but only attested in wall painting. Room 11 of the Casa della Venere in Conchiglia (II 3,3) includes a heron, the lower north wall of the triclinium in the Complesso dei Riti magici (II 1,12) counts several. Although they do not resemble the statue of the Casa di Octavius Quartio, the herons of the Domus M. Assilini (VI 7, 18) do and also attacks a snake. The heron from the Casa degli Epigrammi Greci (V 1,18) is represented with a cobra.

[979] Now on display in the Villa Albani, see Bol 1994, no. 511, 384-6.

[980] See Della Corte 1931, 182-216.

decorated with motifs that does point to some relationship with Egypt. One had a protome of Zeus-Ammon, the other a lotus flower and a phallus."[981] They did not have a religious function per se but were: "*probably just more examples of the depth of Egyptomania in Roman visual culture in the first century C.E.*"[982]

Fig. 5.19a-b) The ibis statue, found together with the green-glazed figures in the small peristyle garden (from Spinazzola 1928, fig. 62) and b) the bronze lamp depicting Jupiter-Ammon found in the kitchen (from Tronchin 2006, 358, fig. 15).

This line of reasoning would again point to a conscious incorporation of all Egyptian objects, as the term Egyptomania implies a deliberate choice for things Egyptian, whereas it has already been argued one must be careful in this respect. According to the Egyptomania thesis, the object (i.e., all the objects deemed 'Egyptian' kept in the house) became part of a mania in which it was solely purchased because it was Egyptian. As became clear in part 4.2, it remains doubtful whether Jupiter-Ammon was really considered Egyptian and quite uncertain whether everything was intentionally purchased for this reason. Looking at the contexts in which examples of Jupiter-Ammon are attested, there is no clue at all he was consciously used or perceived as something Egyptian in Pompeii. There is no single connection between Jupiter-Ammon and Isis neither in the sanctuary nor in any of the

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[981] See Tronchin 2006, 293. The bronze lamp with the lotus flower (2871) was found in or near the atrium.
[982] See Tronchin 2006, 293.

domestic contexts. Whenever Jupiter-Ammon appears in wall painting in Pompeii it is always as an individual and separate figure or object.[983] In this specific case, when looking at the lamp in fig. 5.19b, the identifiable trait of Jupiter-Ammon, the two horns are not even present but broken off.

As argued above, regarding the previous interpretations of the finds, the largest problem is that Egypt is still taken as a single concept, while this house - even prior to the analysis - clearly displays a large diversity in employment and the diversity of concepts and objects involved which do not seem to be cognitively (emically) related to each other. However, all things recognised as Egyptian by archaeologists should automatically belong together. Tronchin's note contains a revealing example of this 'upheaping' of Egypt: "*It would appear that the owner of the house was attempting to create a sort of shrine of Isis or Egyptian theme park in this area. If so, why did he not place the sphinx statuette from the upper canal here in the small peristyle? If the river god is indeed meant to depict the Nile, why also is it not situated with the other Egyptian and Egyptianizing statuettes?*"[984] Because all objects indicate a link to Egypt (to the researcher), they must logically belong together and be able to be understood as if they provide a similar representation, a similar meaning, and a similar feature. As was mentioned, because of one small painting of a priest Della Corte not only interpreted the room with the painting to be a shrine dedicated to Isis (an opinion many scholars still follow), but also concluded that the presence of amphorae in the garden was a manifestation of Isiac water rituals connected to the Nile, a marble statue of a heron was an ibis, a marble statue of a river personified the Nile, and that the two water canals in the garden were representations of the Nile. All the appearances of Egypt in house, which Della Corte interprets as Isiac behaviour and Tronchin as exotic eclecticism, should according to previous research belong to the same concept of Egypt.

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[983] Another example is Zeus-Ammon is depicted on a terracotta triple lamp with a handle in the shape of a crescent. It is decorated with the head of Jupiter Ammon and an eagle from the Casa di Fabius Rufus (VI 16, 19). Another bronze lamp originates from the Casa di Paquius Proculus (I 7,1): a bronze candelabrum with Ammon lamp soldered to its upper part: SAP 3244 (Candelabrum) and 3244a (Lamp). In wall painting Zeus-Ammon appears as a small medallion on the walls of the atrium and the large triclinium of the Casa del Menandro (I 10,4).

[984] Tronchin 2006, 51, 98 also states: "*The sphinx statuette's position along the upper canal is an unusual one. It would appear from the presence of the faience statuettes in the small peristyle garden that the owner of the house was attempting to create a sort of "Egyptian garden" or shrine in that area. It would have been more logical to have placed the sphinx in that area of the house in order to accentuate the exotic connotations of the garden.*"

These are generalised interpretations of what in fact belongs to much more complex and different processes and phenomena. It is a traditional reading of Egyptian material culture in Roman contexts such as was deconstructed in the previous chapter. However, as was argued in part 5.1, after a more general deconstruction of object and concept the actual context should still be taken into account to allow for social interpretations and concepts that were present surrounding these objects. It cannot be ruled out beforehand that a concept relating to Egypt, or a concept such as exoticism, played a role within use. What one should attempt to retrieve by means of contextual analysis are the owner's ideas and applications concerning these statues, how the impression on the viewer was made (or not made).

In a house that at first glance seemed to have dealt with Egypt very consciously, it could be observed after a closer look that this is not at all without problems. The spread, the use of material, and the use of iconography of objects are dispersed and supposedly connect too many concepts and forms of Egypt instead of just being an exotic allusion to a distant country. A firm contextual treatment of these objects in comparison with other objects found in the house is therefore required.

5.3.3 History and discussion of the rooms and remaining finds of the house

The Casa di Octavius Quartio is located within Region 2 in Pompeii. It was not a very densely populated area, as the amphitheatre and palaestra occupied a large quantity of space. Consequently, more space was devoted to agri- and viticulture. This can be seen for instance, by the large villa estate of Julia Felix that completely took up insula 4. The Casa di Octavius Quartio was named after the inscription on a signet ring found in shop adjacent to the house.[985] As mentioned in the introduction, Spinazzola excavated the house between 1918 and 1921. His book on the Via dell'Abbondanza was published posthumously.[986] It can be considered one of the larger houses in Pompeii, occupying almost an entire insula. Because of the number of sculptures attested, the architectural features, and the decoration of the house, its owner had probably acquired a considerable fortune. The first construction phase encountered dates from the 4th or 3rd century BC.[987] During this earliest phase the house still consisted of a double atrium house

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[985] Considered a more likely owner than Loreius Tibertinus, the house was renamed in this manner.
[986] Spinazzola 1953.
[987] *PPM* III, 42-3.

as can also still be seen today, for instance, at the Casa del Fauno. The second atrium (House II 2,4) was separated from the building after the reconstruction phase in 62 AD.[988] The atrium plan shows a typical traditional 2nd century BC Italic layout, while the peristyle is clearly added to the house at a later date and displays a more playful and dynamic way of dealing with space. It is more difficult to divide the house into separate zones as could be done for the Casa degli Amorini Dorati in the previous case study. It is unclear for instance, where the service area was located in the Casa di Octavius Quartio (probably on the first floor). Both houses have in common that their most important space is the peristyle and not the atrium. This development, as mentioned, is common to the later phases of Pompeian upper middle class houses. However, the atrium of the Casa di Octavius Quartio is much more spacious, and better preserved and maintained. Its atrium also offered the so-called visual axis through the house. As with the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, the Casa di Octavius Quartio was renovated between the 62 AD earthquake and 79 AD and was still partly under construction at the time of the eruption.[989] In this respect the two houses are furthermore comparable, in both cases the garden area is the most prominent space and most important for displaying objects of aesthetic value, with lavish finds of high quality (in all cases mostly made out of marble) and rooms that were aimed at entertaining guests. As with the Amorini Dorati, a visitor-inhabitant relationship is fundamental for the structuring of the house. Both plans are open and seem easily penetrated. However, looking closer at the finds, decoration, and configuration an entirely different spectrum of structuring of behaviour and negotiation of privacy and hierarchy is revealed. Another interesting difference between the two houses consists of the sculptural finds. The Casa di Octavius Quartio has no marble reliefs or *oscilla* at all, whereas the Casa degli Amorini Dorati counts a large number. The Casa di Octavius Quartio, on the other hand, houses more statues. Another point of interest is the emphasis the Casa di Octavius Quartio placed on water (features) in comparison to the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. A significant amount of space in the peristyle was taken up by canals and fountains in the Casa di Octavius Quartio. A canal in the garden runs from one end to the other whereas the Casa degli Amorini Dorati has only one modest fountain in the middle of the peristyle.

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[988] Tronchin 2006, following Maiuri 1947.
[989] See Maiuri 1942, 153.

Atrium

After entering by means of a small stairway and a vestibule with two incorporated stone benches and moving towards to the large and spacious fauces (of which the paint is no longer visible) one reached an impressive atrium space. The wooden doors of the entrance are preserved by means of plaster casts. The classic Tuscan atrium, as stated above, includes the time-honoured Italic design of the 2nd century BC. Six rooms flank the atrium space. Two rooms at the front revealed commercial activities taking place around the house, one of which (II, 2, 1) *PPM*, has been identified as a wine shop (*popina*). No sculptures were found in the atrium of the house, which again reminds us of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. The pavement consisted of a *cocciopesto* floor with regularly hexagonal shaped inserted pieces of white marble.

Rooms 3 and 4, the first two rooms, are defined as cubicula. Its painted decorations in the Fourth Style have now almost disappeared from the walls. However, the plaster stucco was in a state of restoration when Mount Vesuvius erupted. In Room 3 a small oven was found which may point to the production of small vases or, as has also been suggested, a temporary studio for the restoration and refurbishment of the walls in the atrium rooms.[990] All the rooms surrounding the atrium are in a poor state of preservation. Several still include some First Style wall decoration in the form of architectural corniches (Room 3). Room *c* contains examples of Fourth Style decoration, *in casu* landscapes and birds against a yellow background framed by a red band. Remains of furniture were encountered in this room.[991] Room *a* also housed Fourth Style wall paintings. Sadly, on the 19th of September 1943, a bomb destroyed nearly all examples of the Fourth Style decorations in the central cubiculum which were located on the north and west wall, and part of the south wall. The Rape of Europa by Zeus was only partially damaged and restored. The remaining walls include black panels against a red background depicting mythological scenes of a fishing Venus and Narcissus alternating with soldiers.[992] Room *b* is the best preserved room in the atrium. It was coloured in red paint and portrays floating warrior figures in the centre. Room 5 (no painting has survived here) probably had a utilitarian function during the most recent phase of the house, as it provided a passageway to Room 7, the kitchen, and the latrine.

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[990] See Tronchin 2006, 31.
[991] I.e., a piece of a chest and the remains of a chair.
[992] See Tronchin 2006, 11-2, Garcia y Garcia 1998, 2.1136

This kitchen housed several interesting finds: the high quality bronze candelabrum with a bronze lamp decorated with a mask of Jupiter-Ammon (fig. 15) and a large bronze vase with a human finger on its handle. They were found among other vessels and a tripod.[993] Perhaps the kitchen also served as a storage room. The atrium had an impluvium, including a first hint to the owner's love for plants, water, and garden features. The impluvium is surrounded by a masonry wall that was utilised as a planting box. The four flanks of the walls and the centre of the impluvium contained fountains.[994]

The peristyle and portico space
The most radical innovations after 62 AD took place behind the atrium space. Here the conventional *alae* and tablinum rooms were converted into a small peristyle and a portico garden, with canals, nymphaeum, and a biclinium. The house thus lacked a tablinum, which is unusual for this period. Did the main activities taking place in the house not require a tablinum? The owners were not short of money as a large reconstruction was still going on in 79 AD. A change in the social or economic situation prior to the reconstruction in 62 AD must have taken place in order to have such a profound modification carried out. After entering the space from the atrium one arrived in a small portico and peristyle garden (g). The small garden (in which the statuettes of Bes, the pharaoh, and the bird statuettes were located) was enclosed by means of a portico of columns on all sides with the exception the south side. The walls of the garden walkway were painted in black and red Fourth Style. In the centre of the garden are remains of two planting beds. Surrounding the peristyle and garden terrace were four rooms: *d, e, f* at the west side, and a larger room *h* that served as a dining room on the east side of the peristyle. According to Tronchin 2006 the peristyle was initially larger to be reduced after the 62 AD-construction (or rebuilding) of Rooms *d, e* and *f*. Rooms *d, e,* and *f* were all decorated in the Fourth Style. Room *d* had a white background including tondi and landscape pinakes. Room *e* was painted in yellow and contained hunting scenes with leopards. A mosaic formed the threshold which was later incised by means of a white marble threshold of which the door could be closed off. Room *f* (as discussed, the room in which the painting of an Isis priest was found) was the final room on the west side. Again the main colour was white

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[993] See Tronchin 2006, 12.
[994] See Jashemski 1993, 78.

(as with Room *d*). It contained small floating figures (one of which was the Isiac priest) as well as a two-faced medaillon on the east wall and a medaillon of a maenad with a raised glass on the west side. Although the entrance of Room *f* could be reached from the small portico in the peristyle, the exit ended in the portico garden and looked out at the eastern end of the upper canal. The room had two columns as an entrance. From the other side it almost resembled a temple. The exterior of the eastern wall included large portraits (presumably in order to be visible from the biclinium) of Diana (left) and Actaeon (right).

Room *h* copies Room *f* in the sense that the access was from the peristyle and that it ended in the portico-garden space. However, the opening of this room was on the lower, not on the upper canal. Clearly the most important room in the space, as it is the largest and the most central. It houses the most distinguished wall painting in which nothing Egyptian is represented. This Fourth Style wall painting contains clear elements of previous styles which are interwoven in order to create an innovation. The lower frieze depicts marble imitations (First Style), whereas the large frieze includes mythological scenes echoing the Third Style.[995]

As mentioned above, after leaving Room *h* or *f*, or when walking through Room *g* behind the peristyle, along the rear of the house, one would enter a vine-covered portico on a raised terrace. This terrace ran on an east-west axis and was centred by means of a water canal measuring 1 m. wide, 1,4 m. deep and 20 m. long.[996] The wall on the northern side parallel to the canal included large hunting scenes against a white background divided by means of a red frame. Along the eastern half of the canal, a large number of marble sculptures were placed (see table 5.10). In the middle of the canal a bridge (located at the axis of the opening of Room h and the lower canal) ended in an architectural structure denoted as the *tempietto*, a small temple-like structure containing a water feature. Alongside the small temple, there were two statues of muses: Polyhymnia and Mnemosyne (or Erato). Next to these statues, there are four marble bases (one on the west and three on the east side). It could be assumed they once carried statues. At the eastern end of the upper canal, a biclinium (k) was divided by means a niche with a water feature. It is also referred to as the Corinthian Aedicula because of the small columns with Corinthian capitals that adorn the niche. The biclinium niche is decorated with two figure paintings just above the couches Narcissus on

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[995] See note 955 for a description of the paintings.
[996] Von Stackelberg 2009.

the left and Pyramus and Thisbe on the right. The paintings consist of large panels against a red background. Below the panels we see painted shrubs with small leaves. Behind the outdoor biclinium lay an area described and interpreted by the excavators as a '*stalla*' i.e., a room in which to stall horses or other animals.
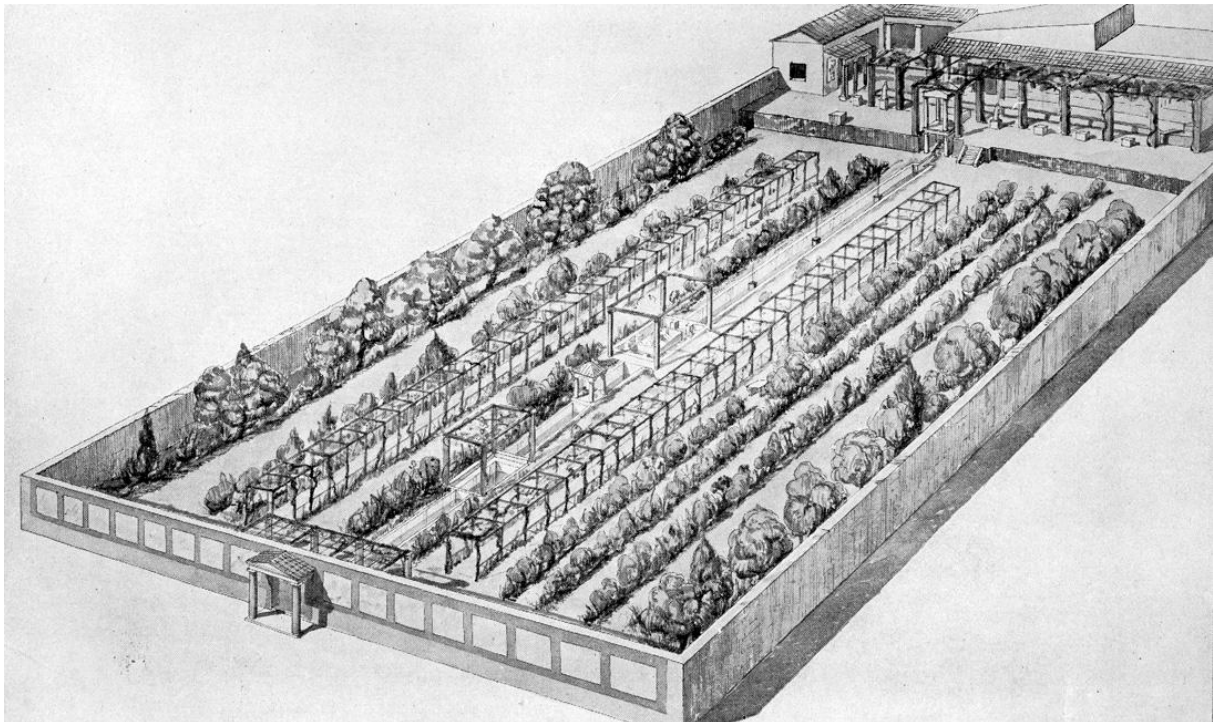
Fig. 5.20) Reconstruction of the portico and lower garden. (From Spinazzola 1953, I.418, fig. 481)

Garden

The large garden which takes up most of the space of the house could be reached by means of a stairway on the eastern side of the portico, next to the so-called *tempietto*. It has presumably always been a part of house in this form. At any rate it was constructed on virgin soil and does not include any earlier structures.[997] It has been suggested that the garden produced flowers on a commercial level and that the water served as a fish pond for similar motifs (see fig. 5.20). However, canals were too small and shallow in order to breed fish at this level. Moreover, due to the lack of the so-called 'strawberry

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[997] See Spinazzola 1953; Tronchin 2006, 26.

pots', the idea of the garden being a flower plantation was refuted.[998] However, the absence of these pots does not exclude any growing of plants. Tronchin 2006 argues that plants and flowers would have grown in the garden in order to allude to the exotic and lavish atmosphere of the premises. The 50 m. long canal running from one end to the other in the garden emphasises the visual north-south axis of the house.[999] On both sides of the canal, parallel rows of holes indicate the presence of long narrow walkways either covered with vines or flanked by trees.[1000] On the north end of the canal, an elaborate nymphaeum (just below the *tempietto*) is flanked on both sides by means a painting of Diana (left) and Actaeon (right), as with the exterior of Room *f*. Water flowed from a fountain statue of a cupid holding a theatre mask, down marble steps into the canal.

The lower canal was divided by means of three architectural structures, the first (at *c*.2/3 of the canal) consists of a pool covered by means of a pergola. The centre of the pool contains a fountain with four sets of marble steps placed on a central platform. The twelve (empty) bases surrounding the edge may have served as the bases for statues or fountains. On the eastern side of the pool a rectangular platform could be found. A masonry triclinium with the remains of a marble table (its two supports were found in situ but are now lost) served as the summer dining room before the biclinium was constructed.[1001] The second dividing structure consists of a small pavilion decorated in red paint with floral motifs. The excavators found a statue of a sleeping hermaphrodite (table 5.10, no. 16), located near the wall at the south end of the garden. Next, a final pergola followed.

The main part of the garden was taken up by vegetation. It is reported that the cavities nearest the side walls were caused by means of larger trees, behind which came rows of smaller trees or shrubs (see fig. 5.20). Paintings were also present, next to the channel on each side. Near the large trees on the eastern edge of the garden a row of fourty-four unbroken amphorae were attested, embedded in the soil.[1002] According to Tronchin, following Spinazzola, these were used to house delicate flowers and plants, although

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[998] Della Corte 1932, 190. Strawberry pots, as defined by Jashemski, were open mouthed vessels with holes in the body allowing plants to grow.
[999] The canal in a garden is in part too a sign of romanitas. For the Roman proprietor, an aspect of pleasure as to his country estate was the way productive farming may be integrated into its decorative scheme: a meeting of agriculture and elegance.
[1000] See Von Stackelberg 2009, 106.
[1001] Von Stackelberg 2009, 106.
[1002] See Spinazzola 1953, 407-18.

Jashemski disputes this point because of the narrow necks of the amphorae and the absence of holes common for flower pots.[1003]

5.3.4 Place-making in the house: configuration, visibility, and movement

Concerning access analysis, although the house was not a part of Grahame's aforementioned space syntax study, space syntax was used within studies on Roman gardens.[1004] This was however, not combined with visibility and movement analyses. As to the configuration of the house, its spaces were subdivided into convex spaces and renumbered (see fig. 21a-d).[1005] The most important thing to note when considering the configuration of the house, is the divergence between the access of spaces in the Casa di Octavius Quartio and its visibility, especially when compared to the previous case study.[1006] Whereas the Casa degli Amorini Dorati has a rather straightforward pattern when comparing visibility analyses with access graphs, the Casa di Octavius Quartio presents a genuinely more complex picture. The house of Octavius Quartio is visually open space, in the sense one can immediately see the rear of the house from the entrance, whereas the accessibility is very low (compare the access graph in fig. 5.21a with the visibility analysis in figs. 5.22a-c). The garden (no. 24 of the access graph) can be seen immediately upon entering the house, and remains its main visual focus. One is 'drawn into it' visually. However, at the same time configurationally, the garden is the most segregated and most inaccessible space of the premises. For a visitor to the house, many moments of permission were necessary before one could enter this space.

Two routes lead from the peristyle entrance (no. 13) to the garden (no. 24) as can be observed in the configuration of fig. 5.21c (indicated in red). However, the portico garden can also be reached from cubiculum *b* and (from no. 10 to 15). Now space no. 13 can be circumvented. The garden is only to be reached either after passing through the eastern portico-space (no. 16) or Triclinium

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[1003] See Jashemski 1979, 47. It is, however, believed that the amphorae once contained Nile water and that they were a special locus of Isiac worship in the house, see Della Corte 1932, 197-8.

[1004] The house was therefore a prime example of access and control, see Von Stackelberg 2009, 101-7.

[1005] Space syntax theory dictates a division of the house into convex spaces. Here no lines between any two of its points cross the perimeter. It can therefore be considered to be experienced as an individual space. A room can have more convex spaces according to its shape. It is relevant to look at the way in which space is experienced more than regarding the actual measurements of the room. Consider the so-called topological features not the topographical ones.

[1006] See Von Stackelberg 2009, 115.

h (no. 18) and the upper part of the terrace, or through Room *f* (no. 21) and the lower terrace (no. 23). This implies that space no. 13, the entrance to the peristyle, is of relevance as it is a point where one chooses in which direction to go (the famed pause moment described in 5.1) or guided to. Although its control value is not as high as the atrium space, it can be considered the most important access provider from a social point of view. The high control value means that whenever it comes to social encounters and interaction, the atrium space is the most likely location for this to occur, as it provides access to most other spaces. However, although the entrance to the peristyle (no. 13) does not give way to most spaces, it does control the access to the social significant spaces.[1007] In terms of material culture, it is significant that this space contains the Egyptian statuettes. In fact, the first items to attract attention when entering this space are the green-glazed statuettes placed in the small garden because the peristyle garden *g* immediately blocks the route.

Then there is a choice to go either to the left or to the right when not entering through cubiculum *b*. What does the differentiation in such routes inform us about the use of space? They most likely point to a social or functional distinction in the use of space. If it is assumed that the garden in potential is the least accessible space, and therefore also socially the most desirably space to go (the endpoint of intimacy is reached when a visitor is allowed to enter the least integrated space of the house). The first route (through spaces nos. 16, 18, 20, 22, and 23) is connected to a series of rooms associated with dining. Depending on the season the Triclinium *h* (no. 18) or the Biclinium (no. 22) is used. Because these two spaces are situated along the same route leading to an important end point (a desirable place) they do not really differentiate hierarchically (although syntactically the biclinium lays one step deeper than the triclinium

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[1007] This is another case in which the Roman house acts aberrantly in terms of social logic. The atrium loses its function as most important social hub, but changes into a semi-public commercial space while the attention shifts towards the peristyle spaces.
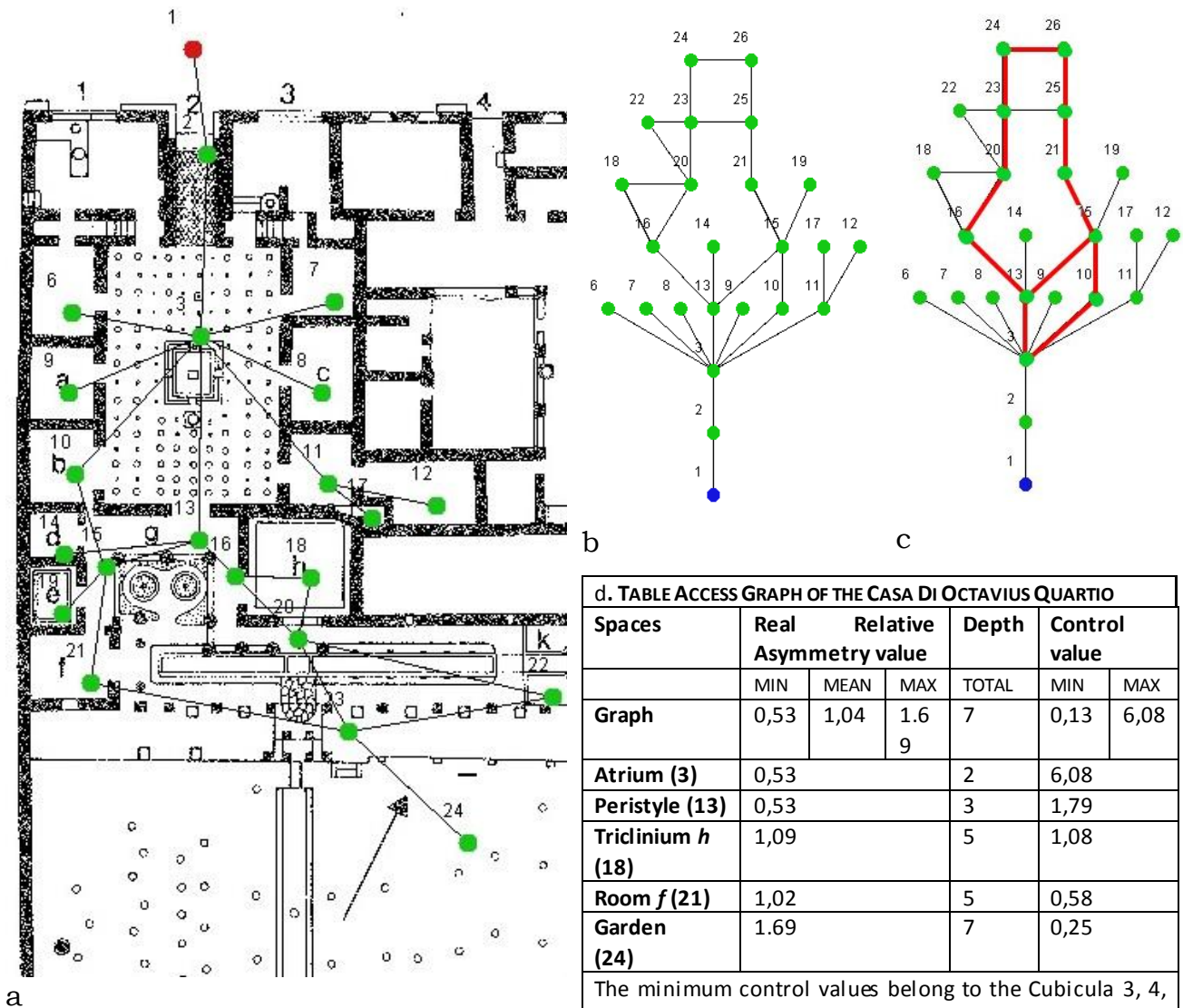
Fig. 5.21a-d) Configuration of the Casa di Octavius Quartio (II 2,2). (a) the plan with the corresponding numbers (after Clarke 1991), (b) the access graph, (c) the two routes leading from the entrance of the peristyle to the garden and the two rings around Room *f* (21) and Room *h* (18), and (d) the accompanying table with spatial calculations.

d. TABLE ACCESS GRAPH OF THE CASA DI OCTAVIUS QUARTIO						
Spaces	**Real Relative Asymmetry value**			**Depth**	**Control value**	
	MIN	MEAN	MAX	TOTAL	MIN	MAX
Graph	0,53	1,04	1.69	7	0,13	6,08
Atrium (3)	0,53			2	6,08	
Peristyle (13)	0,53			3	1,79	
Triclinium *h* (18)	1,09			5	1,08	
Room *f* (21)	1,02			5	0,58	
Garden (24)	1.69			7	0,25	
The minimum control values belong to the Cubicula 3, 4, a, b, and c (corresponding to configuration nos. 7, 6, 9, 10, and 8) in the atrium.						

Because they connect to the same important convex spaces (i.e., the garden portico), they both connect to a visual axis with a view on a temple-like structure (Room *h* looks out on the *tempietto* and Room *k* on the columns and paintings of Room *f*).[1008] Their immediate outside view was on the upper canal with the marble sculpture. Moreover, whenever one was invited into a dining area the route to the garden becomes accessible in an equal amount of syntactical steps. It can be therefore be presumed that this part of the

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[1008] One may presume that the decoration on the exterior of Room *f* belongs more to those people on the other side of the room (such as the people in space *k* or in the large portico) than that it added up to the importance of Room *f*. It was important that both dining areas had a similar (hierarchically) view.

canal (convex space no. 20) is connected to the activity of dining and entertaining visitors. Access to the garden is also allowed on this side of the house, by means of no. 23, taking the stairs, probably especially for this reason positioned on the eastern side of the terrace left of the *tempietto*. It can thus be considered that the eastern part of the garden (divided in two by the lower canal) was also connected to the dining ritual. This inclusion in terms of activity probably consisted of walking or standing alongside the canal in between and after meals. It may also have included some form of entertainment. Important to note is that, only from this part the access to the garden became visible, and that from that point visitors couls see the physical access to the garden which was carefully hidden before.[1009] Access was therefore granted. Now the relationship between visitor and inhabitant was considered on an equal level or on a level in which the former was of a higher status than the latter.

As the summer and winter dining spaces were situated along this route, the path leading along Rooms *d*, *e*, and *f* on the western side probably had a more private character. They also must have had a different function, or were only used by inhabitants of the house. The passageway from cubiculum *b* underlines this thought, as the public spaces such as the triclinium and the portico garden can be completely circumvented by means of this route. This argument is also significantly reinforced when one regards the sculpture found alongside the upper canal. This completely centres on the eastern part of the water. This part belongs to the dining area and is practically empty around the western part. According to the reconstruction in Tronchin's thesis the statue of a muse standing right to the fountain *tempietto* was the only sculpture positioned at the west side of the terrace (in contrast to at least eleven marble statues attested on the east side), which is the part connected to this route and Rooms *d, e,* and *f*.[1010] Finally, although this side has a set of stairs as well, they are small, located at the very back of the western wall, and clearly not meant for visitors. Seemingly this house counted two quarters in which private and public matters were separated.

[1009] This was comparable with the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, where the entrance to the garden could be witnessed when was allowed access to the western part of the portico.
[1010] The statue of the muse belonged to the *tempietto*. On the east side it was flanked by the female statue of Polyhymnia and on the west side by the statue of the muse. The best vista on this statue was from Room *h*, the triclinium, which again points to a placement much guided by personal display, see Clarke 1991, fig. 115.

From the atrium, an entirely different route could be followed to the garden space (fig. 5.21c).

Looking at the public route of the premises, it is interesting from a social viewpoint that the garden is the most segregated and least accessible space. Within space syntax theory it is argued that the most desirable spaces to enter as visitors are those most segregated, because being granted access to those spaces implies the inhabitants rank the visitors highly (called the axis of honour).[1011] In most domestic contexts, these more segregated spaces are formed by private areas used by the owners; they often consist of the principal chambers, bedrooms, and bathrooms, which the visiting public is not supposed to enter. Supposedly, in the case of Roman atrium houses there is a similar succession of rooms of which the access is socially dependent. In that case it is interesting to note that in this house the garden forms the most segregated space, and that intentional actions were undertaken to carefully restrain access to it. However, it seems from the access graph (the main entrance to the garden is only on this side) that this space should be entered from the public side of the house (the dining zone), and the not the more private one. This makes again clear how much this house (the Roman house in general) is aimed at visitors.

The existence of two different social zones within the peristyle area provides a first argument against grouping the Egyptian objects together conceptually. The painting of the priest was part of another, more private area of the house than the marble statue of the Egyptian sphinx and the faience statuettes of the peristyle garden. The latter group belonged to a first point of access into the peristyle, while the sphinx was physically connected to the dining ritual and (together with the other statues standing around the pool) served to make an impact on highly esteemed visitors to one of the two dining rooms.

Visibility

The Casa di Octavius Quartio has a visual axis running from the entrance to the rear of the house, implying that its complete scope can be seen at first glance. The general visibility analysis indicates, as discussed above, the visual openness in conjunction with the relatively difficult access to the

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[1011] As to medieval castles, for instance, it was discovered that a certain 'axis of honour' exists regarding accessibility. A ceremonial route to the principal chambers revealed itself in a tree-like path through a succession of rooms intended to filter out all but those of the highest rank, see Mol 2012, 55-6; Fairclough 1992, 355; Richardson 2003, 379.

garden. As can be observed in figs. 5.22a-c, all the visual focus is placed on the garden, especially on the eastern side. Witnessing such a large difference between visual access and physical access does not imply that one of the analyses is obscured, but that although movement is visually *directed* to the garden, physical boundaries obstruct this movement. It is an interesting interplay of access and display in which the status and wealth but most of all the owner's power to control the space is showed, defining his relationship with the visitor when denying or granting access to certain parts of the house. Only when one removes the entire garden from the analysis and only includes the walkway around the lower canal does the atrium space present us with a more visually integrated picture. The visual focus in this case shifts towards the end of the pathways from the garden on the terrace (fig. 5.22a).
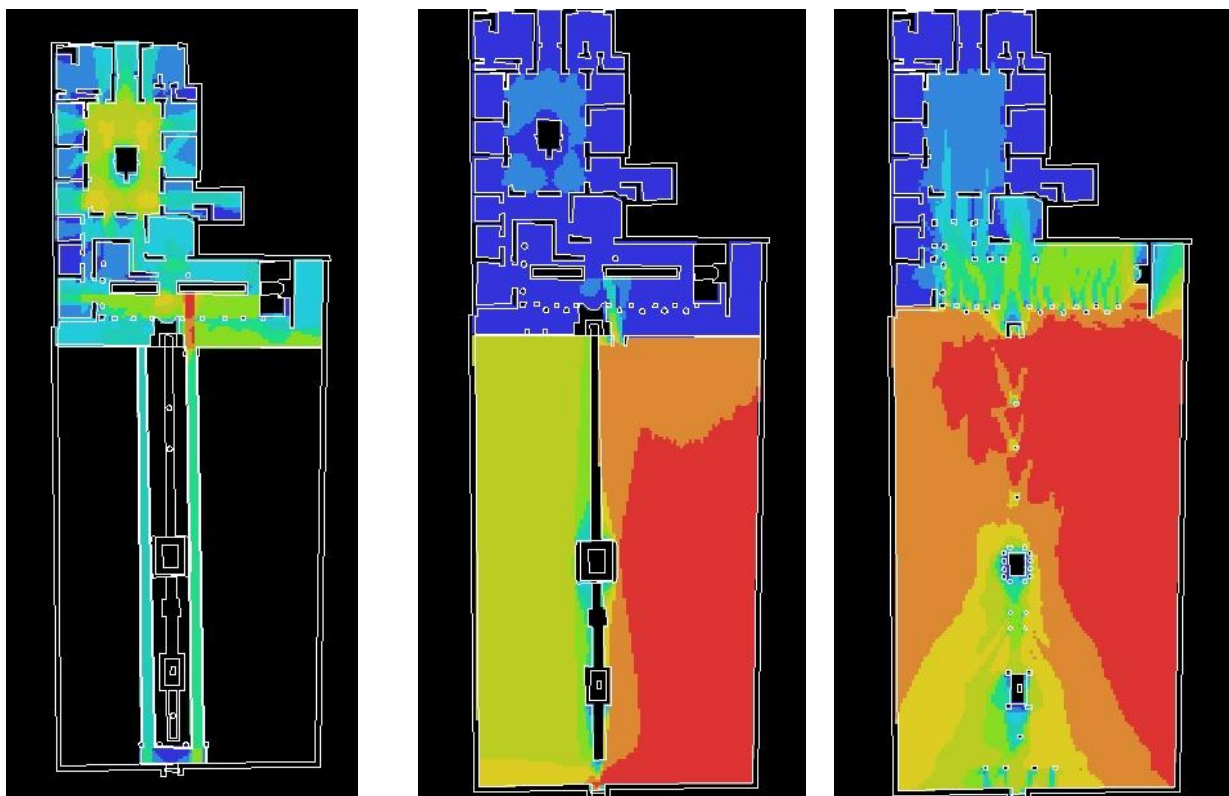
Fig. 5.22a-c) Three Visibility Graph Analyses of the Casa di Octavius Quartio. (a) the visibility when movement patterns through the garden are reconstructed, (b) here no reconstructed patterns only movement obstacles (e.g., impluvium, canopi) are left in its place implying that the visibility is directed towards movement, and (c) an illustration of visibility in the purest sense, whereby only visual obstacles (e.g., columns, walls above eyesight) are left in place.

One can further infer from the general visibility graphs that the most visually integrated space is the eastern side of the garden, no matter which physical obstructions are included (fig. 5.22b) or excluded (fig. 5.22c) in the analysis. The visual emphasis of the garden and the house was placed on the side the dining area was situated, indeed is a significant observation. Interaction (whether permitted or not) was directed towards this area, corresponding well to the more public character of this part of the house. Naturally, this means that the garden on the western side of the house had a more private character than the eastern side. It was also connected visually to the more private western part of the peristyle area (connected to rooms *d*, *e*, and *f*). The part of the upper canal, where the marble statues were placed, was visually better integrated than the small peristyle *g* with the green-glazed figurines (fig. 5.22c). Therefore they could be seen from more points in the house than the latter. However, the small peristyle would have been viewed more because it is situated in the centre of the two routes.

From which rooms and which points could the 'Egyptian' painting and sculptures best be observed? When the individual contexts of Egyptian material are regarded within visibility analysis, several points of interest can be noticed. Firstly, the painting of the Isis-priest in Room *f* can only be seen when one is physically in Room *f*, or in the door opening. It is not made to be seen by a larger audience than those present in the room. This does not count for the other contexts, which were consciously and explicitly presented in selected areas of the house. Although the marble sphinx was visible from more than one point within the house, the green-glazed statuettes were the first statues that could be seen when entering the peristyle area and must have made quite an impression.
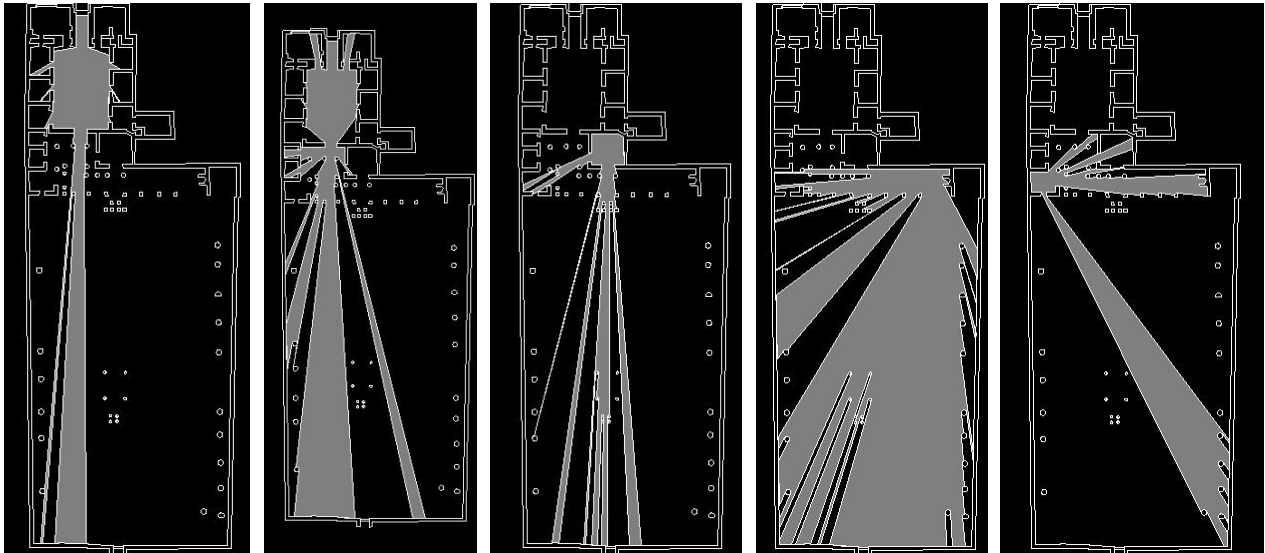
Fig. 5.23a-e) Five Isovist analyses of the Casa di Octavius Quartio. Isovist (a) was made from the main entrance, presenting the vista extending to the rear of the house, (b) depicts the view from the entrance to the peristyle (convex space 13, see fig. 5.21a), (c) was made from Triclinium *h*, (d) from the biclinium, and (e) presents the vista from Room *f*, that houses the painting of the Isiac priest.

From the Triclinium *h* one could cast a glance upon the statuary around the upper canal. Interestingly this could occur only after entering the room, because the walls of the triclinium would block the view prior hereto. The sphinx statue could not be witnessed from this room, but from a certain angle one could have looked at the statues in the small peristyle.[1012] However, the most prominent view from this room would have been the *tempietto* and its two accompanying statues of the muses, as argued in a reconstruction created by Clarke of the guest of honour's view from Oecus *h*.[1013] This stands in contrast to the biclinium, which had the sculpture and canal as its most important visual focus. It seems that both locations deliberately presented a different but aesthetically (made) important scene to look at while dining.

Movement

In the atrium space, as in more Roman houses in the imperial period a room which lost its importance to the peristyle area, people were assembled no matter their status. We can see this reflected in figure 5.24, which shows the Depthmap agent analysis for the house.

[1012] The best places would of course have presented a view on the garden and the *tempietto*.
[1013] See Clarke 2003, 227 fig. 131.
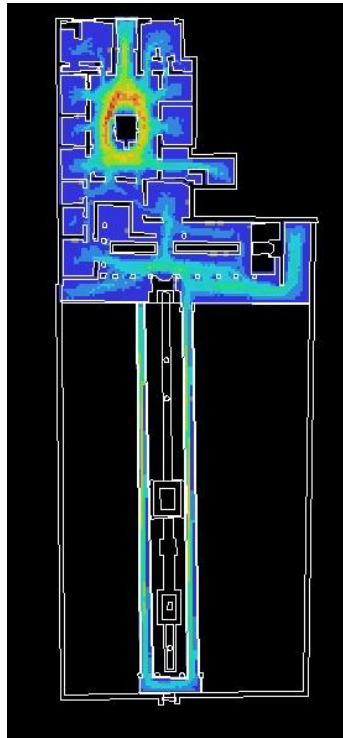
Fig. 5.24) Agents run with a predestined route including the garden. The agents were released from random locations.

It remains unclear which specific activities normally took place in the atrium space, because at the time of the eruption, this part of the house was being renovated. As previously discussed, the movement patterns through this house are particularly intricate. As soon as the atrium is traversed it almost seems a maze with a constant vision of the disproportionally large garden but no sight on where to enter. Visitors invited for *cena* took the eastern route along the small peristyle garden and the green-glazed statues. No noticeable painting attracted any further attention until the Triclinium *h* was reached. The statuettes and the small garden were the ultimate eye catchers. Shortly afterwards one was lead into the Triclinium *h.*

The so-called 'axis of honour', already mentioned being a hierarchical route existing within buildings, would supposedly have lead from the entrance to the garden. In between boundaries were put up for those who could not gain further access to rooms situated deeper into the house. The atrium was the first moment where this occurred. People with a commercial interest who were not invited to *cena* or an important or intimate meeting would stop here. It remains unclear whether business was done in the form of *salutatio*

in this phase of the existence of the house. Matters concerning lower class business could have taken place in one of the cubicula in the atrium. If guests were granted further access they could proceed towards the peristyle space, where they were ushered to go either to the left, the east part of the house, or to the right to Rooms *d, e,* and *f.* Private matters (it is impossible to specify these, as no finds are able to interpret the function of these rooms) may have been dealt with in the more quiet western part of the peristyle. Any audience other than those invited to *cena* were presumably taken here. Relatives perhaps or appointments with a more intimate character in the case the guest was held in high regard. As to the specified graphs of the peristyle area (fig. 5.25a), it can be observed that the most visually integrated part of this area, when it comes to actual movement, is situated in the axis between the Triclinium *h* and the *tempietto.* The biclinium was a more secluded space and less easily accessed. It was of course a seasonal room only utilised during the summer.
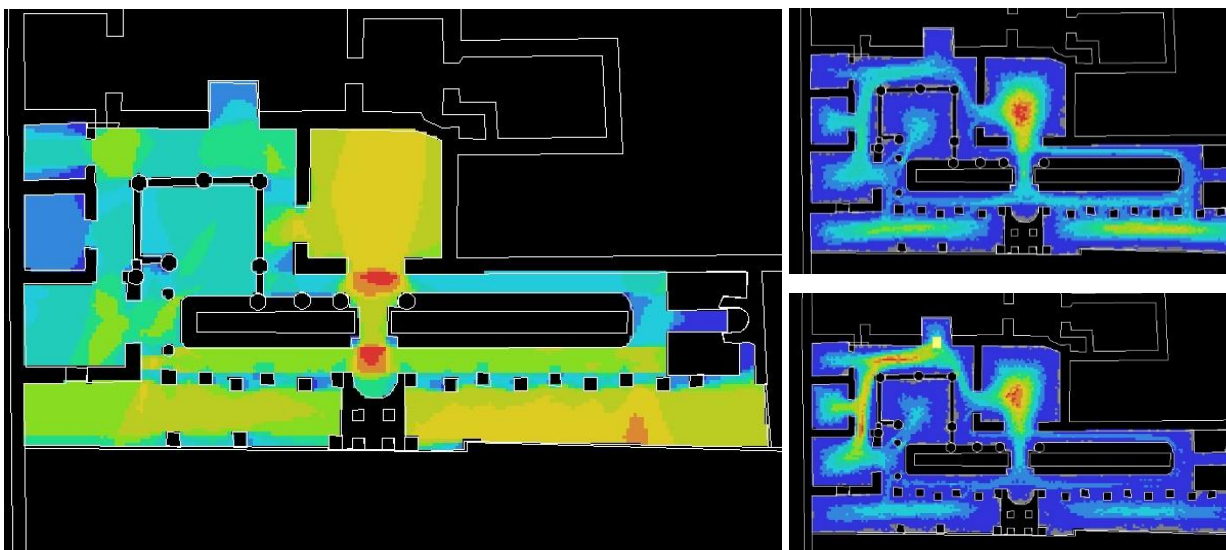
Fig. 5.25a-c) Left: (a) a Visibility Graph Analysis directed towards movement in the peristyle area. Upper right (b): an Agent Analysis of the same area, with agents released randomly. Lower right (c): agents released from a selected location, the entrance to the peristyle area.

As to the agent analysis (see figs. 5.25b-c) the importance of the Triclinium *h* is again confirmed. The largest part of the direction is drawn to this room, rendering it and its visual axis the most significant focus of the whole area. The more interesting the case becomes when fig. 5.25c is regarded. In it one can observe that when the agents were released from the entrance, the

eastern side is easier traversed than the western side, being also the side to which visitors invited for dinner should end up. The higher values shown here have to do with the length of the sight lines and angle of approaching this space. Both are wider and longer on the eastern side. As people are internally programmed to follow the longest sight lines ahead and the most available space available, this route was probably more naturally followed than the western one, while the opposite was supposed to happen.[1014] The placement of the green-glazed statuettes representing for example Bes and a pharaoh is of interest here. They were carefully placed at the north west part of the small garden (see the green square in fig. 5.26). First of all it strikes that the opening from the atrium to the peristyle reveals only a half of this garden, but that the width of the doorway makes it seem to be square instead of rectangular. This also the case when one looks at the garden from the Triclinium *h*.
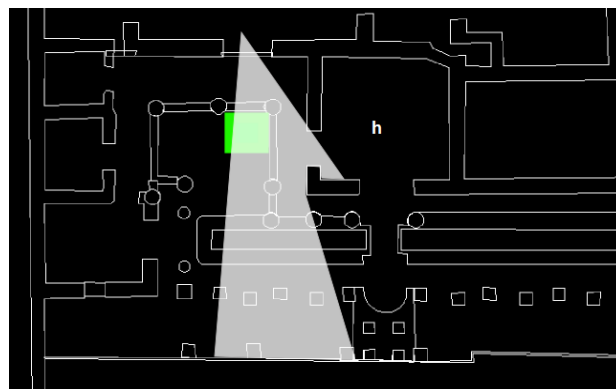
Fig. 5.26) The statuettes (visualised by means of the green square) cause one's glance to be directed towards the Triclinium *h* and the west part of the peristyle.

The fact that the statuettes are placed in this corner makes clear they belong to the east route leading from the atrium towards the garden, the eastern part of the peristyle area and the dining area, as was discussed above. However, it can be argued that this group of statuettes played an active role as well. They cause the visitor to glance towards the east part of the area and the triclinium (as indicated in fig. 5.26). [1015] It thereby stops people from

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[1014] See Turner and Penn 2002.

[1015] This implies that the statuettes were not considered the prime pieces of sculpture, as they were not placed in the dining area. However, they were important with regard to that materialized pause discussed in 5.1. The marble statues at the upper canal did not belong to a transitional space and formed a reward to someone who was considered important enough to be invited to dinner.

moving towards the east part, but towards the place they are meant to arrive: the dining area. An eye catcher was necessary in order to attract the attention towards the east side and move people away from the west side. Were these green-glazed statuettes more suitable for this task than other material, or other iconography? They definitely caught one's eye and made a strong first impression by means of their appearance and number (a total of seven green-glazed statuettes were counted) as will be discussed in the following section on object analysis. In any case, in terms of movement and of Markers, this example is a telling one, and shows the way in which material and space work together in order to structure behaviour.

Once people were allowed to enter the garden, a surprise awaited in the shape of the nymphaeum just below the fountain *tempietto*. This architectural piece is hidden for the eye until one descended the stairs into the garden. Was this the culmination of access into the house or was it the hermaphrodite also located on the eastern side of the garden? Although one could move to the back of the house, nothing but a path around the canal could be physically accessed. There were no further discontinuing spaces to enforce any social interaction in the garden, as the summer triclinium was moved. It would probably be designed to just move along. The western side of the garden did also give access to the peristyle; however, it had a completely different character, both the stairs up to the peristyle, as well as that particular part of the garden (notably smaller). It would be most likely that the garden was divided into two parts, of which the eastern part was used by guests.

5.3.5 Place-making in the house: pattern language

Although the Casa di Octavius Quartio does not contain such well preserved and lavishly decorated thresholds and pavements as the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, the observations made by means of the configuration and visibility analyses could largely be sustained by means of the pattern language analysis. Whereas the former house placed much effort in distinguishing between rooms by different pavements, and elaborate boundaries, the Casa di Octavius Quarto invested more in wall paintings and scenery.

Colour schemes

COLOUR ANALYSIS OF THE CASA DI OCTAVIUS QUARTIO					
Room	**Predominant colour**	**Secondary colour**	**Paintings (iconography)**	**Style**	**Composition**
Fauces (1)	-				
Atrium (2)	-				
Cubiculum 3					
Cubiculum 4	-				
Cubiculum *a*	Red			4	3x3 composition style with a central picture
Cubiculum *b*	Red	Black	Floating figures	4	3x3 composition style with a central picture
Cubiculum *c*	Yellow			4	3x3 composition style with a central picture
Cubiculum 5	-				
Kitchen 7	-				
Latrine	-				
Cubiculum *d*	White	Black	Tondi, landscapes pinakes	4	3x3 composition style with a central picture
Cubiculum *e*	Yellow	Yellow	Animal hunt, leopards	4	3x3 composition style with a central picture
Cubiculum *f*	White	Black	Floating figures, medallions, Isis priest	4	3x3 composition style with a central picture
Peristyle *g*	Black	Red	No particular paintings	4	3x3 composition style with a central picture
Triclinium *h*	White		Mythological scenes	3	Centralised
Portico-garden *i*	Red	White	Large hunting scenes, outside Room *f* at both sides of the door a painting of Diana (left) and Acteaon (right)	4	Multiple vertical divisions without a central emphasis
Biclinium *k*	Red		Painting of Narcissus	4	Multiple vertical divisions without a central emphasis
Stalla	-				
Garden	-				

Table 5.7) Colour Analysis.

Just as could be observed in the previous case study, the colours and treatment of the different rooms in the peristyle area are all individualised, however, not to the extent as the Casa degli Amorini Dorati displays it (see table 5.7 for the different paintings). The western side has three rooms, painted white yellow and white. This would make Room *f* in terms of colouring, not the main distinguishing room (because d was also white) but the yellow room, however, the quality of the painting and the location near the canal makes it the prime space of the western part. More interesting in terms of colour patterning is the eastern side of the peristyle. A differentiation made in colour can be witnessed between the portico peristyle *g* and the peristyle *i*, which turns from black to red. Within turning around this corner the space was markedly different, also sustained by the colour.

One did now step from the transitional zone which was space *g*, to the Dining area *I* and Biclinium *i*. The Biclinium therefore, was not coloured differently but was also painted red, to draw it into the same atmosphere. Also the outside of Room *f* and the columns of the portico were painted red for this reason, to make the space to be experienced as one large open air dining hall, separated from the peristyle and from the garden. It can therefore be assumed, that the two sets of paintings of Diana and Actaeon on the outside of Room *f* and of Narcissus and Thysbe and Pyramus in the biclinium were enforcing the same effect of pulling the spaces together and should be considered closely linked. The Triclinium *h* was not red, but white because it housed lavish Third Style mythological scenes.

Iconography of the paintings

The fact that the Casa di Octavius Quartio makes intricate use of the subject of paintings should also be included in the analysis of the house. The Triclinium *h*, with such elaborate iconographical elements, was more than just the experience of colour. The Fourth Style paintings consists of two friezes. The smaller, lower of which depict two temporally distinct sagas of Troy, whereas the large frieze represents episodes from the life and works of Hercules.[1016] According to Clarke, with the triclinium couches in place, the paintings are looked upon in a counter clockwise and then to clockwise reading.[1017] Doing so from right to left the viewer was able to follow the narrative to the point where it touches the most recent event of the story depicted, easily recognisable because of its proximity to the end of the tale. The remaining part could be read from the couch. It could therefore be read

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[1016] The mythological friezes are a Fourth Style rendition of a tradition which ceased since the Second Style, when painted panels replaced friezes. The triclinium paintings are thus a unique exception to the development of wall painting. The lower sections of the walls exemplify imitation of marble above which a 30 cm. long frieze depicts scenes (counting fifteen) from the Iliad (e.g., Patroclus' funeral games, the battle between Ajax and Hector. On the north wall we see a group of heroes. On the west wall proceeding with Patroclus fighting with the arms of Achilles, Thetis provides Achilles with weapons, Automedon prepares the chariot. Represented on the east wall a chariot drags Hector's body. The East upper wall depicts Hercules' battle with Laomedon, King of Troy. The narrower, lower section present stories from the Trojan War featuring Achilles (e.g., the funeral of Patroclus, the games held in his honour, the ransom of the Hector's body). The names of those involved are written in Latin (although translated from Greek- as several misspellings indicate).The south side depicts Apollo firing arrows which causes a plague on the Greek army. The west wall shows combat scenes. The frieze above shows scenes from the life and works of Hercules. This is also quite unique as the only other representation of the Twelve Labours is to be found in the Casa del Menandro in Pompeii, on a skyphos, see Spinazzola 1953, I.389; Clarke 1991, 205; Ling 1995, 111-2. For a discussion on Hercules in the houses of Pompeii, see Coralini 2001.
[1017] See Clarke 1991, 206.

almost like a present-day comic book.[1018] One may presume these scenes were meant to look at, contemplate, interpret, and discuss actively. It was created in order to accompany the *cena*. At dusk, the garden was no longer visible. The room turned inwards and the focus placed on the elaborate paintings on the walls. As time was spent here in social interaction, the paintings offered an appealing distraction and food for conversation.

The contrast between the paintings outside the triclinium and the cubicula in the portico space and those inside is remarkable. Whereas the interiors of these spaces include small figures and detailed decoration (either Fourth Style small figures or Third Style elaborate mythological scenes), the exterior spaces contain quite large, modest and rather straightforward scenes. For instance, the hunting scenes on north wall of portico *i* were too large to see when one moved from the portico to the biclinium on the north side of the canal. They were only visible on the other side of the canal and could be observed from either the biclinium or at the other side of the canal whilst walking. All the large paintings in the red painted portico area are supposedly meant to be seen from a distance, in contrast to the triclinium, which had to be viewed from up close in order to understand the complexities of the almost comic-like stories.

As mentioned above, the paintings from the exterior of Room *f* and biclinium *k* are of equal size, and both depict large figures against a red background. Due to the portico columns, however, the four paintings cannot be seen all together. Outside Room *f* one can only see the painting of Pyramus and Thisbe and vice versa. Only Diana can be seen from the biclinium *k*. This also counts for Narcissus and Actaeon. One can only engage with the paintings all together when in movement, however. Unlike most Fourth Style paintings they are large, individual figures and do not contain any typical Fourth Style embellishments or attributes, therefore, the paintings can be recognised from the other side of the space. According to Platt, they illustrate the power of the glance, a confrontation with Self and Other, and the intimate and potentially dangerous relationship between the glance, reflection and desire.[1019] She argues that Narcissus' position next to the

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[1018] See Clarke 1991, 206.

[1019] *"The emphasis on reflection, reciprocity and ambiguity we find in the literary accounts is here communicated by the image's complex relationship to its context, through which Narcissus presents a twofold danger to the viewer. The painting's position next to the euripus is a reminder that the viewer might catch sight of himself in the water and lose himself in solipsistic desire. Indeed, the background of the painting, with its combination of architectural detail, pool and leafy locus amoenus, is remarkably similar to the portico's setting between*

canal served as a reminder that the viewer might catch sight of himself in the water and lose himself in solipsistic desire. This warning is reflected in the painting and the pool. Was there really such a deep and conscious interpretation of these paintings when someone looked at Narcissus? The suggestion that the painting of Narcissus was chosen because of the water-related theme could equally well be forwarded. Indeed many paintings are thematically linked to water, whereas they are physically connected by means of the upper canal.[1020] Diana is bathing, Narcissus is gazing into a pool. The meeting place of Pyramus and Thisbe is at a spring.[1021] Furthermore, the paintings connect to the canal, to each other, and to the subject of water by means of their lower sections, of which all four included a painted fountain with sparkling water. As with the entire house, the peristyle space plays with the dichotomy between visibility and accessibility on a micro-level. It is interesting to note, that while the biclinium and Room *f* are not accessible simultaneously when approached from the peristyle *g*, they are visually connected. They remain physically separated, but are connected by means of their paintings, which are very large in order to be seen from a distance, and through the canal as a connecting element, so they become visually connected. The details for the viewer in the dining space may not have been provided by means of the paintings in the portico. It served mainly to not only connect the space to each other and to the water features, but also to the sculpture placed around the portico.

The lower canal lastly, has a hidden nymphaeum beneath the *tempietto* which could only be seen after descending the stairs into the garden: one more aesthetic surprise having been granted access. Here too paintings in red colours were encountered. The fact that Diana (west side) and Actaeon (east side) were depicted again on a painting, suggests that the space was a separated space from the dining area.

Pavement types

Unfortunately, as mentioned above, not much pavement was preserved in the house. It is not known whether this was a development that took place pre- or post-eruption. However, when considering these floors it is obvious that the owners of this house did not put as much effort into their floors

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house and garden and there is every possibility that we, too, `drawn by the beauty of the spring and the location', will fall prey to the same fate (Met. III.414)”, see Platt 2002, 91.

[1020] Narcissus was well-loved. Pompeiian houses count fifty-two portraits of him, see Hodske 2007, table 6.

[1021] See Platt 2002, 90.

when compared with the inhabitants of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. No complete mosaic floors are encountered, only those with a *cocciopesto* floor decorated with tesserae in a simple design. The first was the atrium, with large marble hexagonal shaped cubiculum *e* which preserved such a pavement, which may argue that Rooms *d* and *f* also had such floors. However, this cannot be confirmed by means of the archaeological remains. The other room, Triclinium *h,* was the most important room of the public dining area. The biclinium formed an important part of the portico space, as its pavement (and benches) consisted of red *cocciopesto* in the same colours as the walls, which tied the spaces together.

PAVEMENT ANALYSIS OF THE CASA DI OCTAVIUS QUARTIO		
Room	**Material**	**Type (Watts)**
Fauces 1	Cocciopesto with white tesserae, diamond shaped pattern	Directional
Atrium 2	Cocciopesto with large white hexagonal shaped marble pieces	Directional
Cubiculum 3	?	
Cubiculum *d*	Cocciopesto	Background
Cubiculum *e*	Cocciopesto with white tesserae	Centralised
Cubiculum *f*	?	
Peristyle *g*	Cocciopesto?	
Triclinium *h*	Cocciopesto with tesserae, flower motif with a band of swastikas around the sides	Centralised
Portico-garden *i*	-	
Biclinium *k*	A red coloured cocciopesto	Background

Table 5.8 Pavements of the Casa di Octavius Quartio.

Boundaries (thresholds, frames, and openings)

The thresholds, as with the pavement, do not yield sufficient information to discover any patterning to the extent observed at the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. Again, it does not seem to be of the same importance as the former case study. Only one mosaic threshold (Room *e*) emphasises a boundary situation. The majority of the thresholds have disappeared. Those still present differentiate in function. The threshold in the kitchen and in Cubiculum 3 consist of lava, whereas the Cubicula *e* and *f,* and the Triclinium *h* have marble thresholds (see table 5.9). The rooms on the west side (*d, e*) were as the cubicula in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati were meant to be experienced as a space on its own. Room *e* could also be closed off. Room *f,* even though it was completely cut off from the dining area and the garden, did make a visual reference by means of the enlarged opening and the alignment with the east-west axis and upper canal. However, it did not

seem to have been necessary to emphasise the individuality of the rooms to such an extent as with the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. This may have to do with the difference in layout of the two houses. Whereas the cubicula of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati were all situated around an open courtyard, the Casa di Octavius Quartio has differentiated spaces with less accessibility to rooms, as was analysed above. It may not have been necessary to physically erect boundaries. When someone was invited to a specific space these boundaries had already been lifted.

No.	From	To	Material	Decoration	Closing	Dimensions (in cm.)
	THRESHOLD ANALYSIS OF THE CASA DI OCTAVIUS QUARTIO					
1	Fauces	Atrium	Travertine			
2	Atrium	Cubiculum 3	Only tiles left but might have been travertine similar to c			128
2	Atrium	Cubiculum 4	Lava	No	Yes	129
2	Atrium	Cubiculum a	Not visible			131
2	Atrium	Cubiculum b	Not visible			238
b	Cubiculum b	Peristyle g	Limestone		Yes	100
2	Atrium	Cubiculum c	Travertine		Yes	128
2	Atrium	Cubiculum 5	Not visible			274? narrowed down to 148
2	Atrium	Peristyle g	Not visible			210
5	Cubiculum 5	Kitchen 7	None			107
5	Cubiculum 5	Latrine	Lava			70
g	Peristyle g	Cubiculum d	Not visible but not similar to e			117
g	Peristyle g	Cubiculum e	Marble and mosaic	black and white floral motif	Yes	102
g	Peristyle g	Cubiculum f	Not visible			114
g	Peristyle g	Portico-garden i	Absent			
g	Peristyle g	Triclinium h	Marble		Probably	182
f	Cubiculum f	Portico-garden i	Marble			170
h	Triclinium h	Portico-garden i	Marble		?	218
i	Portico-garden i	Biclinium k	None			
i	Portico-garden i	Stalla	None			
i	Portico-garden i	Garden l	Travertine and lava stairs	Lower two original? Lava threshold from a shop-doorway		West side 61/east 100

Table 5.9 A threshold analysis of the Casa di Octavius Quartio.

Light and level change

The Casa di Octavius Quartio also works with light and level changes. Again, important rooms have a window e.g., Room *f*. The terrace was a darker place, as it consisted of a portico once completely covered in vines according to the

excavators.[1022] This caused the Portico space *g* and the Portico space *i* to be connected spaces, and also rendered it cognitively easier to view the spaces as a route. The vine leaves provided a cool and shady place to linger during summer afternoons. A consequence hereof was that the lower garden became particularly appealing.

As with the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, the *fauces* of the Casa di Octavius Quartio also slided upwards to the atrium space, which had as a consequence that it made the entrance experience more impressive. There is no noticeable further level change in the house except for the garden. It is, presumably because of the fact it is on virgin soil, situated on lower ground when compared with the rest of the house. However, the difference in level is significant for the way in which one experiences the garden, inhabitants and visitors alike. First of all it creates the effect that features of the garden, such as the fountains, the canal and the statues were not well visible from the house, making the garden a more private space, but also enlarged the surprise for those who finally got to visit the garden. Even more important however, because one had to descend to the garden by a flight of stairs, people really got the feeling they entered a different space. Because of this level change the garden separates itself from the house creating a different world with different rules, as is generally argued with regard to garden spaces in Roman houses.[1023] This is sustained by means of the statue of the hermaphrodite. It was not appropriate to place it inside the house, in the garden where it would be clearly visible or in an open part of the house, but could adorn the garden.

Synthesis of the pattern analysis

Numerous dissimilarities regarding the pattern analyses can be observed when comparing the Casa di Octavius Quartio with the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. Although one may assume that material boundaries were so profoundly present in the latter are not as intense as in the former. The reason for this is that the structure in the house (perhaps partly due to recent renovations) allows more differentiation and segregation of space. The cubicula were situated in the atrium, and therefore segregated from the important social spaces meant for a different audience situated around the peristyle. It may be, however, that in the case of the House of Octavius Quartio the sculpture played a more significant role in the structure of space

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[1022] See Spinazzola 1953.
[1023] See Von Stackelberg 2009.

and the framing of behaviour than pavements or other types of boundary markers. This will be discussed in the following section.

5.3.6 Place-making in the house: object analysis

Regarding the decoration, but in this case especially regarding the configuration, the Casa di Octavius Quartio shows, just like the Casa degli Amorini Dorati a distinct functional compartmentalisation in the different spaces of the house. The atrium space, the peristyle's western and eastern side, and the garden were independently experienced units, for specific audiences and with specific functions. This observation has significant consequences for the way in which the objects found in the house should be interpreted. Because the spaces were separate units, the objects which were displayed through the house should be regarded within their own use-space, and not as one large group. Looking at the sculpture already suggests this; the statuettes around the upper canal and portico-area are all made of marble for instance, while the statuettes in the peristyle garden are made out of a green glaze. The marble sculpture was to be found on the side of the canal considered the public dining area, and absent from the more private western side of the peristyle. As was also observed with the Casa degli Amorini Dorati there is an interesting grouping of material culture on the basis of the material and external appearance, which seems to have been more important than the subject of the statuary. Just as with the peristyle of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, the sculptural display might have been less eclectic in experience than often imagined.

OBJECTS FROM THE CASA DI OCTAVIUS QUARTIO						
No.	Objects	Material	Location	Specifics of location	Iconography	Inv. No.
1	Statuette	Terracotta with blue-green glaze	(g) Peristyle	Northwest corner of the small peristyle garden, *c.* 0.5 m from the northwest column	Bes	2897
2	Statuette	Terracotta with blue-green glaze	(g) Peristyle	Northwest corner of the small peristyle garden, *c.*0.5 m. from the northwest column	Pharaoh	2898
3	Bust	Fine-grained white marble	(i) Portico garden	North edge of the upper canal near the central tempietto	Bearded Dionysus	2914
4	Head	Fine-grained grayish-white marble	(i) Portico garden	South edge of the upper canal near the central tempietto	Youthful Dionysus	2038 2/29 18
5	Statuette	Fine-grained	(i)	North edge of the upper	Lion and Antelope	2929

		white marble	Portico garden	canal, several m. east of the central tempietto		
6	Statuette	Large grained white marble	(i) Portico garden	South edge of the upper canal, several m. east of the central tempietto	Lion and Ram	2037 1/29 22
7	Statuette	Fine grained light gray marble (trace of pigment)	(i) Portico garden	Southeast corner of the upper canal	Hunting greyhound attacking a hare	2934
8	Statuette	Larger-grained grayish-white marble	(i) Portico garden	South edge of the upper canal near the midpoint of the canal, in front of the third pillar	Boxed theatre mask depicting a female	2928
9	Statuette	Fine-grained white marble with a bronze attachment,	(i) Portico garden	Midpoint of the upper canal, to the north of the basin	Reclining Egyptian sphinx[1024]	2930
10	Statuette	Large-grained white marble	(i) Portico garden	East end of the upper canal, on the north side	Infant Hercules seated on a flat, more or less triangular base, the edges of which were apparently carved to imitate a rocky ledge.	2932 / 2840
11	Statuette	Large-grained grayish-white marble	(i) Portico garden	Short east end of the upper canal in front of the biclinium	Bearded river god reclining to his left and propped up by means of an object under his left arm[1025]	2935
12	Statuette	Fine-grained white marble	(g) Peristyle	Entrance to the small peristyle garden, just south of the atrium door-way (not in situ)	Naked young satyr in the form of a telamon	2891
13	Statue	Fine-grained white marble	(i) Portico garden	Upper terrace, south of the canal, to the east of the tetrastyle tempietto	Muse I, Polyhymnia, the muse of sacred poetry	2917
14	Statue	Larger-grained white marble	(i) Portico garden	Upper terrace, south of the canal, to the west of the tetrastyle tempietto	Muse II, *Erato*, the muse of lyric poetry	2909
15	Statuette	Fine-grained white marble	(l) Garden	Below the garden tempietto, on the water stairs of the nymphaeum	Eros holding a theatre mask	2051 3
16	Statuette	Grainy grey-white marble	(l) Garden	southwest corner of the garden *c.*3.3 m. from the west wall	Hermaphrodite	3021

[1024] According to Tronchin 2006 it portrays a female sphinx (93). In fact it represents a male sphinx styled in the Egyptian tradition. With no female features, the sphinx wears a *nemes* headdress reserved for males only.

[1025] According to Spinazzola (1906) the canal personifies the Sarno, according to Della Corte (1932, 194) it personifies the Nile, see Tronchin 2006, 107-8.

17	Oscillum	Small grained white marble	Cubiculum	one of the cubicula of the atrium[1026]	Theatre mask depicting a female	2862
18	Table supports	White marble	(l) Garden	lower garden, just east of the north-south canal, near the rectangular fountain with marble water stairs	Trapezophoroi, presumably winged griffins	Lost
19	Mask used as waterspout	Marble	(l) Garden	lower nymphaeum, at the intersection of the two canals[1027]	Oceanus	Lost
20	Statuette	Marble	(i) Portico garden	North edge of the upper canal, several m. west of the canal end	Protesting young satyr	2931 Stolen
21	Statuette	Marble	(g) Peristyle garden	c.0.3 m. from the north edge of the low garden wall	'Ibis' with a snake in its beak[1028]	2899 lost
22	Statuette	Marble	(l) Garden[1029]		Back half of the foot of a statuette, no recognisable figure	1925

Table 5.10) Objects from the Casa di Octavius Quartio (after Tronchin 2006).

Table 5.10 introduces all sculptures displayed throughout the house. As expected, the atrium did not contain any sculpture. The majority of sculptures are from the peristyle area *g* and the portico. The lower part of the garden, in contrast to the upper part, did not yield many objects. Although sculpture might be missing, it seems that the garden, the nymphaeum, and its fountains were the prime visual impressions and that more sculpture to adorn it was not necessary (with the exception of a statue of a hermaphrodite, a surprise on the rear end of the garden). Important to consider and separate are perceptions dealing with the intentions of the

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[1026] According to Tronchin 2006 who studied the official excavation notes, the exact location of this room is not completely clear. We read: "*vano M a circa 4m dal pavimento.*" Unfortunately, "vano M" does not unambiguously correspond to any room in the house. Based on the date the mask was discovered, at an early stage of the excavation of the house, and on the locations of other objects found within the same time frame, the sculpture was presumably found in one of the cubicula on the west side of the atrium.

[1027] The mask was affixed to the back wall of the small fountain and rested on a shallow marble shelf. It apparently served as a spout for the water which fed the north-south canal, having trickled from the tetra-style fountain above towards the nymphaeum, see Tronchin 2006, 152.

[1028] Tronchin 2006 used the example of sculpted statues representing ibises from the temple dedicated to Isis (after Ward-Perkins and Claridge, 1978, II.181, fig. 185). These, however, are not from the Isis temple. Two paintings of ibises from this temple are published, amongst others, in DeCaro 1992, 89; 117). For one from the Casa di Marcus Lucretius, see Dwyer 1982, 45, figs. 44, 45. For another ibis sculpture, see Bol 1994, 384-6. According to Tronchin 2006 this bird is a heron not an ibis.

[1029] According to the *Giornale degli Scavi* (find date 27-11-1919) it was found in: "*giardino a .75m dal piano di campagna*"), see Tronchin 2006, 502.

owners, their ideas about decoration and the concepts they had in mind with putting up sculpture compared to the conscious and unconscious effects it had to the viewers of these objects. Different layers of perception are at work whenever an impression is created and human intentions and the subsequent effect of material culture within a specific setting differ.

To start with the figurines in the garden of peristyle *g*: their positioning at the most important access-giving space in the house, renders these green-glazed figurines of crucial importance in terms of perception. They materially constituted the transitional space leading from the atrium to the garden, and subsequently from the garden to the more public dining area or the more private area of the peristyle to the west. The sculpture group is the first introduction to the luxurious leisure space of the house owners. In addition it creates a first impression on guests, whether they were invited for dinner or to a more private occasion on the west side. What did this impression target at? Did it consciously evoke an image of Egypt?

First of all, the statues were set apart, and bounded by the wall of the small peristyle it created an isolated other world. Would this have been possible as an integrated feature in the structure of the house? Considering a potential exotic atmosphere, it must be noted that if this was intended, the effect was mainly created by means of the green glazed material (possibly enhanced by its large quantity). This is important, while the green-glaze statuettes might of course have conjured up Egypt, the experience of the *exotic* was arrived at by means of green-glaze, not through its Egyptian style or subject. This leads the argument towards the owner's intentions. The marble bird positioned next to the statuettes is in this case of significance. It seems likely it was placed alongside the green glaze because the owners thought it was an ibis (or that it could pass for an ibis in the context of the statuettes). These observations might again lead to the assumption also made in part 4.4, that as a group, it was meant to display a three-dimensional Nilotic scene.[1030] It was suggested in 4.4, that these statues might be representing Nilotic creatures in some cases, as the majority of green-glazed statuettes can be connected with this particular imagery (pygmy-like figures such as Bes and Ptah-Pataikos and animals such as frogs and crocodiles). This could also be

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[1030] The absence of water features weakens the argument for a Nilotic scene being a as consciously adopted concept. However, as was argued, the location of these statues in the garden as an isolated exotic display may have been preferred over any fountain space.

the case with regard to this context.[1031] An issue with this interpretation is that the iconography of the statuettes is not particularly associated with Nilotic imagery.

Did the owners have a choice exactly which green-glazed statuettes they acquired? Would they have chosen a statue of a pharaoh on purpose? As discussed above, its unusual iconography was not well known in Pompeii.[1032] They might think it was special, while its strangeness added to the exotic atmosphere. If Egypt was a concept employed by the owners concerning the statuettes (which seems likely in this case because of the iconography of the statuettes and of the specific material, because of the way they have been placed together, and because of the unusual large quantity), the figurines might just have been associated with the oldest and most omnipresent images of Egypt in Pompeii, Nilotic scenes. The collection of green glazed figurines and the addition of the ibis should be explained in a more nuanced way, for it is more likely that the Nilotic scene as a concept of Egypt just influenced the way the statues were put up rather than that a conscious attempt was made to create something Nilotic.

In addition to that what the owners intended when they arranged the ensemble, the statuettes made an impression on the viewer independent from their intentions. Would an average visitor realise that the statues were Egyptian, did they remind of Nilotic imagery too? Or did they merely establish the exotic image of a secluded garden? Needless to say, the interpretation could have been communicated. With this particular group that does not seem likely for a number of reasons. For the viewer, it stood out because of the large number of green-glazed figurines (with seven objects the largest quantity found together in all Pompeii). This is the perception layer consciously experienced by someone confronted with the sculpture. However, more layers have influenced perception on a more subconscious level which is equally important to consider. For instance, another notable feature of the manner in which the statuettes were disclosed to the viewer is their seclusion from the open space of the house. Not only was this seclusion created by means of separating them from the other marble sculpture along

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[1031] It is difficult to say anything descisive without knowing the meaning of the remaining five statuettes. An issue interpreting the Nilotic scene causes is: the iconography of the statuettes, which is not particularly associated with Nilotic imagery. It also does not feature within a water context. The ibis, however, does.
[1032] Only in two other wall paintings are pharaohs portrayed.

the canal (a material-based separation), the statuettes were framed inside the walled peristyle garden. They could therefore not be touched, only be glanced upon in passing. This is of significance, as it renders a completely different experience than for instance with the marble group in portico i surrounding the canal. Furthermore, the black and red painting in the portico, together with the red paint on the columns surrounding the peristyle garden, did not pull the garden into the portico (as could be observed with the Casa degli Amorini Dorati). Instead, it secluded the portico space from the garden space which by means of its light and predominantly green colour turned into a wholly different space. This informs us not only of the way in which it was experienced, but also reveals something about what the owners thought of the statuettes. As it was secluded from the rest of the space one could argue that a more 'estranging' or 'exotic' image was particularly suitable for this location. The outstanding number of statuettes consisting of a similar material, but specifically the fact that they were isolated behind the garden walls and that they were positioned in a so-called 'through-route' of the portico further suggest that this was not a pause moment in which the visitor was allowed much time in order to contemplate the figurines individually.

The group of statues was the first aesthetic experience upon entering the peristyle area, the most important area in terms of access providing and control. Why would they be placed here and not along one of the canals? One may presume, as argued above, because it provided a pleasant secluded space in which exotic display fitted as it was set apart from the rest of the house. Furthermore, such a display was immediately eye-catching being dissimilar to material found in more frequently displayed sculpture. The fact that the green-glazed statuettes were placed in the northwest corner of the peristyle, the route belonging to the dining area, and the corner closest to Triclinium h, further suggests that they belonged to the public dining area rather than to the rooms at the east. As shown in fig. 5.26, the group served as an eye-catcher to guide the gaze in the direction of the dining area. The sculpture was a means to move guests in the right direction, as the peristyle portico itself was a divider of space more than a place for social interaction. Viewing the group of green-glazed statuettes was thus not so much a pause, but rather a structuring and directional moment in which the objects played an important role. As the amount of time spent around these statues was meant to be short, the idea is enforced that they had to be experienced as

group. They were not to be regarded as individual sculpture. This also strengthens the argument of the importance of the material above that of iconography, as it was the green glaze that could be perceived within this setting and time frame, not the subject of the statues.

Moving to the second sculpture groups located along the canal and within the portico, it can be noted that an attempt was made here to evoke an entirely different atmosphere in comparison with the above, not only by the use of different material (marble), but also by means of the way in which the sculpture was displayed. As discussed in 4.5, the statuette of the sphinx is presented along with other marble statuary positioned along the first water canal in the peristyle. These statues represent a herm of Dionysus, a lion devouring an antelope, two statues of Heracles as a child, a river god (placed at the head of the canal closest to the nymphaeum), a dog with a faun, a woman's mask, a lion with a ram's head beneath its paw, another herm of a young Dionysus, and the muse Polyhymnia (see table 5.10). As the previous case study illustrates that not only are they all white marble statues but also that their iconographic 'eclecticism' does not point as much to cultural associations with Greece, Egypt, or the Hellenistic East, as it exemplifies a richness of marble statues in general. A unity was experienced in both contexts i.e., in form of material, not in iconography or cultural references. The water of the upper canal reflected the white statues even better. Indeed positioning them near the upper canal (instead of the green-glazed statues which may even have suited the water context better thematically) was an aesthetic choice of the owners. The other statuettes, although they did not allude to a clear theme, all added to appropriate garden scenery as could also be observed at the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. Two lions representing wildlife were placed opposite each other alongside the canal, as were the herms of Dionysus. The river god at the eastern end of the canal protected the water while personifying it. Was the sphinx alien to this context? As argued in 4.5, the sphinx, although of Egyptian style, might have been considered a *Mischwesen* linked to marble garden statues. The latter which were abundantly present in Pompeian wall decoration, predominantly occurs in painting (see 4.5.4), and occasionally in sculpture and furniture. The statuette suited this water context well because tradition of garden paintings depicting sphinxes were also always connected to water, and often even featured as fountains. Therefore, the marble sphinx should not be considered an anomaly among the other statues at the canal.

However, there is more to mention on the statuettes at the canal. In which way did the sphinx 'fit' in with this ensemble that seems eclectic in both style and theme? There seems to be a difference between this sculpture group and the previously discussed garden in peristyle *g*. In addition to their consisting of marble, it is important to look at the manner in which the statues were displayed at the canal. Here the marble statues stand freely along the eastern side of the upper canal, while the Egyptian green-glazed statuettes were framed by means of a wall, implying that the latter group was conceived as more passive. The marble sculptures, which belonged to the dining area, could be touched and walked around. Therefore they were intended to be engaged with and consequently experienced in a more active fashion. Convex space 13, albeit an important controlling space within the house, was not meant for social encounter but to move through. On the other hand the space in front of the tri- and biclinium was primarily meant for social interaction. It was used to interact; converse, walk, stand, and engage; not only which each other, but also with the sculpture. The show-cased green-glazed statuettes, on the contrary, were merely meant to briefly glance at another world, enframed by walls. After this initial strong impression one moved further along the dining space and it was not the intention to engage in contemplation at great length. This also explains the seemingly 'eclecticism' in content on the side of the upper *Euripus* sculptures. As this space served social interaction, each statue should be appreciated independently, not as a thematic group. They could be experienced as a group, as they were all consisted of marble and were all situated in the dining space, pulled together by means of space, colouring and paintings. Thematically, however, they could also be experienced individually. In this way, the freestanding exhibition of the sculpture and their varied themes contributed to the centralisation of the space, to the enhancement of social interaction and cohesion in the same manner the paintings in the Triclinium *h* did. Whereas the first open space and sculpture enforced movement, this sculptural setting achieves the opposite i.e., to slow one down instead of moving one forward. Therefore, it is of crucial importance here not to search too profoundly for a thematic guideline underlying the organisation and iconography of the sculpture. They were intended to be perceived individually.

5.3.7 The use of Egypt in the Casa di Octavius Quartio: Egypt as exotic decorum?

"Lucius Istacidius! I think anyone who doesn't invite me to dinner is a bore"[1033]

The concluding section will provide a socially embedded explanation for the Egyptian artefacts found in the Casa di Octavius Quartio as part of a domestic assemblage. The analyses of the house have proven successful in illustrating the way in which various spaces were utilised and perceived and in how the objects played a distinctive role within those spaces. The house and its contents did not only display the owner's aesthetic values and preferences or reflect Roman art within domestic contexts. The analysis has also indicated the way in which the house as a unit is able to control behaviour, in the use of space. This is aided by means of lightning and level change, change of flooring and colouring, and the introduction of sculpture. After knowledge has been acquired on the spatial use of the house, the materials, and the decoration, it is time to return to the objects. They are not only Egyptian but also part of the intricate movements and encounters in a Roman house.

In contrast to the Casa degli Amorini Dorati, the 'Aegyptiaca' of which were applied with a single concept of Egypt in mind (*in casu* the cult of Isis and her Egyptian origin), the Casa di Octavius Quartio presents another side of the diverse concepts of Egypt and their workings. Although such a concept occurs when decorating houses, the Isis cult was not the main directive. The presence of Egyptian artefacts does not disclose much with regard to the religious preferences or ethnicity of the owners, but tellingly reveal the degree of complexity of the concepts of Egypt during the 1st century AD, and their entanglement within a diversity of social practices. A large number actively aimed at the ritual of the *cena*. The artefacts served as adornments and played an important role in the flaunting of the family's acquired wealth, knowledge and status to other guests. This house as a whole to a great extent designed to play with movement, visual access and configurational restriction. Configurationally, the emphasis on the visitor-inhabitant relationship is much stronger than in the above case study, which established the differentiation by means of applying an elaborate boundary and pavements. As previously discussed, the commercial activities of the *salutatio* were most probably less important or even absent in the Casa di Octavius Quartio. One may argue with reasonable certainty that the *cena*

[1033] *CIL* IV 1880, graffito found in the Basilica of Pompeii.

increased in importance in later phases, as it is obvious that the owners deposited all their material revenues in redecorating and adorning the peristyle area. Dinner was hugely relevant as a social ritual at this time (see also note 718). A dinner invitation was not only a sign of social acceptance for the upwardly mobile but also a means for the affluent elite to flaunt their wealth and generosity to friends, rivals, and favoured clients. The marble statues along the canal were important as a visual aesthetic. The most significant spaces were: the peristyle garden with the sculpture, the elaborate mythological paintings of the triclinium and biclinium, and the canal with its marble sculptures. Everything was directed at the dining area; even the outside view of Room *f* towards the private western side was created in order to change the dining area into a world of myth, sculpture, and architectural wonders. When inside the triclinium, it was entered from the peristyle. It was thus impossible to already see all the marble on display. This rendered the impression even more lavish. How much more could there be?

Egypt can indeed serve as an exotic display, but not because the exotic is automatically linked to Egypt. The sculpture in the Garden-peristyle *g* is discussed by von Stackelberg as follows: "*It was the function of the hortus to act as a transitional space where self met the other, and what was more alien to the Roman imagination than Egypt?*"[1034] Although the exotic may have played a role in providing a suitable introduction, and it was especially fitting in this secluded and different space, von Stackelberg is too sweeping when equating 'Egyptian' with alien. Firstly, there was not one concept of Egypt, but a multitude. This house is the telling example of the fact that matters are more complex than just being either 'Isiac', 'alien', or 'the Other'. Although the presumption that the owners had a concept of Egypt in mind when they constructed this ensemble is plausible, it is yet another case for the viewer. As to the statuettes in Garden *g* it is not Egypt *per se* that is considered exotic. The component of green glaze in combination with Egyptian iconography provides the exotic atmosphere. If it was merely Egypt, then all the artefacts could have been put together in this location. However, the marble was not exotic. To a degree the material is inherently considered to be more intrinsic than others. White marble, which was omnipresent in Pompeii in the imperial period and was also used in public buildings (such as the forum, temples, and baths), is more likely to be perceived as 'normal'.

[1034] See Von Stackelberg 2009, 122.

However, although less commonly employed than marble, the exoticism of green-glaze should not be exaggerated. It was not unusual to ostentatiously display these green-glazed statuettes within garden contexts, as observed in other instances too. Green-glazed statues did not occur as lavishly as marble sculpture, which may have added to their eccentricity. Nevertheless, they were by no means uncommon. It was in no way as unique as, for example, the alabaster statuette of Horus found in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. Furthermore, these figurines were clearly affordable and formed integrated parts of the social emulation process, as indicated by the fact they can be found within all kinds of social contexts (4.4). Apparently, the green-glazed statuette was seen as an aesthetic and costly item. Its eye-catching presence would certainly have helped in increasing its value. However, incorporating the objects into the discussion on social emulation (see 5.1), whenever something is appreciated it is copied by other social groups. Next its value decreases because lower classes utilise them in order to increase their own status. In this sense, the prominently displayed blue-glazed statuette of Ptah-Pataikos in a Caupona (VI.1.2) which was visible to every citizen and visitor entering the town through the busy Ercolano Gate, might have caused the statuettes in the gardens of the Casa del Nozze d'Argento and the Casa di Octavius Quartio to decrease in value along with the link to Egypt. Could it be that the owner of the Casa di Octavius Quartio solved this by means of the quantity he had exhibited in the Casa di Octavius Quartio? Not one, but no less than seven green-glazed statuettes were displayed in the small peristyle garden. Unfortunately, only two could be identified as the rest was too damaged to be refitted.

When Egypt is used as a decorative device (which does not imply it is devoid of any religious connotations) it can be observed that different rules are in order. Exoticism itself is a difficult term because it can be interpreted from the position of a researcher (etic) and of the person who viewed and used it (emic). The green-glazed objects of course *were* exotic, as they were presumably imported from Memphis (Egypt) and arrived in Pompeii via Puteoli. It is remarkable to observe the way in which exotica such as these were integrated into a town such as Pompeii. However, it is important to realise that it was not *Egypt* that was exotic in the Casa di Octavius Quartio, it were the green-glazed statuettes that were exotic. This not only nuances the position of the concept of Egypt but also forwards another plea in order to allowing more complexity between cultural labels and object types. Egypt

had been reflected in Nilotic imagery for a long time and quite frequently in houses, public baths, and in the temples dedicated to Apollo and Isis. Is it in this respect still justified to consider everything Egyptian as a part of Egyptomania, when Egypt became a Roman province more than a century ago and when we ascertain the high level of integration? The profundity of Aegyptiaca with regards to Roman visual culture during the 1st century is characterised not by an ongoing mania, but rather due to the loss of a mania and a more complex dealing with the Self and the Other, something which Egypt both represented. It could be set apart *and* be accepted as something normal and intrinsic. For instance, it is obvious that the green-glazed items in the peristyle garden had another function than the marble sculptures, they formed an atmosphere and material sign indicating the direction of the dining area. It was not a sculpture group to be discussed at length but important as a first impression, not a final one was (as yet) reserved for marble statuary. However, this statuery could subsequentl easily show an Egyptian sphinx in marble, without it being exotic.

5.3.8 Conclusion

The Casa di Octavius Quartio presents us with an example of the adoption of Egypt which differs from the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. However, the case study has also shown that even with regards to a large quantity of material that seems to be linked to Egypt which was consciously applied as such, it is still difficult to get a grip on the way in which they were experienced. Indeed many concepts other than those of 'Egypt' play a role within the understanding of these objects. Even if one would consider the possibility that the owner had purchased these objects out of admiration for Egypt, one would not consider the marble statuette to belong to the same concept of Egypt as the green-glazed statuettes. Interestingly, although exoticism probably plays a role in this garden, this exoticism was not achieved because the objects were connected to the concept of Egypt, but because they consisted of green glaze and because of the large quantity of objects. Was it Egypt that was alien to the Roman imagination? Yes and no. It could be consciously set apart as alien, as with the green-glazed figurines in the peristyle garden. On the other hand, it was just as much a part of all things familiar. In the case of the marble sphinx which, although Egyptian, was also marble and associated with water and fountains just as any other kind of marble sphinx.

Lastly, although the Casa di Octavius Quartio included unique features as to decoration and outward display, to call it an example of *nouveau riche* gone wrong, or a 'Trimalchio-case', is problematic. We do not know the way in which the inhabitants of Pompeii looked at a house, its contents, and owners. Pompeii is no Rome, and it could be argued in the same way that the house alluded to new trends in housing, or created such trends. Was this house really considered a vulgar misconception of elite behaviour? Are archaeologists and historians capable of delivering aesthetic judgements based on a literary tradition? How can they know this was considered a case of bad taste? The assumption should be contextualised and one needs to consider the differences between the source materials. Pompeii is a different environment with its own unique social dynamism, as countless examples of houses and material culture show it is not similar to neither Rome, nor closer and smaller settlements like Herculaneum. Furthermore, the previous case study has shown that display, which was important in Roman houses, was based on much more factors than just iconography, and that because archaeologists cannot always discern the underlying thoughts does not mean it was not there. However, despite these caveats on the side of interpretation and judgement, the entry on Egypt as exotic display in domestic contexts is considered relevant. Following the lines of social emulation and aesthetic preferences, to add to status they should have conformed to local taste, and by setting a new example might just as well proof social confidence to innovate.

5.4 Conclusion to Chapter 5: the social significance of Egypt as object and idea in Pompeian houses

5.4.1 Introduction

While chapter 4 showed that the networks of conceptualisation in which the so-called Aegyptiaca functioned were much more complex than scholars had assumed thus far, their place as to their use-context was not entirely clear yet. Therefore it was considered fruitful to take a closer look on a contextual level at the household (as a social and material phenomenon) in order to analyse the Egypt-related artefacts in their use-contexts and perception in chapter 5. Two houses (and the example from the Casa del Doppio Larario in 5.1), the Casa degli Amorini Dorati and the Casa di Octavius Quartio, were selected in order to exemplify how Egypt could be used and perceived within a domestic context. In this way a 're-placing of Egyptian artefacts' was attempted. The reason to apply a holistic approach is the assumption that

the use of Egyptian artefacts cannot become clear when only Egypt is considered a cultural or stylistic device. The objects should be studied in relationship to those objects which we would regard Greek or Italic, or Gallic. Furthermore, as a next step these cultural labels should be removed as a defining characteristic for the users and the retrieval of their social significance should become the first objective instead. Were any differences observed in the use and display of such artefacts? Or are these also modern cultural constructions invented to classify domestic assemblages? When it comes to studying something such as Egyptian-related artefacts, they seldom have the benefit of such a clear and well preserved context as in the case of Pompeii, therefore it provided a unique chance to study the importance of the artefacts for the owners, their intentions, the relative values regarding choice, and the concepts that were employed within use.

A matter of concern was concluded from chapter 4 showing that Egypt as a perception could be concealed, and be lost in the network. Things did not necessarily have to be viewed as something Egyptia although scholars could recognise it as such. When an artefact, a group of artefacts, or a style or motif from outside the society integrates within a certain society, it takes on more complex understandings. Becoming part of the social dynamics within a community, it obtains social values and is no longer merely a cultural 'anomaly'.[1035] The connotation of eastern, or exotic, might occasionally be present, but is no longer experienced as such per se. Although differences may be witnessed as to Greek-looking artefacts in Pompeian contexts, this process also occurred with Egyptian objects in a Roman context. Nonetheless, the case studies that were selected both seemed to illustrate a conscious employment of something Egyptian, not something in which the cultural concept of Egyptianness of the artefacts was lost, but cases were it was employed to convey a message. However, the fact that the owner understood it as such might be evident (as he placed it there). How a viewer experienced it, as a guest or client to the house, is yet another question. The two case studies demonstrated even though there seemed to have been conscious references to Egypt in certain cases; it presented more complexities concerning the social dynamics of the house. Furthermore it could be observed that studying the use of artefacts in a domestic context

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[1035] In modern society an image of the Buddha is no longer 'eastern' or 'exotic' as it was several decades ago when introduced to western societies. Nowadays it is associated with vegetarianism, spirituality, Buddhism, yoga, health, meditation, a pure lifestyle, etc.

was indeed able to illustrate the process of social integration of a cultural (deviant) artefact.

5.4.2 Houses and households in Pompeii

As discussed in 5.1, Pompeian housing and the way it deals with concepts of public and private space, social dynamics, and display of objects and values has been written about extensively. A difference was observed as to the two houses in terms of configuration and decoration. Both case studies witnessed a redecoration in the final phases of Pompeii's existence. Both show a change in emphasis from the atrium space to the peristyle space with regard to the most important part of the house. However, the houses dealt with it in different ways, illustrating the differences in personal tastes and values. The houses involved with the case studies i.e., the Casa degli Amorini Dorati and the Casa di Octavius Quartio have often been studied. Could something be added to this discussion from a place-making perspective? Place-making may supplement research as it was as yet not applied to Roman houses on this scale. It was useful to regard the house as a diagnostic totality within an analysis and study the material, space, and decoration as social agents and as a creative force within human behaviour. The case studies could not provide such a detailed treatment as applied in the *Häuser in Pompeji*-series. However, they did attempt to be as detailed as possible with regards to the objects, use of space, and decoration. Additionally, those features were treated on a hermeneutic level instead of being merely of a descriptive nature. The difference in approach in relation to previous studies furthermore consisted of a focus on perception and materiality; the decoration, spatial configuration, and material was analysed on a sub-conscious level in order to ascertain how it influenced behaviour and structured relationships as well as how it shaped interaction between the diverse social groups in the house. The 'stuff' and the decoration of which the house consisted was not always consciously dealt with on a daily basis, more often it was just used unreflectively. For example, the iconography included in the paintings of the Casa di Octavius Quartio can be read and are read by scholars on a variety of levels. A religious explanation has been presented: it has been explained as kitsch, eclectic, exoticism; there is a Dionysian theme, or an Isiac reading. Platt forwards a psychological interpretation stating that the paintings in the portico garden are connected by means of voyeuristic themes concerning confrontational gazes between the Self and the Other (because of the references to

Narcissus, Pyramus and Thisbe, and Diana).[1036] In all these cases attention is paid only to the interpretative side of material culture and not to its unreflexive parts. Members of the household living in the Casa di Octavius Quartio were probably not actively and consciously 'confronted with the gaze' every minute of the day. The paintings were merely present and the family lived among them. They walked past the statues in the peristyle portico from time to time, children played around them, a slave walked past on his or her way to the garden. Not interpreted iconographically, religiously, or thematically, they were present as a backdrop of all the activities taking place in the house. This is how material culture in a domestic environment is normally used, unconsciously. However, its unnoticed presence did not render the objects devoid of any power. They affected the way one moved around the house, and how the world outside the house was recognised and understood; it was not thought about reflectively, but that was in fact its power as an agent. The views obtained by studying the material culture, the spatial configuration and the decoration showed thatthe non-human environment formed a mental substrate which was capable of creating social values, affecting life, and structuring movement and behaviour.

Place-making as a toolbox analyses exactly that level of agency. In this way it indeed adds to the study of households in showing that because material culture did not matter on an interpretative level, it did matter. This demonstrated that the house, despite its apparent openness by means of the visual axis and the highly integrated ground plans, put up visible as well as physical restrictions for visitors. The Casa di Octavius Quartio illustrates this by means of a complicated configuration. However, material clues much aided this configuration, as can be observed with the green-glazed statuettes which directed one's gaze and movement towards the dining area. It could be observed in the number of material nuances the Casa degli Amorini Dorati had applied when it came to limiting access to locations adjoining the peristyle. The pavement, the walls, the thresholds, all clearly showed how each room was meant to be experienced individually.

Although the two case studies have been amply dealt with in previous scholarship, they were revisited in the present chapter in order to specifically

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[1036] See Platt 2002, 90.

focus on how Egyptian artefacts were used.[1037] The existence of a rather rigorous difference in the use of Egyptian objects was observed. Within these dynamics, rules were certainly discovered regarding this aspect of Egyptian artefacts. They seemingly centre on applying Egypt in a cultic context, or in a decoratively-*cum*-leisurely context. Moreover, the houses illustrate that either the one or the other seems to have been appropriate. Both ways of adopting Egypt includes religious aspects and aesthetic aspects, but a differentiation between them could nonetheless be witnessed. The Casa degli Amorini Dorati did not use Egypt to adorn the garden, to make that confrontation with the other from a leisure context. Egypt was used to emphasise the importance of the cult for the owners, and their means to acquire objects from afar. They employed Bacchus as a theme to make the reference to *otium*, the cultured, and fantastic leisure space of the garden. The Casa di Octavius Quartio did not house a shrine dedicated to Isis, or statuettes, or anything else related to Isis (except for the painting of a priest), but did have green-glazed statuettes in a garden, and an Egyptian sphinx next to an aquatic context. They represented two quite strictly separated ways of using and interpreting Egypt. The Casa delle Nozze d'Argento and the Casa di Acceptus and Euhodis did have green-glazed statuettes but no Isis-related objects; the Casa delle Amazzoni and the Praedia di Giulia Felice housed shrines displaying Isis and her consorts, but did not have any green-glazed statuettes in the peristyle.

5.4.3 The experience of Egyptian objects in context; perception of cult and exoticism revisited

In the historiographical analysis of chapter 2 of the present research it was stated that, although previous interpretations of Aegyptiaca as cult items or exotic objects were not automatically untrue or inadequate, they were *a priori* made without considering the use contexts of the artefacts and without allowing any other possible option for an interpretation. While objects that looked Greek or Roman to the scholarly observer were explained as intrinsic parts of the material and social complexities of the Roman world (receiving interpretations beyond their 'cultural' origin), Egyptian objects were placed

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[1037] Only these two case studies served as examples of place-making due to the required extensive discussion. The additional houses included were adopted in order to strengthen the argument concerning certain use and to view the houses of Pompeii in a wider framework. These houses are the Casa di Ceii, the Casa di Caccia Antica, the Casa del Fauno, the Praedia di Giulia Felice, the Casa del Frutteto, the Casa del Menandro, the Casa del Nozze d'Argento, the Casa del Bracciale d'Oro, the Casa dell'Efebo, the Casa dell'Ara Massima, the Villa dei Misteri, and the Villa San Marco at Stabiae.

outside this discussion and always only classified as Egyptian. The analysis and re-interpretation of Egypt related material from Chapter 5 aimed at not altogether dismissing the possibility of a exotic and religious explanations, but rather to contextualise the concepts treating objects as (a) belonging to a totality of a household assemblage and (b) within an intricate network of social values and complex system of interactions within the Roman household. A first notion concerning the Egypt-related objects in this context was directed towards their diverse applications, as their varied integration within the house not only augmented the argument that was developed in the previous chapter (on the intrinsic diversity of the objects themselves), it also indicated how profoundly Egyptian artefacts within their diversity were entangled with the social and personal values of the owners of Pompeian houses. Although the objects can sometimes be clearly considered exotic from an provenance viewpoint (in the case they originate from Egypt), even if they served to add to an exotic atmosphere (a frequent theme in garden decoration), they revealed a high degree of social integration. The artefacts in all instances could be fitted into the habitus of Pompeians, and into concepts connected to the social life of the house.

Cult

How could 'Egypt' behave as a cult item? In this context, too, although notably different from the use of Egyptian artefacts within a garden setting, it is important to realise that such objects were part of similar complex social structures. In terms of objects there are perhaps references to the physical context of the Iseum, e.g., the threshold from the Casa del Doppio Larario, or the imported Horus statuette from the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. Egypt evidently mattered to those venerating Isis and owning a 'true' Egyptian statue such as Horus might have even added to concepts such as 'sacredness'. Authenticity and age may therefore have played a more important role here than in other Egypt-related contexts. It is perhaps be probable that the statue created a link to the country Egypt, but as an unintentional outcome of social values (wanting an expensive looking and sacred statue) and not to intentionally 'Egyptianise' the cult of Isis. This was emphasised by means of all the other objects found in the shrine, which could be connected to the cult (e.g., the marble statuette of Fortuna) but not necessarily to Egypt. According to Alvar Isis was unquestionably Hellenised and Romanised, but adherents seemed to have stressed her alterity and that of her cult, even if it is a 'pseudo-alterity', through deliberately Egyptianising

the cult.[1038] Such deliberateness on the side of the initiates should be nuanced, as it seems to be the outcome of unintentional processes and associations. Personal value should not be mistaken for a deliberate stress on alterity. However, it must be noted in the context of materiality and object agency, that because of the strong social role the Isis shrine played in the value-making process (being able to display the owner's financial, social, and intellectual wealth as well as the ability to procure something unique) this unintentional Egyptianisation would have emphasised the deity's Egyptian aspects. The shrine does indeed mark off Isis, *remaking* her a foreign deity based on aesthetic decisions. The statuette of Horus in this respect possessed a double function; it was selected because it was special and because carried a deep cultic significance. It was probably not selected because of its iconography, but because it looked unique, was made of alabaster and had an eye-catching appearance. This personal preference of the owners in a cultic sense was therefore capable of impressing visitors unknown to Egyptian theology too. The recognisability of the 'specialness' elevated all objects in the shrine to this atmosphere as well, at least in social status. This was a remarkable house, with remarkable inhabitants.

Exoticism

Furthermore, with regards to exoticism, as touched upon in 5.1, several remarks could be made concerning previous analyses of the houses. Firstly, it can be argued that exoticism is part of a selective and socialised process, and not something which is an intrinsic quality of the object. In the context of Pompeii certain objects were considered exotic and others were not. However, this had little to do with the alleged intrinsic 'alien' concept of Egypt, but rather with the personal appreciation of specific materials, styles, or decorations. Something Egyptian could be experienced as non-exotic when it was made out of white marble, a material very common in Roman Pompeii in the first century AD. Also of importance in this case is to mention than objects cannot be studies disconnected from everything taking place in the house – socially, spatially, visually as well as physically - but that it should be seen as part as a whole; as a domestic unit. In that respect the Isis shrine attested in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati cannot be considered exotic on the basis of 'Egyptianness', but as a part of careful social, cultic, and aesthetic decisions and of reflections of personal value that only made sense in the context of that particular but nonetheless entire house.

[1038] See Alvar 2008, 2.

Contextualising a term like exoticism has therefore illustrated it sometimes formed an important concept, but within the network of social values. Daily confrontation with an artefact in a domestic context, makes the strange and exotic object as ordinary or as special as all other things of the household. Through there use in context objects became, so to say, domesticated. Even when it was considered special and of extra value, it was nontheless a part of the Self.

Exoticism should therefore be viewed within a social context of perception and aesthetic judgement. The subconscious social influences and situational signals of which people are unaware in their aesthetic judgment play an indispensable role.[1039] How were such objects chosen and regarded when they are reviewed in this respect? Choices are neither reducible to political and social factors, nor is it solely the agency of subjectivity of the inhabitant of a house. Social factors are of importance within the concept of what is considered aesthetically pleasing, just as that the agency of an individual object can hugely influence its development. Moreover, looking at the hidden and concealed layers behind the choice for an object is significant to observe. Neuro-psychological research has revealed that because many actions are performed habitually and therefore unconscious, all kinds of subconscious factors (e.g., status cues, subliminal familiarity, social signals) influence appreciation and judgment.[1040] People are therefore much more influenced by subconsciously processed environmental features as they are by social considerations when forming aesthetic judgments than is often realised.[1041] For example, an object becomes aesthetically valuable when it gives rise to pleasure in our appreciation of it. This appreciation, however, not only depends on the viewer's perceptive qualities, but also on relational qualities.[1042] An example of such a quality is the perception of familiarity, which can make objects become socially significant. Within perception, people generally turn familiarity (in the sense of subconscious recognition) into aesthetic value. Regarding an object special depends on a relation between habitus, the environment, and the properties of an object. And it is

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[1039] Hence the importance of decorative aspects when studying Roman houses. The reason for this is that they are capable of illustrating the underlying principles in appropriation.

[1040] See Kieran 2012, 32; this links to the theory of Bourdieu as noted chapter 5. The relationship between agency and structure is a dialectical one: society is constructed, historically, by people and groups of people. Those people themselves have been constructed in and by society. See Berger and Luckmann 1967; Wolf 1981, 19.

[1041] See Kieran 2012, 37.

[1042] We read: "*Aesthetic appreciation draws on the cultivation of a wide range of perceptual capacities, cognitive-affective responses and relational knowledge. Hence, appreciation is in principle always open to discrimination.*", see Kieran 2012.

a dynamic dialogue in the sense that the relations shift easily. When something becomes too familiar for instance, it loses value, as might be reflected in the intensive social emulation process of Pompeii (when the lower class has easy access to certain objects, it loses its value for the upper class, and ceases to be of value for both groups). Therefore aesthetic judgment is susceptible to many social factors, for instance the cultivation and maintaining of status, the drive towards conformity when one wants to belong to a certain class, and the drive towards non-conformity when one wants to distinguish oneself from another class. Certain social groups will appreciate specific objects or values; in order to identify oneself with such a class and in order to establish membership of that group the judgment of what is considered valuable or exotic is contextual.[1043]

The Casa di Amorini Dorati is an excellent example of how exotic and antique objects became a means of distinguishing oneself. By means of imported ancient Greek and Egyptian objects and by procuring exotic and valuable pieces of marble, obsidian, and gold they certainly had a drive towards non-conformatity as a means of social disitinction. In this way the foreign becomes a characteristic of the Self, however, by means to show oneself. The house was therefore also a constant confrontation with the Other in which the Self became re-established. The visitor played an extremely important part in the social dynamics within the Pompeian household. He or she was confronted with all these artefacts too. This dialogue makes object perception socially dependent. The visitor, when confronted with an object, revealed Heidegger's thingness of an artefact for both parties, thereby changing its values. The artefact moved from a domasticated item that was just present in his everyday life to something that became consciously reflected upon. And it also became a reflection of his status; his wealth, knowledge, and taste.

5.4.4 The agencies of Egypt from a domestic perspective

In terms of Egypt's (pre-interpretative) agencies, these are formative considering the creation of cultural value through the social role they took up within the system of aesthetic judgement discussed above. This is because aesthetic processes are actually indices of cultural value and vice

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[1043] On social influence as a direct and indirect processes, see Latane and Bourgeouis 2001.

versa.[1044] Egypt-related objects are prominently included in this system of value-making, which is of importance to their integration in Pompeii (and presumably beyond). They feature in the most relevant spaces of self-representation and therefore were of an intensive aesthetic value as they were clearly worthy of attention. Porter argues that if paying attention to objects creates value, then cultural attention to objects creates cultural value. Cultural objects act to pool attention and thus to create, consolidate, or shift and remake value.[1045] The cultural values created through aesthetic experience in part consist of Egypt-related objects. Thus by means of their agency, they start to become an intrinsic part of the society of Pompeii and their culture. Not because the objects were culturally, materially, or stylistically integrated per se, but because they were firmly socially embedded.

Both houses represent examples from the final phases of the town and therefore present us with a good sense of the horizontal development of the agency and of the integration of Egyptian artefacts. An Egyptian sphinx was also a marble *Mischwesen*, decorating a water feature in a similar way a marble statuette of a dog would do. In the case of the marble sphinx, it did not actively seek to allude to Egypt in a cultural sense, which is not that surprising. Even if an Egyptomania occurred after the annexation of Egypt, at the time the two case studies adorned their houses almost 100 years had passed since the annexation of Egypt. If one century of Egyptian things, passing from family to family, or being available at shops and markets, can such items still be unfamiliar to a community? Can a mania last that long or should Egyptian artefacts and their acquisition be considered an integrated part of a sort of elite-buying fetish as discussed in 5.1? The answer to these questions is both a yes and a no. Although Egyptomania is a too simplistic interpretation, foreign-looking artefacts did sometimes bring something special to the social dynamics of domestic decoration. The procurement of artefacts as a means of defining one's social status, and the dynamics of social emulation as a social process, was indeed a mania (as habitus) that continued up to Pompeii's final days. In it Egyptian artefacts played had agency. A case of social emulation, for instance, can be observed with the green-glazed statuettes. These objects were around, commonly available and

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[1044] In their primary function of aistésis (in their immediate connection to the senses of pleasure and pain). See Porter 2012, 338.
[1045] See Porter 2012, 340.

affordable, and already 'loosing' their special status as symbols for elite power. The house of the Octavius Quartio had to solve this by the quantity of objects. This is not because the owners did not have taste and the interior was kitsch, it is because in a globalised society when the social value of goods shift very quickly one has to be quicker to still impress. And in the society of Pompeii this was important, for the construction of self-identity occurred for a large part within and through the home and its contents.

Agency, materials, and eclecticism
Furthermore noted in this chapter with respect to the concept of the agency of objects, was the relevance of the material itself. Within the creation of value, the intrinsic values are important. And in certain cases perhaps of more significance than the iconography of the artefacts. Archaeologists seemingly interpret the meaning of sculptures mainly on the basis of iconography of which it is logically assumed this was also the primary selection criteria of the object's user. Statues are interpreted as 'a statue of Omphale' and never as 'a statue made out of parian marble'.[1046] Such practices, however, do run the risk of becoming applied as an 'emic' interpretation; in this guise becoming another form of projection. It exaggerates the importance of iconography for a Roman audience and obscures other possibilities of value connected to the users of these objects. Because how can it be known for sure that the material, the quality, or other factors were not equally or even more important within the selection of objects and within the experience of objects? It seems to be the case for both houses that careful decisions were made to place things together to create a certain atmosphere or convey specific messages, and that material played a large role in this process. As was mentioned before, while Seiler noted a prevailing Bacchic theme in statues and herms found on the garden, the sculptural collection has often been described as eclectic (Petersen), or haphazard (Allison).[1047] As a group of white marble sculpture however, the sculpture is not haphazard at all.

Marble was also assembled on the canal of the Casa di Octavius Quartio, while the alabaster seems to have been consciously chosen for its unique material in the corner of the Isis shrine at the Casa degli Amorini Dorati. The

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[1046] One cannot be considered a professional when the latter ends up in the books, which would denote a clear sign of ignorance.
[1047] Peterson 2012, 319, Allison 1992a, 366.

Roman shrine consisted solely of bronze objects. As to both cases discussed in this chapter, indeed a significant observation, the final decision to place objects together was carried on the basis of the material, and not according to what was represented. Material used when decorating Roman houses preceded therefore what it represented iconographically. The concept of value, as applied to material goods, is a social fact that can emerge only from a system of interpersonal relationships. Within this social network, the intrinsic value and the material were considered relevant. In this observed process Egypt played a role in both houses, not with regard to deviant iconography, but concerning the 'specialness' of the material. In the Casa degli Amorini Dorati this was alabaster. In the Casa di Octavius Quartio, these were the green-glazed statuettes. In the latter case the importance of material quite literally seems to have moved people, as their position and the way they were displayed guided the gaze to the public area of entertainment, the destination of guests of the house. The green glaze served as a visual attractor. It was, however, framed, situated in a dynamic space of the house, and did not serve to be more than glanced upon. 'Egypt' in this case triggered the audience by means of its material, which was experienced in a completely different way than the marble displayed in the house.

5.4.5 On place-making

Much can be learned about the structure of a society by analysing specific house structures, artefact assemblages, production and consumption, and by studying the interaction of various members of a household. There is an important creative power of the household as a collective, because through its physical boundaries it creates a strong, shared sense of belonging to each other and to a place, which is mutually reinforced. While the feeling of belonging not completely depends on physical space, a physical reference is much stronger than just being an imagined community.[1048] This means that the house does not reflect a social or cultural identity, but in fact creates one. Moreover, the household can be considered a unit of analysis which is not artificially confined but a phenomenological entity where material and the social fuse. However, while 'traditional' household approaches predominantly focused on micro-assemblages, on household production, or on social relations such as gender, a new strategy had to be designed to

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[1048] Consider the so-called 'imagined communities' advocated by Benedict Anderson 1991. Members of such a community albeit unaquainted can still have a very profound sense of belonging (e.g., with nation-states, religions).

analyse perception and agency. It was not only to aim at studying the artefacts within a holistic unity, but also focus on decorative patterns, material agency and the relationship Egyptian artefacts had within the social dynamics of the house. For this place-making was applied while shaped to the needs of this research. As stated above, place-making was meant to study the objects in their use-contexts, both on a spatial, a material, and a social level. Egyptian related artefacts should be studied along with all other objects in the context of dwelling, where people meet and live, where the objects acquire its value and meaning and act out their agency. As shown in the above two case studies place-making served to provide a more balanced picture for the perception and uses of Egyptian objects within a house. As an approach it was designed and adopted to fit in with the created theoretical framework and propositions and to provide a platform where object and concept could meet. The realities of the space, the walls, the light, the colours, and the objects were able to provide valuable information on the social conventions, cognitive schemata, concepts, and aesthetic preferences. Place does, of course, not only apply to houses, but also to any locus of the built- and non-built environment through which individual or group actions, experiences, intentions, and meanings are drawn together. Place-making is multivalent and dynamic. It is an organised complexity, and sophisticated synergy of intricately intertwined elements, processes, and relationships. In this way it acknowledges the complexities involved with dwelling as discussed in part 3.7, and its cognitive and physical interplays. Not only do people interact with and change their environment, this influence is of a dialectical nature. Place-making has furthmore shown the way the environment affects the way people think. The complex totality of environments, the partitioning of space into discrete categories, and the density of space has implications for cognition. Together they make the experience of objects for a viewer and user. Together they are able to show how different properties of objects (apart and together) influenced that viewer. The tools of the method are therefore considered appropriate to use in the contest of this thesis, for being able to recognise the object in all its intricate complexities and infer from it its pre-interpretative agencies. Place-making can be considered a valuable way of approaching domestic contexts. It allows room for a physical reality which is able to influence human behaviour while respecting the social realities, subjective experiences, and subconscious dealings involved in using a space. As argued it is important

to bring together environmental and cognitive studies, in order to clearly reflect and advocate place-making as a methodology.

The individual tools applied in the present chapter; configuration analysis, visibility analysis, agent analysis, pattern analysis, and object analysis, were all selected because they could contribute directly to the focus of dwelling on a more metaphysical level and on a pragmatic level applicable to the context of the house. Together, these tools not only have contributed to housing studies as discussed above but also to the contextualisation and interpretation of Egyptian artefacts. Firstly, the individual tools in this respect had proved to be especially useful as complementary methods. The two case studies displayed different ways of structuring space, the Casa degli Amorini Dorati (primarily by means of differentiation in decorative schemes and pavement types) and the Casa di Octavius Quartio (by means of configuration). Both have placed much emphasis on controlling spaces.

It could be observed that using space syntax' access analysis was not sufficient on its own to expose all the details in the complex social conventions within the Roman house. Nevertheless the addition of object analysis and pattern analysis formed a successful complement to the methodology to understand the complex workings of domestic contexts. The spatial layout of Roman houses appeared to be shallow, open and integrated. The need was great to differentiate privacy, and social rules in terms of decoration and not in the configuration of space.[1049] It is therefore suitable to study space-human related issues (e.g., interaction potential, interaction with the exterior, interaction with strangers, issues of public and privacy) However, in order to learn about how houses were experienced and how they structured relationships and behaviour it is necessary to include all material culture available. The results of space syntax' analyses were only in part a reflection of the Roman house and its social experience. Apparently, when compared to other structures, Roman houses reveal an incredible emphasis on the relation between those living in the house, and those visiting. However, in contrast to numerous examples subjected to access analysis, Roman houses are, on the one hand, much more open configurationally and, on the other hand, display a huge complexity by means of decoration,

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[1049] However, it is incorrect to assume that access analysis has the limitation of working from modern terms of visitor and inhabitant as stated by Von Stackelberg 2009, 59. As the method does not have those concepts embedded in its methodology it is suitable for application in issues such as privacy, and the method clearly indicates that in Pompeii privacy was experienced very differently.

objects, and the differences in light and heights. Moreover, as noted in the introduction, the notion of privacy is a problematic concept for Pompeii. This was a prime example to illustrate that such things are less universally experienced than sometimes assumed.

Grahame and Watts did not discover many solid patterns by means of their applied access and pattern analysis to dictate a clear universal structure in use. This does not point to a paradox so much as it does to the core social values in Roman housing, which differ from modern domestic contexts. Pompeii was a culturally open society with ample room for differentiation and freedom when decorating one's interior (to be observed, for instance, in how Egypt was used in both houses), and houses were indeed quite individualised units. However, at the same time there was a high degree of control necessary and a rigid set of social rules in order to keep open societies effective. Different houses received people in different ways; however, the need to control and regulate these visitors was equally present in all houses. A society which is very open, with a semi-public space such as an atrium needs a high degree of social controllability. Privacy however, was sought for, and became more visible not from visibility and accessibility, but as a combination of these accompanied by intricate material signs. The tools included in the place-making perspective had the great additional value of highlighting the diversity in expressing the similar social values of Roman domestic contexts. Pattern-analysis in combination with the agency of material culture illustrated both how rules were present in the material and how the mundane background could be the creating factor of social values and cultural values, as it also shaped how other interiors were experienced and thus how Egyptian artefacts were experienced.

5.4.6 Conclusion

In conclusion to chapter 5 it can be stated that including an analytical chapter on a holistic material-social entity such as the Roman house has proved fruitful with regards to the investigation of Egyptian related artefacts, mainly because it was possible to add a social component to the discussion of the meaning, use, and perception of the artefacts under investigation. This discussion ties in with the discussion of the agency the Egyptian object has as such and its consequences for Roman viewers. An important methodological proposition in the present thesis was to separate the thingness and the thing from what is thought of it. Not to strip it off its meanings or intentions, but to carefully study the various layers of

perceptions involved. The pre-interpretative perceptions of the statues, in use and passing, mattered and were able to affect viewers. The statuette of Horus was deliberately placed in a corner of the shrine dedicated to Isis. However, as a thing it did something. Although not consciously experienced by viewers, the shininess of the polished stone, its colour and the material itself, gave the first impression even before people knew, recognised, or were informed it was Egyptian. Material has come forward in this chapter as an important perception layer, together with aesthetic perception and value-making. Moreover it showed that even in the cases that Egypt could be used as something other or exotic, it was socially embedded.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION, THE INTEGRATION AND AGENCY OF EGYPT IN ROMAN POMPEII

The purpose of this dissertation was to obtain a better image of the use, integration, and perception of Egyptian artefacts in the domestic contexts of Pompeii. It did not so much wish to give 'Egypt' back a place as a cultural influence amongst Roman material culture by arguing it was also important next to 'Greek' artefacts or Greek culture. On the contrary, it wished to deconstruct such cultural labels within the context of the daily use of objects. In the introduction it was already stated that this would not be a straightforward task, because the modern concept of Egypt and its accompanying visual and material associations caused scholarship to develop a strong preconception of what exactly the Egyptian entailed, what it looked like, and what it meant. It was this preconception however, that lead to an interesting issue about how objects are able to influence our idea about how the world appears to human beings, how people seem to respond automatically to situations such as interpreting Egypt, and how easily people are complementing missing things from their own obtained knowledge picked up from the surrounding lived environment. The example from the Iseum Campense reconstruction by Trabacchi and Gatteschi (fig. 1.1 from the introduction) served as a first realisation of this hermeneutical issue and formed the starting point for the enquiry.

The historiographical chapter (2) tried to frame the problem of the way this Iseum reconstruction was made. First by tracing so-called 'Egypt out of Egypt', sketching a diachronic overview of the spread of Egyptian artefacts that were found in contexts outside Egypt, but even more so by studying how was dealt with the concept of Egypt and the process of interpreting 'exotica' for these different contexts. It appeared that the long period of presence of Egyptian material in non-Egyptian contexts yielded a diverse array of objects. From the Bronze Age onwards, things we call Egyptian, and things that are meant to look Egyptian, can be found at various sites in the Near East, Aegean, and Mediterranean area. Regarding the incredible

diversity of these objects, it seemed that there was no specific idea or image of Egypt present in history that was so sustainable that it leads to the adoption of a particular Egyptian object or style. Egypt could mean something else for all the different societies involved. This seems quite straightforward, but it is of importance to stipulate the actual flexibility of the concept. The idea of Egypt was never a fixed concept, but dependent on who thought about it. Egypt as it is employed throughout history is a constantly re-invented idea based on environmental situatedness. From this it could be concluded that our currently employed concepts of Egypt likewise are dependent on the intrinsic thoughts and material derived from culture and society, and has nothing to do with Egypt per se. That this is not something which is always taken into account when scholars study 'exotic' objects was made clear as well, as the interpretations of Aegyptiaca and exotica throughout history have had many difficulties concerning cultural labels. Calling objects Egyptian, or Punic, or Oriental never takes enough account of how the societies involved dealt with these artefacts. However, the way they were made, or the choices that were made regarding specific imports, says something valuable about that society. This realisation argued strongly in favour for a contextual and horizontal (meaning intra-society and not diachronically tracing Egypt and thereby regarding it as one bounded entity) approach to such artefacts.

Because it was established that the idea Egypt is a fluid concept, chapter 2 was also aimed at finding where our present image of it was derived from. This appeared to be quite specific. The visual image of Egypt has never been as strong as in present society, through movies, art, and museums. Especially museums appeared to have played a pivotal in the creation of our modern day concept of Egypt and Egyptian material culture. Museum collections, once created from nationalistic perspectives, were able to re-make the image of ancient Egypt for Western Europe. They not only selected what we think that Egypt should entail visually, but also separated its artefacts carefully from all other cultural styles, making that we nowadays have come to think of Egypt as something alien and special, while at the same time it was made recognisable through its specific visuality. The process of alienating Egypt and ability to recognise Egypt is called *artefaction,* and this has influenced both the trained and untrained modern observer to employ a projection we are not even consciously aware of we have it. However, because it occurs by visual association and concerns an automatic response it has affected the study of Aegyptiaca for the past

profoundly. Moreover, the interpretations done for Roman Aegyptiaca, presented an unsophisticated construction. A religious interpretation of these artefacts could be considered a too restraining interpretation regarding the heterogeneity of the artefacts and the contexts in which they are used. Egyptomania and exoticism are likewise problematic, because it constantly classifies objects as being foreign to a society and because it does not take account of the different ways that Egyptian artefacts could be employed and integrated. The largest issue with these interpretations however, was the assumption that for a Roman audience, Aegyptiaca contained a clearly bounded set of objects that was conceptually understood as Egyptian and as a category.

Chapter 3 was therefore devoted to finding a way to get around *artefaction*, and to move instead to the study of perception. Only then it would be possible to obtain a clearer image of what Egyptian artefacts might have meant for a Roman audience and whether this indeed could still be connected to Egypt. To get closer to the emic uses of Egypt, Egypt should be discarded as an *a priori* categorisation, for this fills in what we do not know yet. Because in the case of Aegyptiaca the idea is so strong and becomes automatically projected, the solution was found in trying to methodologically separate thing from idea, to unravel the object and the concept in different layers, study how these affected each other, and look at its influence on perception. Instead of employing Egypt as a top-down concept, material properties, iconography, colour, size, and context should be studied, and the different layers that go behind perception should be dichotomised. Within this disentanglement, it was tried to get back in a way to a pre-enlightenment situation in which thought and environment were not as radically separated as they are today. All humans and non-humans are constituted in one relational field and this is where appropriation takes place and meaning is constructed. Approaching the dataset in this way, through deconstruction and the use of network visualization, it became possible to investigate the connection between objects and Egypt instead of investigating objects as Egyptian. The research was therefore greatly aided in taking up relationality as an ontological framework, such as was explicated in chapter 3. It was furthermore helped by a concept such as materiality, as it argues that the object itself is not only thought of, or works as a symbol, it actually forms the way we think as well. By choosing to avoid the binary oppositions

between the material and the cultural it became in fact possible to focus on the process of human thing and thing-environment interaction.

Next to the different parts and how these affected the totality of perception, the sum of those parts and how they were created through their environment was also of concern. This was attempted with a completely different instrument than through deconstruction and networks. By using place-making as the analysis of dwelling, intentional value-making processes and the meaning and use of artefacts from a holistic phenomenological perspective were analysed. Within this approach, the social-spatial context of the house, and the interaction between its inhabitants, their behaviour, and the material culture was considered the main focus. The methodology as a whole therefore was aimed first at separating the different components to deconstruct the category of Aegyptiaca, and secondly focused on a re-placing of the objects in the contexts in which they were used. This resulted in two different analytical chapters that both yielded their own results with regards to how objects were perceived in domestic contexts and specifically how 'Egypt' was treated therein.

Chapter 4 unraveled the category of Aegyptiaca by separating different types of artefacts that were usually shared under this denominator. Examples of artefact groups were selected to be analysed.[1050] On the accounts of an initial network visualisation created in part 4.1 these categories could be selected accordingly, as they already showed significant variances in the way and in the contexts they were applied. The results from disentangling the categories had surprising results, not only with regards to how the concept of Egypt was used, and how Egyptian artefacts were integrated in Pompeian society, but also how object identification and perception work on a more general level.

With respect to integration of objects and concepts chapter 4 exposed a diverse and dynamic pattern. Studying how Egyptian artefacts, or better artefacts connected to Egypt, were integrated in Roman Pompeii showed an interesting image of how such incorporation processes actually function. And the most important conclusion in that respect was the observation that what became selected from the array of 'the exotic' and how that subsequently became appropriated, was dependent on how something was recognised and with what other artefacts it became associated with from those objects and

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[1050] These groups consisted of: representations of Egyptian deities (4.2), statuettes (4.3), the figure of Bes and Ptah (4.4), Egypt as a style (4.5), and Nilotic scenes (4.6).

images which were already present in society. Things can become cognitively enmeshed because they are recognised in a certain way. The table foot with an Egyptian sphinx became used as such, because table supports in general were decorated with *mischwesen* and the sphinx fitted in this context. The specific way that pygmies featured in scenes of everyday life, was because through their physical resemblance, they could be linked to cupids in wall paintings which were used for the same purpose. And even though the grey stone slab displaying hieroglyphs that became to be used as a threshold might have been chosen because it appeared exotic, or because one wanted to show their affiliation with the Isis cult, the fact that the slab was re-used as a threshold exactly was because the form, the size, the shape, the material and the colour was identical to other common grey lava-made thresholds in Pompeii. One of the conclusions this thesis proposes, therefore, is that things were not used in a certain way because they were considered strange; they were selected because they were considered familiar in a specific way, which dictated their future use.

Egypt is therefore not an exotic and external feature of the Roman world and its material culture. To say that Egypt was a completely integrated phenomenon that was always considered Roman-or was never considered at all-, however, is equally oversimplifying the matter. It can be considered valuable in this respect to observe the circumstances of the occasion when a thing does *not* become integrated. Because there also seems to have been limits to the integration of Egypt, however, only in particular cases and contexts. That such limits existed became clear by constantly comparing Egyptian objects to other artefacts and images from Pompeii that could not be culturally linked to Egypt. What was notably different for instance was the way Isis and the Isiac deities were used as artefacts and imagery and the way Isis was present in the collective memory of Pompeians in comparison to Venus. When Isis as image and object was observed in Pompeii, it seemed that she was conceived in these cases only as a representation, meaning not a deity itself, but a statue or a painting of a deity. She remained a static presence in Pompeii, and when she was painted, she was always painted specifically as a statuette in a domestic shrine, sometimes even with a painted shrine included as to emphasise this idea. The one time that Isis became conveyed in a dynamic and lifelike situation (in the *Ekklesiasterion* of the Isis temple) this could only be made possible through using the Greek myth of Io. That this specific static reception is related to Isis (or at least

with the period in which Isis was adopted as a Roman deity) and not a general phenomenon, could be concluded when Isis was compared with Venus. Venus did appear in a great variety of dynamic positions and in human-like postures and situations. The difference might have to do with the period of integration into the Roman pantheon, which was much later for Isis than for Venus. This view was sustained by the comparison between representations of Isis and Mithras. Both Mithras and Isis were adopted as cults somewhere around the first century BC and the way their images were used within material culture of the Roman world, Mithras seems to have been cognitively incorporated in a comparable way to Isis.

This example of the Roman Pompeian conception of Isis can be regarded an automatic and a subconscious response to a concept. Isis was not deliberately singled out, she was just conveyed differently. Another side of the integration process witnessed however, was more intentional and concerned the limits in perception, which could be well illustrated through analysing Egypt as a style. Although there were not many objects that could be listed as displaying a cultural style connected to pharaonic Egypt, those that could were revealing with regard to style use and perception. Because through the study of Egyptian-style something valuable about the perception of Roman wall painting was discovered. Egypt was recognised as a different style, and could be used accordingly, however, never as internally perceived feature in Roman wall painting, but only *as* a style. Both in the sense of concepts, such as Isis, and even more with style, there is a difference in how things are perceived, and whether that was experienced as intrinsic (regarded as belonging inherently to one's own world) or extrinsic (seen as alien to the home culture). The way that Egypt as a style was implemented in the walls of Pompeii could only occur through consciously placing outside the 'reality' of the picture (the imagery rendered in Graeco-Roman style). Comparable to Isis, Egyptian style could not be used to paint something that was living, but could only appear as an architectural feature that was framed from the rest of the picture, or conveyed as a statue.[1051] However, an important note with regards to Egypt as a concept is that in the case of Egyptian style it belongs to a larger phenomenon of stylistic perception of Roman wall painting, as the same architectural framing could be witnessed when Archaic Greek style was employed in the Villa della Farnesina. That might also be the reason why we see Egypt as a style appearing after the

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[1051] Such as in the case with the Egyptian sphinx, which was always painted as a statue of a sphinx, and the Greek sphinx, which was also depicted as a living creature.

introduction of the Third Pompeian Style which introduced such architectural frames, thereby making it possible to single out deviant styles from the rest of the painting. This means that the appearance of Pharaonic styles in wall painting after this period might had less to do with Augustus capturing Egypt or with Egyptomania which was always assumed, but rather with the perception of wall painting in general and their changing possibilities through developments in painting.

Next to an unconscious level of perception in the case with Isis, and the limits to the use of a deviant style in relation to how wall paintings were perceived by a Roman audience, a further level of integration that was noted through the analyses in chapter 4 contained a case where the foreignness of Egypt was deliberately used to convey a certain message. It could be argued for instance, that the sexually aberrant scenes that were sometimes shown within Nilotic imagery, could be rendered in this way specifically, because it considered non-Roman figures in a foreign setting. While Nilotic scenes are as diversely employed and experienced as the category of Aegyptiaca itself, the pygmies displaying sexual behaviour against an explicit foreign setting, show a case of an intentional use of the non-Romanness of an image in order to stretch the boundaries of accepted behaviour in wall painting.

To conclude, by using Egypt as a heuristic tool the research was able to uncover many of the intricacies of integration and appropriation processes, and revealed that the premises of how something becomes integrated consisted of a complex interplay between the properties of material culture within the artefacts and the material culture already present in society.

On a more general level, chapter 4 observed an important development with regards to object interpretation and iconography. A discrepancy was noted between how archaeologists interpret artefacts and subsequently group these together, and how this was done in antiquity. This was discovered when different materialisations of Bes were analysed. Generally, contexts that contained green-glazed statuettes of Bes were automatically linked to the Isis cult, because our modern conception of Bes cognitively links this figure via Egypt to Isis. However, it is not certain whether these associations were experienced in the same way in Roman Pompeii, for the simple reason that there probably was no concept of 'Bes' present. The analysis showed that a multitude of understandings of this dwarf figure were employed, and not all of them were connected to Egypt, let alone to Isis. When contextually reviewed, no single statuette could for instance be associated with a cultic

context, nor in private domains, nor in the sanctuary of Isis. Although there is a strong modern connection between Isis and Bes, and there exists a conceptual relation between Bes (as a painting) and Isis in the Isis temple, there is no cognitive connection between Bes *statuettes* and the cult of Isis. Figure 6.1 show a simplified schematic version of how concepts and objects are related. A similar phenomenon was observed between wall paintings in the Iseum, that could depict Hellenistic sphinxes, and objects in the Iseum, which had to look authentically Egyptian. Objects and concepts cannot be taken as automatically linked phenomena. This makes clear why it is important to work with associational proximate networks and accept heterogeneity in material culture, and to methodologically separate not only concepts from objects, but also objects from contexts and objects from material properties. An important thesis underlying the methodology of this research was that people in Pompeii did not perceive artefacts in the way researchers dealt and deal with them.
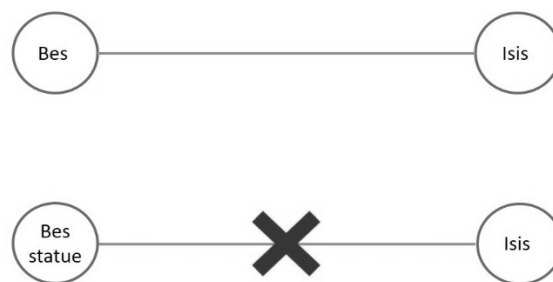
Fig. 6.1) An example from one of the analytical chapters (part 4.4) to show that concepts and objects cannot be attributed to similar categories of use and perception. Connections between these entities should not be based on the knowledge of the modern observer but be approached from the contextual evidence of the environment.

This seems a truism, but when it comes to studying use and perception of material this hermeneutic differentiation is seldom taken into account. It not only counts for how things are interpreted by scholars, but also, or mainly, the very fact *that* things become interpreted. What is of concern in this respect is on what level things become reflected upon and on what level they are just used. This last fact is important, also for the impact of Egypt as a cultural factor in a Roman context. People did not interpret consciously all the objects from their house, they were often simply used. The social interaction between visitor and owner could change this to a more reflective perception. Within the Roman house, all the objects therefore carried

different and dynamic perceptional sets of value with their own social and temporal dimensions.

In the end, the contexts, the different integration processes, and the different associative trajectories of the objects from the database in the material networks proved that Aegyptiaca were not a conceptual category for the Romans. In the case a connection with Egypt was present, it could be observed from the way these objects were used, that a multitude of concepts related to Egypt were employed. And in some cases it could be stated that an object, although it could easily be listed as Egyptian by a scholar (because it came from Egypt for example), was not conceptually related to Egypt at all by the user. Moreover the connection was not related to the object itself, because similar looking objects could be used in the one case as something Egyptian together with other Egyptian artefacts, and in the other case without any realisation that it was an Egyptian artefact. This demonstrates that object meaning and the way objects look, cannot be the decisive factor by which objects become classified. This is something that only the context can reveal.

Chapter 5 therefore was utilised to scrutinise further the objects in their contexts. Contextual research means that not only Egyptian objects can be applied to form an argument of the use of Egypt as a cultural influence in Roman houses, but only when *all* objects are studied inclusively one can see what Egyptian artefacts meant. A holistic methodology called place-making, tried to analyse together the materiality and the conceptual workings of the house as a physical and psychological unit, by making use of a variety of analytical tools such as space syntax and pattern analysis. The two case studies that were selected, the Casa degli Amorini Dorati and the Casa di Octavius Quartio, showed the different ways of how Egyptian related artefacts could be used in house, but especially demonstrated that meaning and perception could only become clearer arguing from a social framework and not from a cultural one. Place-making appeared to be a suitable orientation in close connection to the theoretical premises that were set out in chapter three, and comprised tools aimed at capturing the relation between material and meaning. Both general observations on how objects and decoration were able to structure the use of space -which appeared to be quite different for the two case studies - and observations with regards to the use of Egypt, could be made through the analysis.

First of all, Egyptian artefacts were both employed in notable diverse ways within the two houses. In the Casa degli Amorini Dorati Egypt-related objects were used as a strictly cultic phenomenon, where the artefacts were only attested within the boundaries of their specially designed house altar. In the Casa di Octavius Quartio the finds were more distributed through the house and were used to add, all in their own way, to the different atmospheres of the two garden contexts. The inhabitants of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati deliberately abstained from using anything Egyptian in the garden, probably because their employment of Egypt was a seriously cult-connected phenomenon for them, while the other house used Egypt as decorative garden display within more playful settings. However, regardless of these differences in use, both the houses show that Egypt could be employed like any other valuable artefact important within the social processes of value-making and the expression of status, wealth, and knowledge. The Casa degli Amorini Dorati used a large variety of 'stuff' they considered special, such as imports, antiques, and precious materials like a large collection of differently coloured marbles, obsidian, white marble statues, and an alabaster figurine of Horus. Egypt was an inherent part of this particular process of self-expression in the Roman house. The same holds for the Casa di Octavius Quartio, whose inhabitants displayed a marble sphinx and a large quantity of green glazed artefacts in the most important social spaces in their house.

Concerning the discussion on authenticity, on import and copy, or on Egyptian versus Egyptianising artefacts, the bottom-up analysis of the artefacts in their contexts was able to present a more nuanced view. Use was different between contexts, such as within houses, bars, or in the sanctuary of Isis, but also in form, object and material. The distinction only mattered in specific contexts, and even in those cases it was not uniform. For example, n the one hand, in particular cases it seemed that imports might have been of concern, such as was the case with the limestone stele or the *ushabty* from the Iseum. In these instances they seemed to have been directly connected to ritual use. One the other hand however, the Isis sanctuary also displayed a locally crafted terracotta sphinx statue that was made in an Egyptian style in which it evidently did not matter whether it was an import or not. The concern for authenticity depended on the particular functions of the objects.

By studying the artefacts in their social contexts an important observation was made with respect to the use and perception of material, something which has not always been at the forefront when archaeologists interpret Pompeian interiors and their contents, which are currently mostly interpreted according to iconography (and hence are forced employing terms like 'eclectic'). Whenever something referred to Egypt, archaeologists usually state it was their Egyptianness that made it exotic and desirable. However, the statue of Horus in the Casa degli Amorini Dorati seemed to have been selected not for its iconography, which was unknown in Italy, but also for its material alabaster and partly for its deviant style. The glazed statuettes in the peristyle garden of the Casa di Octavius Quartio were special not only because they represented Bes and a pharaoh, but foremost because they displayed a notable green glaze. That is why five of such statues were placed together in a place where they would be mostly regarded for the way they appeared as material and as object group (framed behind walls in a trough-route to the triclinium or biclinium) rather than for their individual iconographical meaning. The marble Egyptian-styled sphinx was placed together with the marble statues at the upper canal, as a marble statue, not as an Egyptian sphinx. It seems that the experience and value of material in relation to the spatial context is something which was clearly of considerable significance for the Roman user and observer.

As chapter four sketched the conditions and limits of integration, chapter 5 showed the social component of appropriation and perception. It can be argued that not only the way objects were shaped, of what material they were made of, or which objects could be associated with familiar things, but that the context itself could have been an important factor of integration as well. The fact that Egypt in its diverse guises became adopted in domestic contexts made Egyptian objects to be perceived as less foreign and alien and aided in becoming a part of the Self. Just because the safety of the home is an extension of a personal identity, objects in houses naturally become perceived as belonging to the personal, and the familiar. Therefore employing Egypt in domestic contexts might have been a stronger force of integration than the display of Egyptian artefacts in sanctuaries or in public imperial contexts, because those were both aimed at creating a distance between the observer and the content. Sanctuaries intented at creating a sense of otherworldliness for spiritual gain, and objects associated with such a context would always be regarded as alien. Within imperial contexts, such as the obelisks, the pyramid of Cestius in Rome, or the statues at the Canopus

in Tivoli, a distance is also created, this time between ordinary men and those with supreme power and fortune. The size, material, and grandeur of the objects of course aid in this too, but also the way they were disclosed to the public. The obelisk and the pyramid stayed partly foreign in a social sense because they were not meant for common people to own, they were meant to admire from an appropriate distance those people who could display them and their social meaning made them unusable in a domestic context. However, the Egyptian objects that were present in homes did bring Egypt closer, solely by their presence in houses, even in those rare cases when it initially was deployed to represent something exotic.

Therefore it can be concluded that concerning the objects, Egypt could as much be a part of the 'Self' as it could be of the 'Other'. Egypt is more complex as a concept, and objects are not just the transmitters of ideas. Concepts cannot unequivocally be projected on objects; they have different agencies of their own. The problem seems to lie for the greater part with us, the interpreter. In future research to objects with a strong cultural connotation therefore, methods should be designed to allow for the ontological balance between ideas and things. It is not the fact that the objects from the database could not have been regarded as exotica, or that they were not religious, or that they were not seen as Egyptian, the problem is, because of our own engagement with the concept of Egypt, that we cannot make such assumptions *a priori*.

As can be seen, Egyptian artefacts could be perceived and used in many different and complex ways, and even the fact whether they were consciously regarded as Egyptian, or consciously regarded at all, depends on the context in which they were used. The first analyses executed in chapter 4 showed the possibilities in which the artefacts could be understood and subsequently how they could be integrated, the second set of analyses carried out in chapter 5 subsequently showed how they were used in the context of everyday social life. It can be stated therefore, that through all the different ways these objects were used, the power of Egypt was working. The piano at the Mesolithic site of Lepenski Vir shown in figure 3.2 asked the question whether Egypt in Pompeii was the piano or whether it belonged to the surrounding everyday objects that were unconsciously used at the site. The answer is that in a way, Egypt was domesticated, and even as still being partly 'a piano at a Mesolithic site' it had been given a social role, therefore it was not completely alien. Furthermore, part of the unconsciously used

objects did also become Egyptian. Through the analysis it has become clear that by its use and function within different networks, Egypt could become concealed as a layer of perception. The Egyptian perception of an object should therefore be considered relative to a number of factors, such as the viewer, spatial context, time and function. The perception of the same object can change; its 'Egyptianness' can become concealed, to be revealed again in another context. Things that were unreflectively used and ready-at-hand for someone could suddenly become present again in perception and consciously reflected upon when a stranger invited for dinner beheld it. Meaning and value are no constants, they are fluid entities which are formed, reformed, and transformed within a complex network of spatial, social and material relations. However, it could be seen that even when a thing was not used or perceived consciously as something Egyptian, Egypt still had an effect, an effect independent of human consciousness. Because it became associated with familiar things, thresholds, griffin table supports, and fountain-paintings, it became part of the internal reference frame. It added more ties to the cognitive networks of people, and other things Egyptian through this process could become associated with what was familiar. In careful steps images of foreign gods, objects made of faience and alabaster, Nilotic landscapes and furniture depicting sphinxes, all had the effect of stretching what was conceived as acquainted, stretching Romanness one could say. However, not all, and in compartmentalised and temporal ways. Because in so many ways the Egyptian became hidden for the conscious eye and because objects were not appropriated for being Egyptian any longer, but valued and perceived as something religious, or as a garden ornament, or as a dwarf figure, or landscape painting, or a choice within apotropaic statuary, or within fountains. By its concealment Egypt was hidden though present and able to change the view on what was their own and what was foreign. By using things in domestic contexts especially, a deeper connectedness and familiarity was created between people and their world and a constant dealing with objects and their diverging connections enmeshed Egypt, each in their own unique ways, in Roman culture.

APPENDIX A

Aegyptiaca from Pompeii

AEGYPTIACA FROM POMPEII				
object	subject	database no.	location	house name
wall painting	nilotic scene	1	I 2,24	
painting	nilotic scene	2	I 6,2	Casa del Criptoportico
wall painting	nilotic scene	3	I 6,15	Casa dei Ceii
wall painting	nilotic scene	4	I 7,11	Casa dell'Efebo
mosaic	nilotic scene	5	I 7,1	Casa di Paquius Procolus
table support	sphinx	6	VI 12,2	Casa del Fauno
mosaic	nilotic scene	7	VI 12,2	Casa del Fauno
wall painting	nilotic scene	8	I 7,11	Casa dell'Efebo
wall painting	nilotic scene	9	I 10,4	Casa del Menandro
mosaic emblema	nilotic scene	10	I 10,4	Casa del Menandro
wall painting	nilotic scene	11	II 4,2	praedia di Giulia Felice
wall painting	nilotic scene	12	II 4,2	praedia di Giulia Felice
wall painting	nilotic scene	13	II 4,2	praedia di Giulia Felice
painting	nilotic scene	14	II 9,2	
wall painting	nilotic scene	15	II 9,4	
wall painting	nilotic scene	16	V 2,i	Casa delle Nozze d'Argento
wall painting	nilotic scene	17	V 2,i	Casa delle Nozze d'Argento
wall painting	nilotic scene	18	V 2,i	Casa delle Nozze d'Argento
wall painting	nilotic scene	19	V 2,i	Casa delle Nozze d'Argento
wall painting	nilotic scene	20	VI 2,4	Casa di Sallustio
wall painting	nilotic scene	21	VI 2,4	Casa di Sallustio
wall painting	Egyptian gods	22	VI 2,14	Casa delle Amazzoni
wall painting	nilotic scene	23	VI 5	
wall painting	nilotic scene	24	VI 9,6/7	Casa dei Dioscuri
mosaic	nilotic scene	25	VI 17,42	Casa del Bracciale d'oro
wall painting	nilotic scene	26	VII 1,8	Terme Stabiane
wall painting	nilotic scene	27	VII 1,8	Terme Stabiane
wall painting	nilotic scene	28	VII 1,8	Terme Stabiane
wall painting	nilotic scene	29	VII 1,8	Terme Stabiane
wall painting	nilotic scene	30	VII 2,25	Casa delle Quadrighe
wall painting	nilotic scene	31	VII 2,25	Casa delle Quadrighe
wall painting	nilotic scene	32	VII 2,25	Casa delle Quadrighe
wall painting	nilotic scene	33	VII 4,48	Casa della Caccia antica
wall painting	nilotic scene	34	VII 4,48	Casa della Caccia antica
wall painting	nilotic scene	35	VII 4,48	Casa della Caccia antica
mosaic	nilotic scene	36	VII 4,56	Casa del Granduca/della Fontana
wall painting	nilotic scene	37	VII 16,19	Casa di Ma. Castricus
wall painting	nilotic scene	38	VIII 2,17	Terme del Sarno
wall painting	nilotic scene	39	VIII 2,28	Casa con ninfeo

wall painting	nillotic scene	40	VIII 2,34	Casa delle colombe a mosaico
mosaic	nilotic scene	41	VIII 3,8/9	Casa del Cinghiale I
wall painting	nilotic scene	42	VIII 5,24	Casa del Medico
wall painting	nilotic scene	43	VIII 5,24	Casa del Medico
wall painting	nilotic scene	44	VIII 7,24	Casa dello Scultore
wallpainting	nilotic scene	45	IX 5,9	Casa dei Pigmei
wall painting	nilotic scene	46	IX 5,9	Casa dei Pigmei
wall painting	nilotic scene	47	__	unknown
wall painting	nilotic scene	48	IX 5,14	
wallpainting	nilotic scene	49	IX 6	
wall painting	nilotic scene	50	IX 8,6	Casa del Centenario
wall painting	nilotic scene	51	IX 8,6	Casa del Centenario
wall painting	nilotic scene	52	IX 8,6	Casa del Centenario
wall painting	nilotic scene	53	__	Terme Suburbane
wall painting	nilotic scene	54	__	Terme Suburbane
wall painting	nilotic scene	55	__	Villa dei Misteri
wall painting	nilotic scene	56	__	Villa dei Misteri
wall painting	nilotic scene	57	__	Villa di Diomede
wall painting	nilotic scene	58	VI 7,23	Casa di Apollo
wall painting	nilotic scene	59	VI 7,23	Casa di Apollo
table support	sphinx	60	VI 16,15	Casa dell'Ara Massima
vase	krater	61	VI 16,15	Casa dell'Ara Massima
cup	Isis	62	II 7,0	Palaestra
cup	Isis	63	II 7,0	Palaestra
statuette	Isis	65	I 7,7	Casa di Sacerdos
statuette	Isis-Fortuna	66	V 3,3	
statuette	Isis-Fortuna	67	V 6	
statuette	Isis	68	VI 14,27	Casa di Memmius Auctus
head	Isis	69	VI 9,6/7	Casa dei Dioscuri
statuette	Isis-Fortuna	70	VI 16,7	Casa degli Amorini Dorati
statuette	Isis-Fortuna	71	VII 2,18	Casa di C. Vibius Italus
statuette	Isis-Fortuna	72	VII 3,35	shop
statuette	Isis-Fortuna	73	VII 4,11	shop
statuette	Isis-Fortuna	74	IX 3,2	
statuette	Isis-Hygiea	75	IX 8,6	Casa del Centenario
Statuette	Isis-Panthe	76	__	Villa di Cn. Domitius Auctus
statuette	Isis-Fortuna	77	__	villa rustica
statuette	Isis-Demeter	78	__	villa rustica
statuette	Isis-Fortuna	79	__	Villa rustica of Asellius
statuette	Isis-Fortuna	80	__	Villa rustica of Asellius
statuette	Isis-Fortuna	81	__	Pompeian countryside
statuette	Isis-Fortuna	82	__	unknown
statuette	Isis-Fortuna	83	__	unknown
bust	Isis	85	I 2,17	shop
bust	Isis	86	I 2,20	shop
statuette	Harpocrates	87	V 3,11	
statuette	Harpocrates	88	V 3,11	
statuette	Harpocrates	89	VI 14,27	Casa di Memmius Auctus
statuette	Horus	90	VI 16,7	Casa degli Amorini Dorati
statuette	Harpocrates	91	VII 3,11	Casa del Doppio Larario

statuette	Harpocrates	92	VIII 2,39	Casa di Giuseppe II
statuette	Harpocrates	93	IX 5,3	shop
statuette	Harpocrates	94	__	villa rustica
statuette	Harpocrates	95	__	villa rustica
statuette	Harpocrates	96	__	unknown
statuette	Harpocrates	97	__	unknown
statuette	Zeus-Serapis	98	__	basilica
statuette	Anubis	99	VI 14,27	Casa di Memmius Auctus
lamp	Bes	100	I 18,4	
necklace	Isis-Fortuna, Harpocrates, and lotus	102	I 10,7	
necklace	Isis-Fortuna and snake	103	I 10,7	
ring	Isis	104	VI 15,1	Casa dei Vettii
amulet	Harpocrates	105	__	unknown
lamp	Isis	106	I 4,23	
lamp	half moon and star	107	V 4	
lamp	Egyptian deities	108	VI 16,7	Casa degli Amorini Dorati
lamp	Egyptian deities	109	VI 16,40	
lamp	Egyptian deities	110	__	unknown
sistrum		111	I 2,10	
necklace	Egyptian deities Bastet Harpocrates	112	V 3,11	
statuette	Ptah-Pataikos	113	VI 1,2	Caupona
statuette	Bes	114	__	unknown
waterspout	frog	115	V 2,1	Casa delle Nozze d'argento
statuette	crocodile	116	V 2,1	Casa delle Nozze d'argento
wall painting	pharaonic figures	117	VI 14,20	Casa di Orfeo
wall painting	pharaonic figures	118	VI 14,28	Casa di Laocoonte
wall painting	Apis bull	119	I 9,5	Casa del Frutteto
wall painting	pharaonic figures	120	I 9,5	Casa del Frutteto
wall painting	pharaonic figures	121	I 9,5	Casa del Frutteto
wall painting	Apis bull	122	I 9,5	Casa del Frutteto
wall painting	pharao	123	I 9,5	Casa del Frutteto
wall painting	pharaoh	124	I 9,5	Casa del Frutteto
wall painting	Hydria	125	I 9,5	Casa del Frutteto
wall painting	situla	126	I 9,5	Casa del Frutteto
wall painting	Isis procession	127	IX 8,6	Casa del Centenario
wall painting	pharaonic figures	128	IX 8,6	Casa del Centenario

wall painting	pharaonic figures	129	I 3,25	
wall painting	caryatids	130	__	unknown
wall painting	Egypt	131	IX 3,5	Casa di Marcus Lucretius
wall painting	caryatids	132	IX 3,5	Casa di Marcus Lucretius
wall painting	caryatids	133	IX 3,5	Casa di Marcus Lucretius
lararium	sistrum	134	I 13,12	
wall painting	Egyptian gods	136	VI 16,7	Casa degli Amorini Dorati
wall painting	sphinx	137	VI 17,42	Casa del Bracciale d'oro
wall painting	pharaonic figures	138	VI 17,42	Casa del Bracciale d'oro
wall painting	zeus-ammon	139	I 10,4	Casa del Menandro
wall painting	zeus-ammon	140	I 10,4	Casa del Menandro
statuette	harpocrates statuette	141	I 10,4	Casa del Menandro
Isis statuette	Isis	142	I 7,11	Casa dell'Efebo
wall painting	apis bull	143	VI 17,42	Casa del Bracciale d'oro
wall painting	egyptian figure	144	IX 3,5	Casa di Marcus Lucretius
wall painting	zeus-ammon	145	VI 17,42	Casa del Bracciale d'oro
statue	Isis	146	I 7,11	Casa dell'Efebo
sistrum		147	V 3,11	
sistrum		148	VII 2,18	Casa di C. Vibius Italus
sistrum		149	VII 2,18	Casa di C. Vibius Italus
sistrum		150	VII 4,13	shop
sistrum		151	VII 4,13	shop
sistrum		152	VII 4,13	shop
sistrum		153	VII 4,13	shop
sistrum		154	VIII 4,5	
sistrum		155	IX 8,6	Casa del Centenario
sistrum		156	__	Pompeian countryside
amulet	Isis	157	VI 16,28	
ring	Isis	158	IX 5,2	
amulet	Harpocrates	159	I 2,12	shop
amulet	Harpocrates	160	II 4,2	praedia di Giulia Felice
amulet	Harpocrates	161	V 3,11	
amulet	Harpocrates	162		
lamp	Egyptian deities	163	__	unknown
masque	harpocrates	164	__	Pompeian countryside
plaque	Egyptian deities	165	__	villa rustica
relief	ureus	166	I 2,3	
plaque	isis-fortuna	167	VIII 2,39	Casa di Giuseppe II
plaque		168	VIII 2,39	Casa di Giuseppe II
plaque	isis	169	VIII 2,39	Casa di Giuseppe II
vase	Isis	170	IX 6	
lamp	jupiter-ammon	171	I 7,1	Casa di Paquius Proculus
wall painting	Isis priest	172	II 2,2	Casa di Octavius Quartio
statuette	sphinx	173	II 2,2	Casa di Octavius Quartio
wall painting	Egyptian gods	174	II 4,3	Praedia di Julia Felice

statuette	Bes	175	VIII 5,39	Casa di Acceptus et Euhodis
statuette	Bes	176	II 2,2	Casa di Octavius Quartio
statuette	Bes	177	IX 3,5	Casa di Marcus Lucretius
statuette	Bes	178	I 14,8	bar
statuette	Ptah-Pataikos	179	VIII 5,39	Casa di Acceptus et Euhodis
statuette	pharaoh	180	II 2,2	Casa di Octavius Quartio
slab used as threshold	hieroglyphs-banket	181	VII 3,11	Casa del Doppio Larario
pyxis	pharaonic	182	IX 6,b	bar
herm	Jupiter-Ammon	183	II 1,12	Complesso dei Riti magici
wall painting	Isiac	186	V 3,4	
wall painting	Isis-Fortuna	187	V 4,3/5	
wall painting	Isis-Fortuna	188	IV 4,9	
wall painting	Reception of Io by Isis	189	VI 9,1	Casa di Duca d'Aumale
wall painting	Isiac	190	VII 3,29	Casa di M. Spuri Mesoris
wall painting	Isis-Hygie	191	VII 9,1	Edifice d'Eumachia
wall painting	Isis, Serapis, Harpocrates, Anubis	192	VIII 2,39	Casa di Giuseppe II
wall painting	Harpocrates	193	VIII 4,12	
wall painting	Isis-Fortuna	194	IX 3,10	pistrinum
wall painting	Isis, Harpocrates-Helios	195	IX 3,15	
wall painting	Isis-fortuna	196	IX 7,22	
statuette	crocodile	197	V 2,1	Casa delle Nozze d'argento
statuette	Harpocrates	198	V 4,3/5	
wall painting	Harpocrates	199		Casa di Giasone
wall painting	Isis procession	200		Casa delle Nozze d'Ercole
Vessel	Isis	201		Casa di Trittolemo
wall painting	pharaonic figure	202	VI 2,4	Casa di Sallustius

APPENDIX B

Distribution maps

1.Houses containing Nilotic imagery

Foldout map: Pompeii

Courtesy Dr. Hans Eschebach
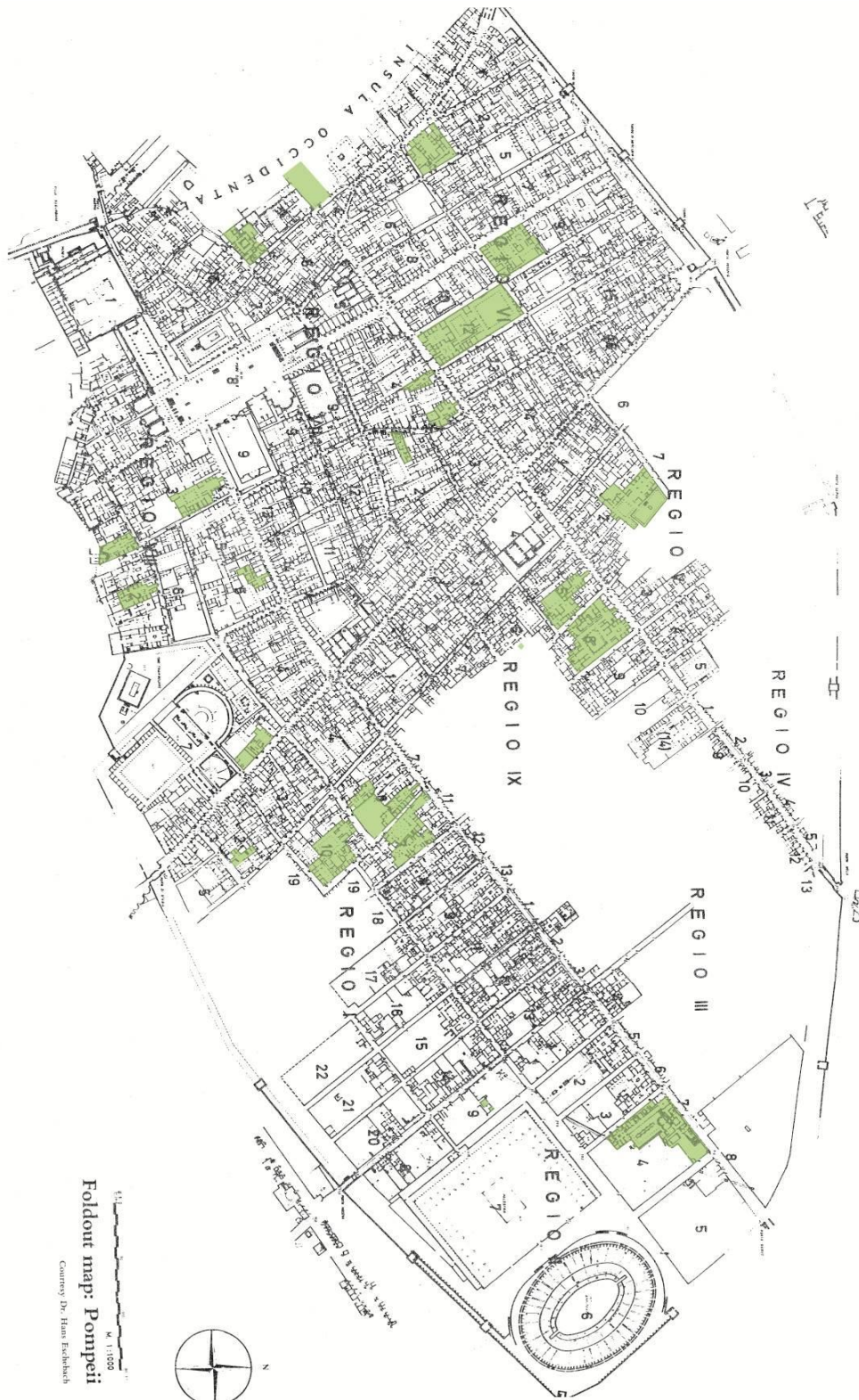
2.Houses containing Pharaonic imagery

Foldout map: Pompeii

Courtesy Dr. Hans Eschebach

3.Houses containing statuettes

Foldout map: Pompeii

Courtesy Dr. Hans Eschebach

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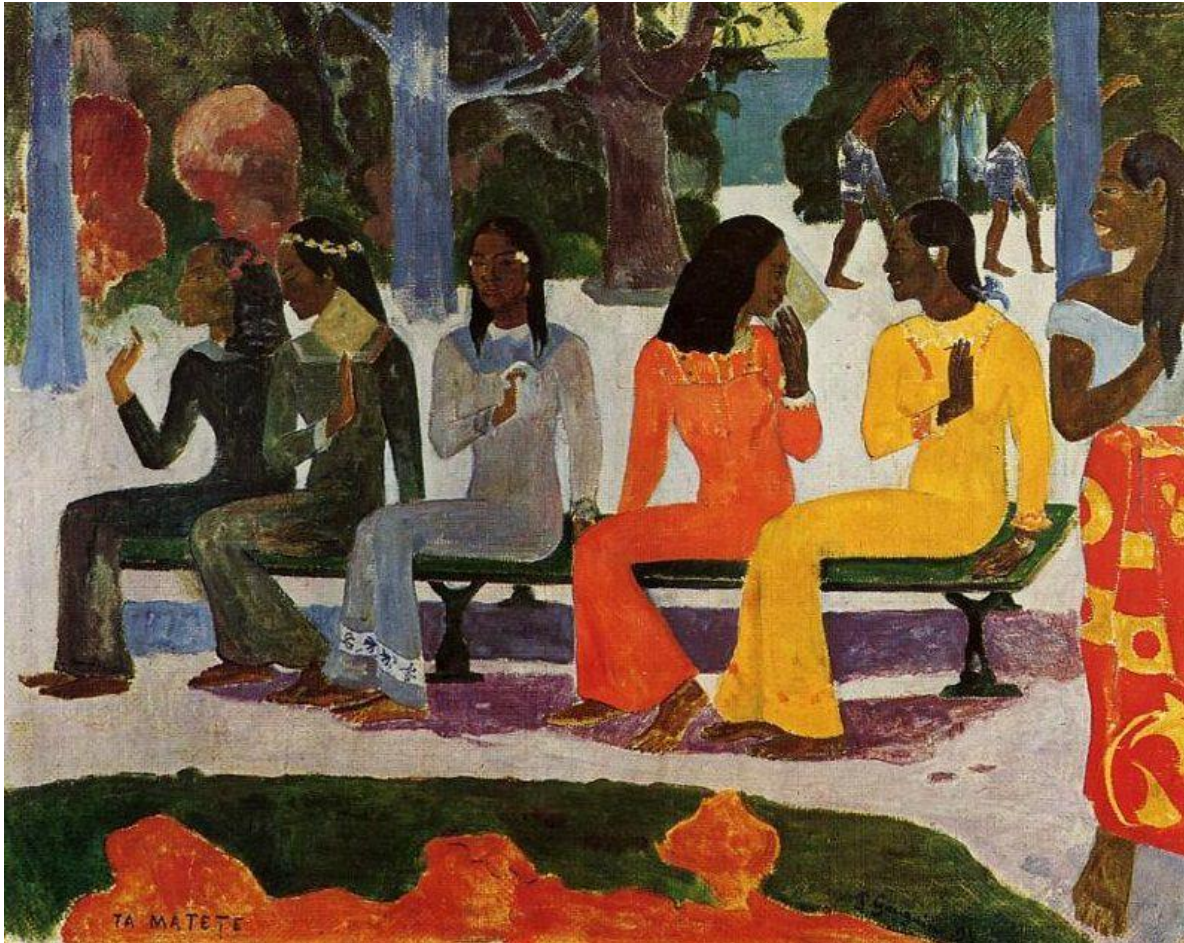
Epilogue. Paul Gauguin, *Ta Matete*, 1892. The French artist Paul Gauguin (Paris, 7 june 1848 – Atuona on the Marquesas islands, may 9 1903), painted this when he was in Tahiti. In this particular work, created in his famous unique style influenced by his travels to exotic lands, Gaugin tried to evoke an Egyptian atmosphere. He probably never visitid Egypt.