

# ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

**VOL. XXXVII**

HELSINKI 2003

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**SWAMP-HENS (*PORPHYRIO SPP.*) AND DUCKS (*ANATIDAE*)  
IN THE TOMBA DI MORLUPO  
and Other Republican and Early Augustan Romano-Campanian  
Mosaics and Wall Paintings<sup>1</sup>**

ANTERO TAMMISTO

**Introduction**

The recent corpus of the interior decoration of the Imperial period tombs in Rome and its surroundings by G. Feraudi-Gruénais also includes the so-called Tomba di Morlupo, from the wall paintings of which four painted lunettes are preserved, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano (inv. 38819-38822).<sup>2</sup> The paintings come from an underground funerary chamber (3.77 m x 1.72 m) cut into tufa near the Via Flaminia at Monte Castello between

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<sup>1</sup> G. Sangster, "Purple Swamp-hen is a complex of species", *Dutch Birding* 20 (1998) 13–22 proposes the recognition of six subspecies of the *Porphyrio porphyrio* as species, a division which is followed here. The *Porphyrio porphyrio* is commonly referred to by the English name "Purple Gallinule" – e.g., in my *Birds in Mosaics* (see below) with its Index 2 of scientific Latin bird names giving also the bird's name in German ("Purpurhuhn"), French ("Poule sultane" / "Talève sultane"), Italian ("Pollo sultano") and Finnish ("Sulttaanikana") – but the English name "Purple Swamp-hen" is preferred here, as explained *infra* in Appendix 1, which includes a concordance of the nomenclature of the subspecies here recognized as species. The name "swamp-hen" of the genus *Porphyrio* includes in the following also the African Swamp-hen (*Porphyrio madagascariensis*), distinguished by its green instead of purplish-blue back and tertials, and the Grey-headed Swamp-hen (*Porphyrio poliocephalus*), which has a grey head and green breast and wings, both species being identifiable in some ancient sources (*infra*). – Abbreviations: ex(x) = example(s) (specimens) of; MANN = Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli; pr. = probable (/y); Tammisto (note 1) = *Birds in Mosaics. A Study on the Representations of Birds in Hellenistic and Romano-Campanian Tessellated Mosaics to the Early Augustan Age* (AIRF 18), Rome 1997.

<sup>2</sup> F. Feraudi-Gruénais, *Ubi diutius nobis habitandum est. Die Innendekoration der kaiserzeitlichen Gräber Roms* (Palilia 9), Wiesbaden 2001, 73–74 cat. K 29.

Morlupo and Capena, a little more than thirty kilometres from Rome. It was found in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and briefly published by D. Vaglieri in 1907.<sup>3</sup> The lunette originally on the short back wall (Fig. 1), under which there was a loculus for urns, and the lunette on the opposite entrance wall (Fig. 2) show birds in so-called still lifes.



**Fig. 1.** Lunette from the back wall of the Tomba di Morlupo, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano (Rome) with Purple Swamp-hens (*Porphyrio porphyrio*) (from Cappelli, 192 fig. 66).



**Fig. 2.** Lunette from the entrance wall of the Tomba di Morlupo, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano (Rome) with three ducks, in the centre a duck sp. (*Anatinae sp.*), a Shelduck (*Tadorna tadorna*) with a hybrid reddish-violet body probably indicating a sex distinction like the Mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*), and on both sides two dabbling ducks (*Anas sp.*) with features possibly of the drake Teal (*Anas crecca*) or Garganey (*Anas querquedula*). On the lateral side two passerines (*Passeriformes spp.*), possibly Magpies (*Pica pica*) but rendered with a greyish green plumage as exotic fantasy birds (from Cappelli, 191 fig. 65).

<sup>3</sup> D. Vaglieri, "Morlupo – Scoperta di una tomba romana", *NSc* 1907, 676–678.

The lunette originally on the left lateral wall shows figures identified as the mythical lovers Leander and Hero with Leander swimming during the night from Abydos over the Hellespont to meet his beloved Hero, priestess of Aphrodite waiting at Sestos, while the lunette originally above the right lateral wall shows a female winged figure growing out of an acanthus scroll, thus either a Dionysian vegetation goddess ("Rankengöttin") or more specifically Victoria/Nike ("Rankenvictoria"). The vault was covered with white plaster, while the walls were decorated with squares framed by red stripes and a horizontal red stripe as a socle and a black stripe framing the upper part. Under the lateral walls were remains of funerary *klinai*.

Despite some brief references, including a Trajanic date proposed by M. Borda (1958)<sup>4</sup> without further discussion, the paintings remained almost unstudied until their presentation by H. Mielsch at an archaeological congress in 1988, published in 1990 (see note 7). The same year they were also independently published by R. Cappelli, for the first time with photographs in colour.<sup>5</sup> Both Cappelli and Mielsch dated the paintings, on the basis of similarities in style and repertory, to the Augustan era, and Mielsch, more recently, to the late Republican period between ca. 40-30 BC.<sup>6</sup> Feraudi-Gruénais returns to an earlier unpublished Late Antonine dating by Mielsch, likewise on stylistic criteria, which ignores the funerary material found in the tomb, a lamp of type Dressel 2, two late Republican amphorae of type Dressel 1B, and some small vases which, according to Cappelli, also suggest a date to the latter half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> R. Paribeni, *Le terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*, Roma 1932, 227 ff. nos. 638. 642. 651. 653; M. Borda, *La pittura romana*, Milano 1958, 267; G.D.B. Jones, "Capena and the Ager Capenas", *NSc* 1962, 147 fig. 10.

<sup>5</sup> R. Cappelli, "Una tomba dipinta di età augustea da Morlupo", *BdArch* 1–2, 1990, 190–194 refers rightly to the Tomba di Montefiore (see also *infra*) as the closest parallel and to the similarities with the paintings in the Casa di Augusto on the Palatine, as also Mielsch 1990, who, regarding the birds, also compares them to those in the Villa di P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale, Villa di Poppea (Oplontis) and Casa di Criptoportico, and the rendering of the scene with Hero and Leander to the Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili (here for conventional reasons this form of the name used in most publications is used instead of the writing "Pamphilj"; see also *infra*).

<sup>6</sup> H. Mielsch, *Römische Wandmalerei*, Darmstadt 2001, 198–199 fig. 236 and F. Naumann-Steckner, "Glassgefäße in der römischen Wandmalerei", in Michael J. Klein (Hrsg.), *Römische Glaskunst und Wandmalerei*, Mainz am Rhein 1999, 28 fig. 7 show the lunette over the back wall in colour.

<sup>7</sup> Feraudi-Gruénais (note 2), 73 n. 467 refers to the Tomb of Clodius Hermes under S.

Significant differences in dating on the basis of stylistic and repertorial comparisons are not uncommon for several reasons. Another example of certain interest here, not included in the catalogue by Feraudi-Gruénais, is the image of a priestess of Isis with at least four birds around her in a now almost vanished painting from a niche in the exterior wall of the so-called columbarium no. 18 at Via Laurentina at Ostia. Only black-and-white photographic documentation survives, but the birds seem stylistically a little later than those in the Tomba di Morlupo, probably from the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD. At any rate, they seem too different in respect to the stylistically later waterfowl resembling hybrid goose-like ducks (*Anatinae spp.*) in a Nilotic frieze in the nearby enclosure no. 22, belonging to the same owner as no. 18, said to be contemporaneous, from around ca. AD 150, as recently proposed by Clarke on the basis of the common subject matter.<sup>8</sup> Not only is the estimation of stylistic similarities often subjective, but also elements in one and the same monument or artefact may include elements pointing to different dates. Subjects like the birds are practical decorative subjects used for a long time, and may remain without notable stylistic changes or even be an element of a revival style, or so-called antiquarian details.<sup>9</sup> The birds surrounding a glass vase with fruit in the

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Sebastiano, dated by brick stamps to around AD 160, as the closest parallel for which see Feraudi-Gruénais, 121–126 cat. K 60 with further references and Mielsch (note 6), 203 fig. 242 in colour; Feraudi-Gruénais also refers to the late Antonine date suggested earlier in an unpublished manuscript by H. Mielsch, *Römische Wandmalerei des 2. u. 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, 119 n. 17, p. 225, 305, cf. H. Mielsch, "Das Grab von Morlupo, ein unbekanntes Monument zweiten Stils", *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie*, Mainz am Rhein 1990, 575–576, and Id. 2001 (note 6), 199 fig. 236 (in colour) suggesting late Second Style date, ca. 40–30 BC; see also A. Carbonara & G. Messineo, *Via Tiberina*, Roma 1994, 21.

<sup>8</sup> J. Clarke, in: A. Barbet (ed.), *La peinture funéraire antique IVe siècle av. J.-C.-IVe siècle ap. J.-C. (Actes du VIIe Colloque de l'Association internationale pour la peinture murale antique, Saint-Romain-en-Gal, 6–10 Octobre 1998)*, Vienne – Paris 2001, 86–87 fig. 3 with further references.

<sup>9</sup> In the paintings in the Mausoleo di Fannia from Hadrian's time in the necropolis under St. Peter's, such an antiquarian detail is, according to H. Mielsch & H. von Hesberg (*Die heidnische Nekropole unter St. Peter in Rom. Die Mausoleen A–D* (1986), 22, 36), a peculiar type of vase in two still lifes, which would date the supposed original to the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, perhaps corroborated by the birds flanking the vase, in one a couple of parakeets, and in the other a couple of peculiar birds identified as Rose-coloured Starlings (*Pastor roseus*), both species considered as references to Alexander's conquest. See my review of the work in *Arctos* 22 (1988) 259–262 with the correction of the

paintings in the Tomba di Clodius Hermes (AD 160 ca.), an Alexandrine Parakeet (*Psittacula eupatria*)<sup>10</sup> and a chukar-type partridge (*Alectoris sp.*)<sup>11</sup>, which Feraudi-Gruénais mentions as the closest parallel, are in my opinion rather such a revival element. So are the colourful birds and flowers around chests and glass vases with flowers in four still lifes, each with four birds, in the paintings of the Tomba dei Pancratii on the Via Latina, dated to the mid-first c. AD.<sup>12</sup> More importantly there are often not sufficiently reliably datable cases to estimate to what extent similarities indicate a contemporaneous date or, correspondingly, what differences indicate a divergent date. This remains a largely disputed issue also for the relatively well-represented group of material constituted by the Romano-Campanian wall paintings, among which so far only about a handful of instances are reliably datable by external criteria.<sup>13</sup> Thus it is more important to aim at a systematic and extensive comparison of parallels even of such restricted,

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identification of a supposed Peafowl (*Pavo cristatus*) to a Purple Swamp-hen.

<sup>10</sup> For references, see *supra* note 7. The species can be identified by the red wing-patch in distinction from the Rose-ringed Parakeet (*Psittacula krameri*); for parakeets in Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings, see Tammisto (note 1), 80–84, 294–295 note 585 listing a total of 44 representations, 29 of which in wall paintings from Pompeii and seven from other sites in the Vesuvian area, six from Rome, most ignored by G.E. Watson, "Birds", in: W.F. Jashemski & F.G. Meyer (eds.), *The Natural History of Pompeii*, Cambridge 2002, 357–400, in particular 393–394 no. 58 s.v. "*Psittacula sp.*". The catalogue by Watson needs to be reviewed thoroughly, which I hope to be able to do in a review article under preparation.

<sup>11</sup> For the representations of chukar-type partridges in Romano-Campanian wall paintings, see Tammisto (note 1), 84–87, 297–298 note 608 listing a total of 16 representations, six of which in wall paintings from Pompeii and seven from the Vesuvian area in MANN, and three from Rome and surroundings, only part of which are referred to by Watson (note 10), 362–363 no. 5 s.v. "*Alectoris graeca*".

<sup>12</sup> Feraudi-Gruénais (note 2), 109–114 cat. K 48 with references to which can be added Tammisto 1985, 235 note 55 with some identifications of the birds, of which the Rose-ringed Parakeet (*Psittacula krameri*) is to be corrected to an Alexandrine Parakeet (*Psittacula eupatria*) on the basis of the red wing-patch (*supra* note 9) visible in the colour photograph published by Mielsch 2001 (note 6), 203 fig. 243.

<sup>13</sup> W. Ehrhardt, *Stilgeschichtliche Untersuchungen an römischen Wandmalereien von der späten Republik bis zur Zeit Neros*, Mainz am Rhein 1987, 2–9 concludes with a list of five cases from the early Imperial period between 36 BC–AD 42: Casa di Augusto 36–27 BC, Piramide di Cestio before 12 BC, Villa di Agrippa Postumus around 11 BC, Colombario di Pomponius Hylas (I phase) AD 19–37, Palestra grande (N-wall, Pompeii) before AD 42.

although common, parts of repertories such as the birds. A systematic comparison of parallels is, in this case, necessary first to confirm that the late Republican period, or more probably, an early Augustan time dating of the paintings from Morlupo, suggested by the aforementioned tomb finds, is more likely than the mid-second c. AD date also on the basis of the material presently known among Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings.

Secondly, the comparison, which in the following concentrates on the lunettes of the two short walls with bird motifs, aims to establish their identification and interpretation. The aim is to show in what respects these bird motifs are iconographically unusual, and that the identification of the species is an aspect to be taken into account in the analysis of such representations because it can be significant for the tracing of models and iconographic relations. Hence attention is here also paid to the as-correct-as-possible identification of a number of other representations of birds as well.

### **The Purple Swamp-hens in the Tomba di Morlupo and Other Contemporary Representations**

The two birds on both sides of a *modiolus*-shaped glass vase<sup>14</sup> on the lunette originally on the back wall are not partridges, as was first proposed by Vaglieri and recently repeated by Feraudi-Gruénais,<sup>15</sup> but instead, as rightly identified by Cappelli and Mielsch 1990,<sup>16</sup> clearly identifiable Purple Swamp-hens (*Porphyrio porphyrio*) (for the nomenclature see *supra* note 1 and *infra* Appendix 1). This is shown by their substantially correctly depicted habitus and colours with the red bill, eye and legs which, together with the purplish-blue plumage, are diagnostic for the species, although the white under tail coverts, which also are typical of most of the other species

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<sup>14</sup> The term *modiolus* here follows Mielsch 1990 (note 7); cf. Cappelli (note 3), 193 calling the vase a "pisside" (*pyxis*), while Naumann-Steckner (note 6), 28–29 fig. 7 in colour, defines the scene as follows: "In einem Kammergrab in Morlupo, Etrurien, ist zwischen zwei Laufvögeln ein gläserner steilwandiger Behälter dargestellt, in dem sich vier Balsamaria und drei Toiletteninstrumente befinden."

<sup>15</sup> Vaglieri (note 3), 678: "Starne", i.e., Grey Partridges (*Perdix perdix*); Feraudi-Gruénais (note 2), 73 cat. K 29: "Rebhühner"; for the partridges in Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings, see Tammisto (note 1), 84–87 and references in note 10.

<sup>16</sup> Cappelli (note 3), 191: "porfirioni"; Mielsch 1990 (note 7), 575: "Purpurhühner"; see also Naumann-Steckner (note 6), 28–29 fig. 7 defining the birds as waders ("Laufvögel").



of the family of rails (*Rallidae*) are not rendered. Minor inaccuracies also found in other representations of the species are the lack of a red forehead, and the depiction of the slightly too short legs and toes with only two instead of three toes in front – common artistic devices in Romano-Campanian wall paintings. There is also an interesting incoherence in the rendering of the shadows of the birds and the vase – rendered as cast on the back wall (here not otherwise indicated) instead of on the ground, as is common in still lifes. As both birds are depicted with a shadow cast as though in front of them, the shadow of the specimen to the right is cast to the left, i.e., in the opposite direction in respect to the shadows of the bird to the left and the vase. This suggests that the specimen to the right was made by reversing the supposed model showing a Purple Swamp-hen turned to the right with a shadow cast as though in front of it (to the right). This is an important detail not only as evidence of the use for models including also such details as shading, which in this case may suggest that the designer of the model was an artist drawing more likely with his left hand. The detail is important because it suggests that the scene did not follow a unitary model, but was one variant of the widespread subject, or rather *Themenkreis*, of "bird(s) with a precious vase (or basket)", compiled from repertories of various vases and birds. This combination of a particular glass vase with specifically Purple Swamp-hens instead of another vase or other birds was a sort of custom-made choice by the painter, or by the commissioner, or whoever planned the decoration of the tomb. This is confirmed by the fact that this particular combination is so far unique among the approximately 5000 birds known in Romano-Campanian wall paintings. Such shadows are an unusual feature among Romano-Campanian wall paintings, none being found among the ca. 350 birds known from Second Style paintings from about 30 buildings, among which there are 16 known still lifes with birds.<sup>17</sup> In the only later Fourth Style variant of a swamp-hen in a still life with a glass vase, the swamp-hen, probably an African Swamp-hen or perhaps even a Grey-headed Swamp-hen (*Porphyrio sp.*, *P. madagascariensis* / *P. poliocephalus*) shows only the usual shadow on the ground. As far as I know, the only variants of shadows

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<sup>17</sup> The eleven so-called integrated still lifes and five separate framed still lifes in Second Style paintings are listed *infra* in Appendix 2, where there are hanging birds in four instances from Pompeii (nos. 6–8) and from Villa dei Papiri (no. 10). Mielsch 1990 (note 7), 575 mentions similar shadows in the Casa del Criptoportico, which I have not been able to verify in any of the Second Style birds of the house.

of birds painted as if on the wall are four Fourth Style still lifes from two houses showing dead birds painted as though hung up on the wall.<sup>18</sup> This probably suggests the use of earlier Hellenistic models since the only parallel known to me is in a recently published Macedonian tomb painting.<sup>19</sup> In favour of the suggestion of the use of cartoons, probably without correct size relations, can be adduced also the size of the birds, which are clearly too small in relation to the vase, something which also seems to be dictated by compositional reasons.

The glass vase containing cosmetic *impedimentia* was rightly interpreted by Cappelli and Mielsch (1990) as an element of the *mundus muliebris*, and although Mielsch now (2001) also interprets the Purple Swamp-hens as traditionally emblematic of women's spaces, and hence here as a reference to a supposedly female burial, the reasons and evidence have, to my knowledge at least, not been published. The association of the swamp-hen with the female sphere, and more precisely, as a guardian of the virtue

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<sup>18</sup> The remarkable series of Fourth Style still lifes from the Casa dei Cervi (IV, 21) in Herculaneum include the only other representation of a swamp-hen and a glass vase in MANN (8644 A), showing a walking swamp-hen casting its shadow on the ground instead of the wall (see also *infra*) (S. De Caro, *La natura morta nelle pitture e nei mosaici delle città vesuviane*, Napoli 2001, 75–76 no. 56; Mielsch 2001 (note 6), 201 fig. 239 with the erroneous inv. 8647), whereas the following three examples show hanging birds with shadows on the wall: 1) MANN 8644 C with a dove sp. (*Columbidae spp.*), either a Turtle Dove (*Streptopelia turtur*) or Feral Pigeon (*Columba livia*) hanging from a ring against a wall with its shadow beyond an apple on a shelf in front of which a rabbit is eating grapes, De Caro, 77–78 no. and fig. 58 in colour; 2) MANN 8647 A with a plucked hen (*Gallus gallus*) and a dead hare; 3) MANN 8647 B with a chukar-type partridge (*Alectoris graeca / A. chukar*) with an apple and a pomegranate (De Caro, 73–74 no. 52; Mielsch 2001, 201 fig. 240 in colour). In a Fourth Style still life from the S-wall of the tablinum of the Praedia di Giulia Felice (II 4, 3), now MANN 8598 C, there are four Song Thrushes (*Turdus philomelos*) hanging against a wall, where their shadow is depicted, as is also the case with the piece of cloth hanging on the wall to the right, while the shadows of the vases and the plate in front below them are cast merely on the shelf, but not on the wall, De Caro, 62–65 no. 37 figs. 36–37 (who calls the birds erroneously Quails (*Coturnix coturnix*), which have a different habitus), see also Mielsch 2001 (note 6), 200 figs. 237–238 with photographs.

<sup>19</sup> H. Brecoulaki, in A. Pontrandolfo (ed.), *La pittura parietale in Macedonia e Magna Grecia. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Salerno-Paestum, 21–23 novembre 1996*, Salerno 2002, 25–36, in particular p. 31, pl. II fig. 2 (in colour) from the Tomb II at Aineia with a white Feral Pigeon (*Columba livia*) casting its shadow on the wall behind it as does the golden cup (*skypfos?*) hanging on the wall to its right.

of female chastity, is demonstrated by literary sources, as well as by some other representations of the bird. In literary sources, the Purple Swamp-hen is identifiable as the bird called *porphyrio(n)*, known from Aristophanes onwards as an exotic and luxurious pet, famed for its exceptional beauty.<sup>20</sup> Because of the bird's harem-keeping habits, it had a reputation of a severe guardian of marital fidelity and chastity, as the bird, according to Polemon (*apud Athen.* 9,388c; translation by C. Burton Gulick from the Loeb edition, 1961), "keeps a sharp eye on married women and is so affected if the wife commits adultery that when it suspects this it ends its life by strangling and so gives warning to the master." According to Alexander of Myndus, referred to by Athenaeus (9,388d), the *porphyrion* "is Libyan and sacred to the gods which are worshipped in Libya". On the basis of the area of distribution, the author refers to the African Swamp-hen (*Porphyrio madagascariensis*) distinguished from the Purple Swamp-hen by its green back and tertials. Pliny's reference to the most admired variety in Commagene in Syria (*nat.* 10, 129 *laudatissimi in Commagene...*) probably refers, on basis of the area of distribution, to the Grey-headed Swamp-hen (*Porphyrio poliocephalus*), distinguished by a grey head, green breast and wings. It is remarkable that the African Swamp-hen is identifiable among some of the earliest representations of swamp-hens.

Provided that the Purple Swamp-hens in the Tomba di Morlupo are most likely from the early Augustan period, as the closest parallels for the decoration of this tomb should show, there are only a total of at least six, probably eight, representations datable before the Christian era, which will be briefly discussed in the following. Two or probably three instances are in the following mosaics: 1) two Purple Swamp-hens in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC Nilescape mosaic frieze from the Casa del Fauno (VI, 12) in Pompeii; 2) two African Swamp-hens in a 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC mosaic emblema, probably from the area of the *horti Caesaris* in Rome; 3) one African Swamp-hen in a fragmentary, probably 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC mosaic from Canopus (Egypt).

In addition to the Tomba di Morlupo, there are swamp-hens in the

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<sup>20</sup> See N. Dunbar (ed.), *Aristophanes: Birds*, Oxford 1995, 253–254, 628–629, who suggests that the two names *porphyrus* and *porphyrion* used by Aristophanes refer to one and the same species; for the Purple Swamp-hen in other literary sources, see Sir D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, London 1936<sup>2</sup> (1895), 251–252; O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* II, Leipzig 1913, 207–208; J.M.C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art*, London 1973, 246; J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth*, London 1977, 69, 182–183; Capponi, 428–430, s.v. "Porphyrio".

following three, probably four, paintings with a pre-Christian date: 1) one African Swamp-hen in the paintings from the so-called III Wardian tomb in Alexandria (Egypt), the masonry of which is dated to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, while the paintings are stylistically closest to late Republican or early Augustan parallels; 2) one Purple Swamp-hen in the early Augustan paintings from the Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili; 3) two Purple Swamp-hens in the probably early Augustan garden paintings from the Villa di Livia at Prima Porta, 4) one of originally four swamp-hens (*Porphyrrio sp.*) in the early Augustan paintings in the Aula Isiaca. I have not systematically studied earlier vase paintings in search of eventual possible representations of swamp-hens, but supposing that such vase paintings are not known, these earliest representations of the swamp-hens, although barely a little more than a handful, attest that the swamp-hens were introduced to Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings as part of a Nilotic and then a more generally egyptianising repertory. The earliest, more reliably, dated representation is the pair of Purple Swamp-hens in the Nilescape mosaic frieze from the Casa del Fauno in Pompeii (VI, 12) from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. or early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.<sup>21</sup> There may have also been another pair in the damaged and restored right part of the mosaic, as the differences in respect to the pair in the left part are more likely due to restoration instead of being diagnostic of other rail species. Instead, the light bill and more striped plumage with a bluish breast of the better preserved and less restored third specimen of a rail species (*Rallidae sp.*) in the right part of the Casa del Fauno Nilescape are more likely diagnostic of a species of rails other than the Purple Swamp-hens, more likely a Little Crake (*Porzana parva*) instead of a Coot (*Fulica atra*). A Coot is not identifiable among the birds in Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings, although Watson recently identified the aforementioned pair in the left part of the Casa del Fauno Nilescape as Coots, mistaking their tails as the "lobed feet" characteristic of the Coot, and maintaining the red bill to be white which together, with the all black plumage, are the most distinctive characteristics of the Coot.<sup>22</sup> The light bill of the rail in the right part of the mosaic could hence suggest a Coot, but the colours of the plumage argue more in favour of a Little Crake as also does the fact that the Little Crake is identifiable in one Third Style

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<sup>21</sup> Tammisto (note 1), 62–67, 364–366 cat. NS2, pl. 22 fig. NS2,1.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 22 fig. NS2,4; Watson (note 10), 379 no. 33 s.v. "*Fulica atra*" with somewhat misunderstood references to Tammisto (note 1), 65, pl. 22.

still life out of a series of four still lifes with birds from the Villa di Campo Varano di Stabia. Remarkably, two other still lifes of the series show a bound Purple Swamp-hen, and the fourth a very unusual representation of a grey goose species (*Anser sp.*) with brown plumage, probably a Greylag Goose (*Anser anser*) instead of the more northern Pink-footed Goose (*Anser brachyrhynchus*).<sup>23</sup> Although the clearly Egyptian fauna in the Casa del Fauno Nilecape, the mongoose attacking the cobra (*Naja haje*) and the hippo juxtaposed with the crocodile, surely reveal the use of models or mosaicists of ultimately Alexandrian origin, the identification of the Purple Swamp-hen instead of the African Swamp-hen suggests, together with the hybrid features of the ducks, that the models of the avifauna varied, and were probably not always accurate about details of colour characteristics, or were perhaps made from observations of Purple Swamp-hens in Italy.<sup>24</sup>

More remarkable is the identification of two African Swamp-hens in the emblema mosaic, probably from the area of the area of the *horti Caesaris* in Rome, presently in S. Maria in Trastevere and datable to the 1st c. BC (Fig. 3).<sup>25</sup> The African Swamp-hens, shown among plants eating snails and a small octopus from a fallen basket in front of a wooden pole, hence most likely a domesticated pair, are identifiable by their distinctively represented diagnostic colours of the back and wings, here rendered in green and yellow. The identification of the species is strong evidence for the already earlier suggested Alexandrian origins for the mosaic itself or for its models at least. In particular, the bird to the right is shown in a distinctive posture and from a distinctive point of view, more challenging to render than the more commonly found postures. Purple Swamp-hens in the same posture and from the same point of view, although as a reversed "mirror image" with the head turned to the right, are known from one, also otherwise

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<sup>23</sup> The Little Crake is in MANN 8728, see A. Allroggen-Bedel, *RM* 84 (1977) 33, 82, pl. 1,4 (referred to in Tammisto (note 1), 280 n. 498 as a crake sp.), the grey goose sp. in MANN 8740 (ibid., pl. 1,3, the Purple Gallinules in MANN 8726 and 8737 (ibid., respectively pl. 2,1 and 1,3).

<sup>24</sup> Tammisto (note 1), 62–67, 159–168.

<sup>25</sup> On a bipedalis (51 x 51 cm), dated to 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC by C. Gasparri, in: A. Bonacasa & A. di Vita (eds.), *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano. Studi in onore di Achille Adriani* 3 (Studi e materiali, Istituto di archeologia, Università di Palermo, 6), Roma, 672–676 (erroneously rejected in Tammisto [note 1], 280 n. 488); L. De Lachenal, in: *L'idea del bello: viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori*, Roma 2000, 625–672, 639–640 no. 3.



**Fig. 3.** Mosaic emblema probably from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC from the area of the *horti Caesaris* in Rome, now in S. Maria in Trastevere, with two African Swamp-hens (*Porphyrio madagascariensis*) in the lower registre, and three drake Mallards (*Anas platyrhynchos*) in the upper registre.

unusual Fourth Style garden painting in the Casa di Adone ferito (VI, 17, 18) in Pompeii,<sup>26</sup> and another in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD paintings in the frieze with

<sup>26</sup> A. Tammisto, "Representations of the Kingfisher (*Alcedo atthis*) in Graeco-Roman Art", *Arctos* 19 (1985) 217–242, in particular 240–241; *id.*, "The Representations of the Capercaillie (*Tetrao urogallus*) and the Pheasant (*Phasianus colchicus*) in Romano-Campanian Wall Paintings and Mosaics", *Arctos* 23 (1989), 223–247, 229–230, in particular 244–247, figs. 1–2.

garland-bearing youths flanked by various birds in the triclinium of the Casa sotto S. Giovanni e Paolo known as the so-called Aula degli Efebi. The frieze, as well as the grapevine scroll in the vault, also includes several other unusual birds suggesting a derivation from earlier ornithological repertories.<sup>27</sup> These parallels suggest a derivation from similar if not common Hellenistic cartoons.

With regard to the three ducks in the pendant lunette from the Tomba di Morlupo, it is remarkable that the mosaic in S. Maria in Trastevere shows in its upper part three drake Mallards (*Anas platyrhynchos*), identifiable by their blue heads and necks with a collar of white speckles against a reddish violet body with a green back, although such bodycolours differ from the grey flanks of the Mallard, and the red bill indicates rather the Shelduck. The inaccuracy is surprising both in respect to the accuracy of the African Swamp-hens, as well to the fact that the Mallard was the most familiar duck as the parental species of the Domestic Duck. This is also attested by the representations of waterfowl (*Anseriformes*) in pre-Christian mosaics, although only about half of the representations of these Mallards can be defined as more accurate, such being found in eight out of a total of a dozen mosaics with 19 specimens out of a total of 37 individuals.<sup>28</sup> The violet colour may be a stylisation, but even a sort of hybrid addendum to give the ducks a more exotic character, as suggested by some other representations of ducks in pre-Christian mosaics and wall paintings, somewhat similarly as will be shown below to be the case with the ducks of the Tomba di Morlupo. The Mallards in the mosaic in S. Maria in Trastevere are shown among plants, but in a still life like posture, and it is not clear whether they were represented as swimming or as sitting on the ground. This is the case in the lunette with ducks in the Tomba di Morlupo as well. The posture of the duck is turning its head downwards to the side, in the S. Maria in Trastevere mosaic to the right, but in the Tomba di Morlupo it turns to the left, a mirror image. This probably suggests similar models. This kind of a combination of

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<sup>27</sup> There is also another Purple Swamp-hen among the birds and cupids in the wine scroll in the vault of the triclinium, which is visible between a cupid and an acanthus bunch in the colour photo published in C. Pavia, *Guida di Roma sotterranea. Gli ambienti più suggestivi del sottosuolo romano*, Roma 1998, 194–197.

<sup>28</sup> For reasons of space, the detailed evidence including corrigenda and addenda to the material published in Tammisto (note 1), 445–447 taxa nos. 9–14 and passim could not be published as an appendix here (with an updated table), which will be included in the forthcoming second volume of the corpus of bird motifs (see note 1).

ducks and swamp-hens shown like elements in an *aviarium*, remains so far without closer parallels among Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings, although it belongs to the same series of still lifes combining in two levels subjects deriving from the repertoires of fish mosaics and Nilescapes, like the three variants of the so-called cat mosaics (from German *Katzenmosaik*) and the two so-called ducks and fish mosaics.<sup>29</sup>

Remarkable evidence of the Mallard and the African Swamp-hen as representatives of the Nile from Alexandria is found in the unusual land- and riverscape painting (Fig. 4) from the III Wardian tomb (also called the Saqiya tomb). The bucolic scene shows a pair of oxen turning a water-lifting wheel (*saqiya*), the setting on the banks of the river Nile being underlined by the two birds, the African Swamp-hen walking on the water plants and the drake Mallard swimming among them. The tomb has been dated to the late 2nd c. BC on the basis of the masonry work, whereas stylistically, the closest parallels to the bucolic scene in general and the birds in particular are found in late Republican or early Augustan paintings.<sup>30</sup> Judging by the colour photo available,<sup>31</sup> the habitus and colours of the Mallard seems closest to the Mallard drakes in the Nileescape in the late Second Style paintings in the Casa del Menandro (I, 10, 4) in Pompeii (*infra*), and the sketchy (or "impressionistic") rendering of the oxen is closest to the ox in the bucolic scene in the late Second Style fragments remaining of the earlier decoration of the Aula Isiaca on the Palatine.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Tammisto (note 1), 87–92, pls. 36–38, see also *ibid.*, 384–385 cat.DM7, pl. 34 fig. DM7,1, and 159–162, Ch. 3.5.1.2. The only parallel for such a still life with a bird pecking snails known to me is a still life from Tusculum with two Helmeted Guineafowls, now in the Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome (inv. 1250), dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD, for a colour photograph, see A.S. Fava, *I simboli nelle monete argenteae repubblicane e la vita dei romani*, Torino 1969, p. 85, pl. XLVI.

<sup>30</sup> M. Venit, "The Painted Tomb from Wardian and the Decoration of Alexandrian Tombs", *JARCE* 25, 1988, pp. 71–91 with further references to previous studies with dating proposals varying from late Republican to the 4th c. AD, and for her dating to the late 2nd c. BC particularly on pp. 87–89; *Ead.*, "The Painted Tomb from Wardian and the Antiquity of the Saqiya in Egypt", *JARCE* 26 (1989), 219–222; see now also M. Venit, *Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria: The Theatre of the Dead*, New York 2002, 96–118 on the Wardian necropolis and the Saqiya tomb.

<sup>31</sup> H. Riad, *Archaeology* 17:3 (1964) with a colour photo on the cover (here as fig. 9 in black-and-white).

<sup>32</sup> I. Iacopi, *La decorazione pittorica dell'Aula Isiaca*, Milano 1997, 40–45, figs. 27–30 dating to 2nd half of 1st c. BC; parallels for the bucolic scenes are also among the sacro-





**Fig. 4.** Painting from the III Wardian tomb (Saqiya tomb) near Alexandria with a water-lifting wheel (*saqiya*) water being indicated with an African Swamp-hen (*Porphyrio madagascariensis*) and a drake Mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*) in front of it (from H. Riad, *Archaeology* 17:3 [1964] cover originally in colour).

The dating to the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC of the fragmentary mosaic, possibly from a garden scene or perhaps rather from a still life -like scene from Canopus in Egypt, the latter alternative being suggested by a Cock (*Gallus gallus*) in another fragmentary mosaic deriving perhaps from the same mosaic, has to be taken with reservations. Here my previous

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idyllic landscapes in the Villa della Farnesina, I. Bragantini, in: R. Sanzi Di Mino (a cura di), *La Villa della Farnesina in Palazzo Massimo alle Terme*, Milano 1998, figs. 138–139, 144.

identification of the Purple Swamp-hen must be corrected to the African Swamp-hen, both on basis of the colours as well as the Egyptian provenience.<sup>33</sup>



**Fig. 5.** Purple Swamp-hen (*Porphyrio porphyrio*) with the wattle and spurs of the Domestic Fowl (*Gallus gallus*) in a still life in an early Augustan painting from the Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili.

The Purple Swamp-hen is represented with a Cock in a still life around a fruit basket (Fig. 5) in one of the total of 54 "animal-pieces", meaning mostly still lifes with birds, from the Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili in Rome, dated to the early years of the Augustan era by epigraphic and stylistic criteria.<sup>34</sup> The paintings in this columbarium, the

<sup>33</sup> Tammisto (note 1), 65, 69, 374–375 cat.GS1, pl. 30 fig. GS1.

<sup>34</sup> R. Ling, "The paintings of the Colombarium of Villa Doria Pamphili in Rome", E.M. Moormann (ed.), *Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting. Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Ancient Wall Painting*, Amsterdam, 8–12 September 1992 (BABesch Suppl. 3), Leiden 1993, 127–135, 129 with references to the previous literature; the early Augustan date suggested by Hülsen 1893 is followed now also by Feraudi-Gruénais (note 2), 40–43 cat. K 10. I am indebted to the Soprintendenza

earliest communal tomb of the freedmen and slaves of the Augustan aristocracy, have been calculated by Ling to include a total of 136 scenes, including the already mentioned 54 "animal-pieces", but in addition 39 landscapes, 15 anecdotal scenes, 12 egyptianising waterscapes, 7 mythological scenes, 6 pygmy scenes, 3 still lifes (with fish).<sup>35</sup> These paintings include one of the most abundant and notable collections of rarely represented exotic birds among Romano-Campanian wall paintings.<sup>36</sup> The Purple Swamp-hen can be positively identified despite the fact that it has been rendered not only with a strong red bill and forehead, but also with wattles and spurs, obviously characteristics of the hen (*Gallus gallus*), which the painter probably thought he/she was rendering since the other bird was the familiar Cock. This hybrid characteristic may partly explain the misidentification of the bird as a Turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*) proposed by Bendinelli, ignoring the fact that the Turkey is an American species introduced into Europe after the "scoperta d'America" by Columbus.<sup>37</sup> The most likely explanation for the hybrid transformation of the Purple Swamp-hen into a hen is that the supposed Hellenistic model, probably some ornithological repertory of Alexandrian origins, showed the Cock and the Purple Swamp-hen together, the latter being evidently unfamiliar to this painter. If this is the correct explanation, this is a remarkable piece of evidence for the use of Hellenistic repertories, which even in the case of such an ornithologically exceptionally rich collection were not necessarily correctly identified or interpreted by the painters. With regard to the consequent reservations, I propose that the combination of these species in the assumed model was probably not only due to a pictorial play with two exceptionally colourful and hence challenging and decorative birds, but in

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archeologica di Roma for kindly allowing me to see the paintings waiting for restoration in the store rooms of the Museo Nazionale Romano in 1985 and in 1990, and photograph some of them. G. Bendinelli, *Le pitture del Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili* (MonPitt III, Roma 5), Roma 1941, pl. I (reprinted in Ling, 132 fig. 6) shows the wall C in the plan (Bendinelli, fig. 1; Ling, 130 fig. 2) where a dozen still lifes show a total of 18 birds and two still lifes with a bird on wall F.

<sup>35</sup> Ling (note 34), 131–133 in particular and with further references to which can be added Tammisto 1985 (note 26) for the identification of some of its birds as well as Tammisto 1989 (note 26), 223–247. Ling (note 34) mentions 135 scenes, but the supra cited numbers total 136.

<sup>36</sup> For the use of the term "Romano-Campanian", see Tammisto (note 1), xii.

<sup>37</sup> Bendinelli, pl. V,1 "Cesto di frutta tra Gallo e Tacchina".

addition may have intentionally juxtaposed the Cock and the Purple Swamp-hen. The Cock was widely known as emblematic of the male sphere and of the fertility for which the fowl-like birds (*Galliformes*) in general were known,<sup>38</sup> while the swamp-hens were associated with the female sphere and with chastity, not only in the literary sources (*supra* note 20), but also in some other representations.

Concerning the love symbolism associated with both various plants and birds, and also in connection with gardens and painted garden scenes (conventionally called garden paintings),<sup>39</sup> I suggest that the two Purple Swamp-hens in the right half (from the entrance) of the opposite long walls of the so-called Garden Room in the Villa di Livia at Prima Porta, are represented as intentional pendants of two pairs of white Feral Pigeons in the opposite left half of the same long walls. Both the Purple Swamp-hens and the two pairs of Feral Pigeons are shown prominently at the feet of four spruces represented in the recesses of the fence in the paintings. If one interprets the Purple Swamp-hens as references to the virtue of chastity, then the white Feral Pigeons, widely known as ancient symbols of Aphrodite (Venus), are likely to refer to the complementary virtue of fertility. Supposing these paintings to be from the early Augustan era, according to their commonly accepted date, then their commissioner was Livia, "the First Lady" of the Empire, who really was in need of both virtues.<sup>40</sup> The originally four pairs of strongly stylised swamp-hens (*Porphyrio sp.*) growing out of a floral decoration antithetically with a probable Cattle Egret (*Ardeidae sp.*, pr. *Bubulcus ibis*) in the paintings in the vault of the Aula Isiaca are principally an egyptianising and here probably an Isis-motif, but since the egrets, as substitutes for storks, could be interpreted as a reference

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<sup>38</sup> Tammisto (note 1), 30–31, 84–87 with further references.

<sup>39</sup> Tammisto 1985 (note 26), 240–241; Id. 1989 (note 26), 229–230 n. 14 in particular.

<sup>40</sup> Bragantini (note 32), 15–25 for the early Augustan date ("primissima età augustea"), contemporary with the paintings from the Villa della Farnesina. On the short walls of the garden room from Villa di Livia there is, to the left, an oak (*Quercus robur*) with a birds' nest and a Quail (*Coturnix coturnix*) at the foot, and to the right a Cattle Egret at the foot of a pine (*Pinus pinea*). The birds could refer to fecundity and piety respectively, but the relation with the floral symbolism remains to be clarified, for which see G. Caneva, "Ipotesi sul significato simbolico del giardino dipinto della Villa di Livia (Prima Porta, Roma), *BCAR* 100 (1999) 63–80, who sees the trees as reference to Jupiter and Cybele respectively, while the spruce (*Picea excelsa*) should be a complementary reference to the funerary sphere.

to piety, an intentional juxtaposition of the swamp-hen referring to *castitas* and the egret to *pietas* is perhaps not to be excluded in such sophisticated paintings.<sup>41</sup>

As a probably intentional juxtaposition of the Purple Swamp-hen as a reference to chastity and a fowl-like bird as reference to fertility here are proposed four later paintings. In addition to the only instance in Romano-Campanian wall paintings showing the swamp-hen explicitly with a female figure, there are also three further instances in garden paintings. In the N wall of the Casa dei Vettii (VI, 15, 1), a young girl feeds a swamp-hen (unfortunately damaged on the back) from a silver (hardly glass) vase (Fig. 6), which is a pendant scene of a young boy feeding two Guineafowl (*Numida meleagris*) on the E wall. In one of the most abundant and high quality Pompeian Third Style garden paintings from the Casa del Bracciale d'Oro (VI, 17, 42), which in many respects seem to echo the paintings from the Villa di Livia, the Purple Swamp-hen is opposed with a chukar-type partridge. In the aforementioned Fourth Style garden painting from the Casa di Adone ferito, with several sophisticated love symbols, the Purple Swamp-hen is beside the – so far unique – exotic Capercaillie cock. In the Fourth Style paintings with plants and birds decorating the plutei of the peristyle garden in the Casa del Menandro (I, 10, 4) in Pompeii, the Purple Swamp-hen and a Cock are placed, certainly not by chance, in the facing panels of the external walls in the corner, which was visible from the richly decorated *oecus* in the NW-corner of the peristyle.

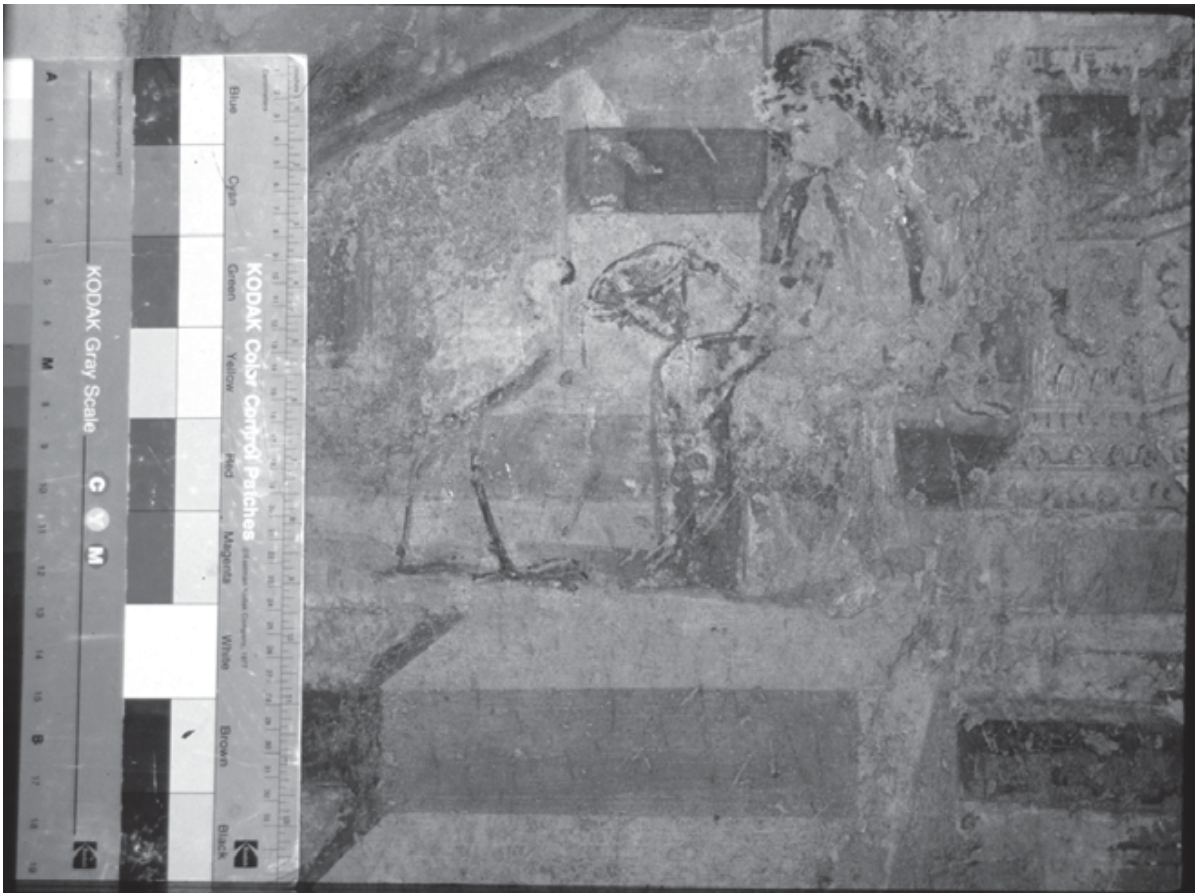
In addition to the Purple Swamp-hen in the garden painting in the Casa di Adone ferito, there are only two other Fourth Style Pompeian garden paintings with a swamp-hen. In the Casa dei Cei (I, 6, 15) an African Swamp-hen is juxtaposed with a Peacock above a statue of a water nymph flanked by an owl, a Little Owl (*Athene noctua*) or Tawny Owl (*Strix aluco*), and a Feral Pigeon respectively, which probably refer to the Isiac sphere.<sup>42</sup> In the summer triclinium (II, 9, 7) near the Palestra Grande a Grey-headed Swamp-hen or African Swamp-hen (*Porphyrio sp.*, *P. poliocephalus*

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<sup>41</sup> Iacopi (note 32), 24–27, figs. 17–18, pp. 32–33, fig. 21 with an excellent colour plate. Remarkably, in the Fourth Style garden paintings in the Pompeian summer triclinium (II, 9, 7) there are an African Swamp-hen and an egret species (*Egretta sp.*) on both sides of a huge crater.

<sup>42</sup> *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici* I, Roma 1990, 468–469 fig. 94 with an erroneous identification of the African Swamp-hen as a Peahen.

/ *P. madagascariensis*) is shown flanking a large crater with an egret as its pendant, probably as references to *castitas* and *pietas* respectively. These are not numerous examples in respect to the total number of a little more than 50 garden paintings known from Pompeii, of which 14 are Third Style, but precisely the rarity argues in favour of the bird's supposed allusive reference to the female sphere and chastity.



**Fig. 6.** Detail from the Fourth Style wall paintings from the N wall in the atrium of the Casa dei Vettii (VI, 15, 1) in Pompeii with a girl feeding a swamp-hen (*Porphyrio* sp.).

The great majority of the representations of the swamp-hens in the later Third Style, and in particular the Fourth Style paintings remain to be studied on another occasion to verify in detail the exact numbers that can be identified (by genus or by species) and the various contextual references of the features associated with the swamp-hen, i.e., as a splendid decorative bird, a luxurious pet bird, a water bird and a representative of the female sphere. There are more than 120 representations in Pompeian wall paintings alone, which attest the popularity of the swamp-hens as decorative subjects. Only about a dozen instances more explicitly indicate the female sphere. Of all these representations this still life from the Tomba di Morlupo is the most

explicit representation in addition to the aforementioned instance in the Casa dei Vettii showing a swamp-hen with a female figure. In Romano-Campanian wall paintings, the swamp-hens are not shown in emphatically Nilotic contexts, but a 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD mosaic from Thmuis in Egypt showing a swamp-hen between a female figure and a pygmy dancing at an outdoor banquet under a velum surrounded by Nilotic fauna including another swamp-hen pecking fruit from the basket of a pygmy, is evidence of the continuity of the association of swamp-hens with the female sphere and the Nile.<sup>43</sup>

However, the swamp-hen's association with chastity may have been a sort of "background factor" or "hidden agenda" which, in addition to the bird's principally decorative value, has contributed to its popularity even when such features are mostly not explicit. This is suggested by the fact that the swamp-hens belong to the "top six" of most abundant birds in Romano-Campanian wall paintings, which are, apart from the largest group consisting of various passerines (*Passeriformes*), distinctive, peculiar looking, relatively large birds, fairly easy to represent and to identify, and hence both practical as well as economic motifs ideal for ornamental "mass-production". The most abundant of these more specific taxa are the eagle (*Aquila sp.*), the swan (*Cygnus sp.*), the mythical phoenix represented as fantastic falcons with features of parakeets, mostly represented in flight, the Peafowl (*Pavo cristatus*), and the doves (*Columbiformes*) often represented on architectonic scenes and/or on garlands or ornamental bends. Manifold, but apparently widely known mythological connotations were associated with all these "top five" specific birds known as emblems of the major divinities, except the phoenix which was a complex solar symbol of rebirth, regeneration, immortality and happiness linked with the mythical Golden Age.<sup>44</sup> Among such a gallery of species widely used as a more or less ornamental avifaunal repertory because of their rich mythological connotations and associated symbolic significance, the swamp-hens can hardly have been represented merely as splendid decorative birds and luxurious pets or representatives of water as the basic element *sine qua non* of the abundance of nature, although these are also basic spheres of reference for the bird. Since the swamp-hen is not known as an emblem of a

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<sup>43</sup> W.A. Daszewski, in: Papenfuss & Strocka (Hrsgb.), *Palast und Hütte*, München 1982, 406, fig. 8.

<sup>44</sup> On the Phoenix in wall paintings, see A. Tammisto, *Arctos* 20 (1986), 171–225.

specific deity, or as a bird with otherwise significant mythological associations, it was, most likely associated not only with the aforementioned aspects, but also with the female sphere in general and with *castitas* in particular, as emphasized in literary sources.

Among the widespread *Themenkreis* of "birds with a vase or basket", the combination of Purple Swamp-hens with the particular kind of glass vase in the Tomba di Morlupo is unique, although the *modiolus*-shaped glass vase is known in four other paintings, all either from the late Republican or the early Augustan age. This particular type of glass vase is thus, in addition to the ducks and passerines of the pendant lunette, the strongest piece of evidence for the dating of the paintings to the early Augustan era, between ca. 40/30-10 BC. The majority of still lifes in Second Style paintings are so-called integrated still lifes, meaning objects shown among the illusionistic architectural scenes, usually those showing illusionistically "opened architecture". These have a certain exclusive and luxurious character because of their rarity, as the great majority of Second Style paintings represent closed architecture.<sup>45</sup> Of birds represented in an architectural setting with other objects, there are, counted as so-called integrated still lifes, a total of 11 instances in paintings from 6 houses, which show a total of 21 birds with a total of 13 different taxa, most being identifiable by species (infra App. 2). A little more than half, namely six of the total of 11 integrated still lifes, can be included to the same *Themenkreis* of a "remarkable exotic splendid birds with a precious vase" as the Purple Swamp-hens around the glass vase in the Tomba di Morlupo. Three of these are shown with glass vases (App. 2 nos. 1 and 4-5), and three with metal vases (App. 2 nos. 6-7 and 9). The large glass bowls with various colourful fruit in the Villa di P. Fannius Synistor shown below a splendid green parakeet (App. 2 no. 1), and in the Villa di Poppea (Oplontis) in Torre Annunziata above a Cattle Egret and a Black Francolin (on opposite walls), are almost identical, suggesting one and the same workshop working in both villas (App. 2 nos. 4-5).<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> B. Wesenberg, "Zum integrierten Stilleben in der Wanddekoration des zweiten pompejanischen Stils", in: E.M. Moormann (ed.), *Functional and Spatial Analysis of Wall Painting. Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Ancient Wall Painting, Amsterdam 1992* (BABesch Suppl. 3), Leiden 1993, 160–167; R. Robert, "Des oiseaux dans les architectures", *ibid.*, 168–173.

<sup>46</sup> Probably a Rose-ringed Parakeet (*Psittacula krameri*) or Alexandrine Parakeet



In addition to the integrated still lifes, there are also five framed still lifes with birds, two of them being lunettes with two Peacocks around either a basket, as those in the earliest known Second Style paintings in the Casa dei Grifi on the Palatine,<sup>47</sup> or around a glass vase with red fruit, as those in the late Second Style paintings in the alcove in the rear wall in the Tomba di Montefiore, dated between ca. 50/40-20 BC.<sup>48</sup> The Tomba di Montefiore constitutes the closest parallel to the Tomba di Morlupo not only chronologically and geographically, but also because of its similar structure and because four of its five lunettes show birds in similar still lifes. It is further remarkable that the fifth lunette with a still life in the Tomba di Montefiore shows a rabbit by a *modiolus*-shaped glass vase with fruit, which is one of the four parallels for the *modiolus*-shaped glass vase in the Tomba di Morlupo.<sup>49</sup> Significantly, the other three paintings with such vases show them containing similar cosmetic *balsamaria*, and among oriental or egyptianising exotica. In the paintings of the Stanza delle Maschere in the Casa di Augusto, datable between 36-30 BC, the glass vase is shown on a frieze above a theatrical mask and between a vegetal female peltast and a griffin.<sup>50</sup> In the paintings from the Villa della Farnesina, usually dated around 20 BC, one of the still lifes with theatrical masks and vases alternating with sacro-idyllic Nilescares shows such a glass vase with

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(*Psittacula eupatria*), Tammisto (note 1), 294 note 585 no. 36; M.L. Anderson, *Pompeian Frescoes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York 1988, 18 fig. 23, p. 25 fig. 30, inv. 03.14.13; Tybout 2001, 55 for the dating to ca. 60–50 BC.

<sup>47</sup> G.E. Rizzo, *Le pitture della "Casa dei Grifi"*, Roma 1946, 14 fig. 13; R. Tybout, *Aedificiorum figurae. Untersuchungen zu den Architekturdarstellungen des frühen zweiten Stils*, Amsterdam 1989, 29, 50, 373–375, with further references, dates the paintings to c. 90–80 BC.

<sup>48</sup> A. Laidlaw, *Archaeology* 17 (1964), 35–42, figs. 3, 6, 13 in particular.

<sup>49</sup> Laidlaw (see note 48) identified the rabbit as a lion!

<sup>50</sup> Cappelli (note 3), 193–194, fig. 70 (in colour). Wesenberg (note 45), 163 fig. 4, p. 165 seems to believe the grass in the vase to be water as he mentions this vase as the probably oldest example of the representation of a glass vase filled with water referring to D. Baatz, in A. Hoffmann u.a. (Hrsg.), *Bautechnik der Antike. Internationales Kolloquium Berlin 1990*, Mainz 1991, 5 fig. 1b, where the two little *unguentaria* in the vase are mistaken for bathing doves, which Naumann-Steckner (note 6), 33 note 25 corrects, though inaccurately attributing the misinterpretation to Wesenberg. The vertical lines in both the glass vase in Morlupo and in the Casa di Augusto are so regular that they rather were meant to depict the shape of the vase instead of water.

*unguentaria* together with an Isiac cult vase.<sup>51</sup> In the paintings in the Colombario di C. Scribonio Menofilo, similar to those of the nearby Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili, there is one still life with such a glass vase containing *unguentaria*, but also another still life in a lunette with a similar vase with pomegranates in and around the vase being pecked by another colourful, exotic-looking, mainly blue, bird, a Bee-eater. There is even a third still life with a glass vase, although a different one, also with red fruit in it and two colourful birds on both sides, of which the left one can be identified as a Golden Oriole, and the right one as a long-tailed blue fantasy bird, perhaps also deriving from the Bee-eater, although different in respect to the aforementioned specimen.<sup>52</sup>

As far as I am aware, there are no such *modiolus*-shaped glass vases in other Romano-Campanian wall paintings, and, in general, representations of birds with glass vases in the later Third and Fourth Style wall paintings are limited to only four examples (known to me). A splendid all-blue Kingfisher flying to a glass bowl with carmine red fruit in a lunette with several vases and also a Feral Pigeon and a Peacock are found in the late Third Style paintings from the Villa di Castel di Guido near Rome. There is an exceptionally large series of Fourth Style still lifes in the Casa dei Cervi

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<sup>51</sup> Bragantini (note 32), fig. 142 in colour; Ehrhardt (note 13), 3 with references about the dating by Beyen to c. 19 BC connecting it with the wedding of M. Agrippa and Augustus's daughter Julia, which Ehrhardt regards hypothetical, while recently P. Moreno, "Agrippa alla Farnesina", *Archeo* 16:1 (Gennaio 1999) 96–99 believes to have found confirmation for Beyen's attribution in his proposal to identify Julia and Agrippa in one of the villa's wall paintings, and the representation of the naval battle of Naulochos in 36 BC in one of the *naumachiae* paintings (Bragantini (note 32), fig. 143 in colour).

<sup>52</sup> The publication of the paintings of the Colombario di Scribonio Menofilo found in 1984 is under preparation, F. Catalli, *ArchLaz* 8 (1987) 147–151; C. Calci, & F. Catalli, *AISCOM* 7 (2001) 293–310, p. 295 with further references to the earlier preliminary reports; now also Feraudi-Gruénais (note 3), 43–45 cat. K 11 with further references in the bibliography, dating the paintings to the Augustan period despite the dating to the early Julio-Claudian era by L. Cianfriglia & D. Rossi & R. Santolini, *BCAR* 90 (1985) 216–217. I am indebted to Dr. Fiorenzo Catalli for the presentation of the columbarium in 1992 and to the opportunity to photograph its paintings, which will be discussed by Laura Gianfranco in the publication, which Dr. Catalli is preparing about the columbarium. I am also indebted to the Director of the Library of the Deutsches archäologisches Institut in Rom, Dr. Thomas Fröhlich for the discussion of these paintings in May 2003, and who kindly informed me about his work under preparation. As to the dating, he regards the reportorial and stylistic similarities especially with the paintings from the Villa Farnesina from ca. 20 BC significant.

(IV, 21) in Herculaneum. Many of these show glass vases, one with the already mentioned probable African Swamp-hen (or possibly Grey-headed Swamp-hen) walking towards a terracotta vase with an upside down glass cup (*guttus*) on it, with two reddish brown pieces of ham behind them, evidently a pictorial play with the colour of the terracotta vase and the wings of the bird stylised as red (instead of the green back and wings of the African Swamp-hen).<sup>53</sup> The other two examples are a Feral Pigeon sitting near a low glass bowl with fruit in a Fourth Style still life from the Casa del Poeta tragico,<sup>54</sup> and four Peacocks around a glass vase with red fruit in a Fourth Style fragment.<sup>55</sup>

### **The ducks and passerines in the Tomba di Morlupo and their parallels**

The identification and interpretation of the scene with five birds in the pendant lunette originally on the entrance wall has caused quite controversial views. This is understandable as the birds are ornithologically not accurately rendered and hence not more closely identifiable without comparisons to other wall paintings and mosaics. However, the habitus identifies the three birds in the centre clearly as ducks (*Anatinae spp.*), and the two long-tailed birds flanking them as passerines (*Passeriformes spp.*). A supposed eagle suggested by Vaglieri for the duck to the left, evidently mistaken by its raised wings, can be ruled out. Likewise, the identification of the duck in the middle as a diving dolphin (*Delphinus delphi*) must be ruled out. This was first proposed by Vaglieri, probably led astray by the duck's somewhat unusual posture, shown almost frontally, partly from

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<sup>53</sup> MANN 8644; Naumann-Steckner (note 6), 31 fig. 11: "Der grünliche Glassbecher scheint aus stilistischen Gründen eine Antiquität zu sein." Another still life from the same series with again an all-blue Kingfisher on a high handle of a silver vase is a further variant of the pictorial play of a splendid blue bird with a precious vase, Mielsch (note 6) 2001, 201 fig. 239. There may be some reservation about the diagnostic value of the red in the wing identifying either the African Swamp-hen or the Grey-headed Swamp-hen, because it may be a pictorial habit, since the Kingfisher is also shown with such a wing (instead of its red underparts).

<sup>54</sup> Naumann-Steckner (note 6), 31 fig. 12; J.-M. Croisille, *Les natures mortes campaniennes. Répertoire descriptif des peintures de nature morte du Musée National de Naples, de Pompéi, Herculaneum et Stabies* (Collection Latomus 76), pl. 64 fig. 122.

<sup>55</sup> MANN 8626, Naumann-Steckner (note 6), 26–27 fig. 4.

above, where the head against the breast may be taken as an eye.<sup>56</sup> The correct identification must be underlined, because the misleading identification as a diving dolphin has resurrected in the descriptions by Cappelli and Feraudi-Gruénais, although it was correctly described as a duck by Mielsch 1990. The identification also has significance for the interpretation since Cappelli regards the supposed immersion as an allusion to the entrance of the soul into the hereafter, interpreting also the subjects of the lateral walls, Leander's fatal swim to Hero, and the vegetation goddess a Nike, in an eschatological sense as allusions to the hereafter and victory over death. Holding the opposite view is Mielsch 1990, who denies any eschatological values, instead regarding all subjects as idyllic elements of happiness (*infra*).

It must be emphasized that the lunette with the three ducks and two passerines is a still life, not a sort of riverscape. Although ducks in pre-Christian mosaics and Second Style wall paintings are predominantly Nilotic representatives, there is no other indication of water in this scene. Confusion is caused by the lack of a ground line, although this is implied by the passerines standing on the sides and holding a slim string in their bills, as do also the ducks, the latter seeming to be bound by their legs, although the legs are not visible. The lack of a ground line is probably due to applying cartoons of birds in the manner of some still lifes in mosaics, where the

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<sup>56</sup> Also the plaster missing from the duck's breast and tail are likely to have contributed to the erroneous identification. Another example of a similar misidentification is the fish mosaic of the Via Sistina in Rome datable probably to the second quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. It shows a lobster and at least seven fish, because of which a partially damaged waterfowl (*Anatidae* sp.), most likely an Egyptian Goose (*Alopochen aegyptiacus*), in the centre has earlier been identified likewise as a fish (C. Fiorini, in *Topografia romana. Ricerche e discussioni* (Quaderni di topografia antica dell'Università di Roma 10), Città di Castello 1988, 45–57 pls. 3,1 and 4,b referred to and corrected in Tammisto (note 1), 37–45, 358–360 cat. SS3, pl. 14 fig. SS3,1). On the other hand, the fragmentary state of the mosaic led me, vice versa, to misidentify the tailfin of another fish as a supposed bird, either as a Kingfisher (*Alcedo atthis*) or as a Bee-eater (*Merops apiaster*), the former identifiable in one of the two Pompeian fish mosaics (Tammisto, note 1, 37–45, 356–357 cat. SS2) and in a fish mosaic from Ampurias (*ibid.*, 37–45, 360–361 cat. SS4), and the latter species in the Pompeian fish mosaic from the Casa del Fauno (*ibid.*, 7–45, 352–355 cat. SS1). In a more recent photograph the mosaic appears more extensively restored, which has enabled this correction; the misidentification might perhaps have been avoided if the head of the Istituto delle Suore di Nostra Signora di Lourdes (Via Sistina 111, Rome) would have allowed an examination (in 1991).

background tends to be executed in white from about the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC onwards.<sup>57</sup> However, the exclusion of a ground line and other spatial elements may in this particular case and context suggest a sort of ideal or Elysian reference with an eschatological significance, as will be proposed below. However, it is important to underline that swimming not to speak of any immersion of the ducks, is not represented here. Merging ducks, or ducks with legs visible through the water as indicators of swimming are relatively rare, the only instance which I can recall being a Severan period sepulchral painting, dated by brick stamps between AD 200-210 from the area of the Zoo in Rome. This painting is also otherwise unusual as it depicts a column on a base in the water, on the top of which is a fallen vase pouring water decorated with a garland.<sup>58</sup> The yellow bill, green head with black eye stripe, and reddish-violet neck and breast of the duck to the right – of which only the forepart is preserved in the painting from the Tomba dello Zoo – are features closest to the Mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos*), but might also derive from similar representations of ducks with the hybrid features of several species like the somewhat similarly coloured duck in the middle in the Tomba di Morlupo. Such hybrid features are a characteristic of ducks in pre-Christian mosaics and wall paintings, most of which show two different kind of ducks, three different ducks being found only in the also otherwise exceptional Nilescape from the Casa del Fauno. These differ from the majority of more contrasting dark-and-light hybrid ducks in Third and Fourth Style paintings in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, which only seldom are differentiated diagnostically. The similarity of colours of the duck to the right in the paintings in the Tomba dello Zoo with the one in the middle in the paintings in the Tomba di Morlupo seem more a revival feature instead of evidence in favour of the supposed later mid-second century AD dating of the Tomba di Morlupo.

The colours of the duck in the middle with a dark greyish-green head and wings contrasting with a dark reddish-violet (or purple) body do not correspond with any of the ducks occurring in the Western Palearctic. The dark greyish-green head and wings, or more accurately, the primaries of the

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<sup>57</sup> Tammisto (note 1), pls. 36–38 with the four variants of cat mosaics and two variants of the ducks and fish mosaics.

<sup>58</sup> C. Salvetti, in: A. Donati (a cura di), *Romana pictura. La pittura romana dalle origini all'età bizantina*, Venezia 1998, 176 with colour plate, pp. 290–291 no. 64 with further references; Feraudi-Gruénais (note 2), 76–77 K 31.

wings, are a characteristic of the Shelduck (*Tadorna tadorna*) to which also the relatively large bill points, but this species would seem to be excluded because it has an otherwise white plumage with a chestnut breast band. The drake Shoveler (*Anas clypeata*) with a heavy shovel-shaped bill, green head, but white body with chestnut flanks seems also to be excluded. The colours seem closest to the drake Mallard, which has a dark purple-brown breast and grey back and underparts, a combination not matched by other waterfowl. As the duck in the centre in the lunette from the Tomba di Morlupo is larger in respect to the two ducks on either side, and has a different habitus with a clearly longer bill, it is here identified as a duck species, probably a Shelduck or possibly a Mallard drake (*Anatinae sp.*, pr. *Tadorna tadorna* / ps. *Anas platyrhynchos*). Parallels in earlier mosaics and Second Style wall paintings (BC), which will be briefly discussed in the following, show that the reddish-violet colour is a hybrid feature added as an exotic element deriving from representations of Shelducks distinguishing their drakes and ducks in a hybrid way in the manner of dabbling ducks (*Anas sp.*), although in reality Shelduck drakes and ducks are identical, predominantly white, with a dark green head and red bill, a chestnut brown breast band and green stripes on the wings.

Not only the basically "reversed colours", but also the different habitus and smaller size of the two ducks on both sides of the supposedly hybrid Shelduck, point to another species of dabbling duck (*Anas spp.*) instead of supposed "hybrid females" of the drake. The duck to the right has a reddish-violet bill, head, neck and wing against a greenish-grey body with an ochre-yellow hue on the breast, which may be a diagnostic detail pointing to the drake Teal (*Anas crecca*), but which may also be a pictorial device of depicting highlights, as in some other representations. The white stripes on its superciliary and wing seem highlights emphasizing the splendid plumage instead of diagnostic details, like the same details on the two passerines, more clearly seen in the specimen to the right. The reddish-violet bill, head and neck against the greyish-green body of the duck to the left suggest that it represents the same kind of duck as the specimen to the right, although no ochre-yellow hue is visible on the breast or red on the wings, evidently due to the different posture with raised wings. As stated above, another species of dabbling duck is also suggested by the somewhat smaller size and by the much shorter bills. However, with regard to similar, evidently non-diagnostic, differences in the rendering of the Purple Swamp-hens and the

two passerines, it is not clear whether the smaller size and shorter bills are diagnostic characteristics or artistic variation. Hence the identification of the other two ducks remains a species of dabbling duck, probably with features of either the Teal (*Anas crecca*), or less likely, the Garganey (*Anas querquedula*) or Wigeon (*Anas penelope*), although there are no positively identifiable representations of the two latter species among Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings.<sup>59</sup>

The waterfowl (*Anseriformes*) in pre-Christian mosaics has been discussed by the present author in *Birds in Mosaics* (note 1), to which here is referred with regard to the corrigenda and addenda which will be published in the forthcoming second volume of the *Corpus of Bird Motifs*. Three mosaics dated to the late Republican period will be added, with a total of nine Mallards, increasing the number of individuals from 70 out of 346 to 79 out of a total of 354 specimens. The pre-Christian mosaics confirm that Mallards were the most familiar and abundant species of duck with 37 of the total of 79 individuals, of which more accurate representations are found in a total of eight mosaics, four Nilescape,<sup>60</sup> the two ducks and fish mosaics,<sup>61</sup> one mythological scene,<sup>62</sup> and one inhabited scroll.<sup>63</sup> Of the other ducks, there are only four positively identifiable Egyptian Geese and Shelducks, and two Teals, the only correctly depicted Shelduck and Teal drakes being in the cat mosaic from the Casa del Fauno, in the Nilescape where the only three other Shelducks and another Teal drake are found.

For the development of the hybrid representation of ducks, it seems to be indicative that the six probable Mallard ducks in the Casa del Fauno Nilescape are shown with hybrid features, probably of the Egyptian Goose,

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<sup>59</sup> Cf. Watson (note 10), 364 no. 8 s.v. "*Anas penelope*": "Three live wigeons hanging upside down on a herm in a wall painting on the N wall of the triclinium in House IX.i. 7 are the offering of a hunter (NM inv. No. ADS 954) (De Caro 1999: 55, fig. 27)." In the reproduction (ADS 954) published in colour also by De Caro (note 18), 90–91 no. 83 the heads are somewhat wigeon-like, but the white stripes on the head of the two lateral specimens are highlights. The reproduction is not reliable as is shown by a comparison with the two herms with three upside down hanging ducks, each still preserved in situ, where the dark reddish-violet ducks cannot be identified more closely than dabbling ducks (*Anas sp.*).

<sup>60</sup> Tammisto (note 1), cat. NS2, cat. NS4, cat. NS6–7.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, cat. DF1–2.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, cat. MF3.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, cat. SC2.

and once with the colours of the back and wing of the Shelduck. This is probably the earliest evidence of the hybrid distinction between the sexes of the Shelducks. The earliest certain representations of such "hybrid Shelducks with distinction of sexes in the way of Mallards", like later the one in the Tomba di Morlupo, are found in the cat mosaic from the Villa di Cecchignola, and in the Nilescape mosaic from Priverno, respectively from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> quarters of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC,<sup>64</sup> and in the cat.NS1. In the case of the Nile mosaic of Palestrina, this feature would stylistically support the recent proposal to date the famous mosaic as a supposed dedication by Cleopatra VII during her stay in Rome in 46-44 BC instead of the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC.<sup>65</sup> The closest parallels among the pre-Christian mosaics for the still life with ducks in the Tomba di Morlupo are the cat and fish mosaic from the Casa del Granduca in Pompeii, with three bound ducks, a Mallard duck and drake with a probable hybrid Egyptian Goose or possibly Shelduck between them. The three drake Mallards with a stylised or generically exotic reddish-violet body in the still life-like scene with the two African Swamp-hens from the area of the *horti Caesaris* in Rome have been mentioned above as parallels. As for the long-tailed passerines in the Tomba di Morlupo, reference must be made to the two long-tailed ochre-yellow passerines in the Nile mosaic from Priverno, which likewise seem more generic, exotic passerines, and are hence closer parallels than the four long-tailed passerines in the cat mosaic from the Casa del Fauno which, unlike the passerines in the Tomba di Morlupo, are bound, and identifiable as three Wheatears (*Oenanthe oenanthe*), and a probable Chaffinch (*Fringilla coelebs*).<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Tammisto (note 1), 389–390 cat. CM2, pl. 36 fig. CM2,1, and 368–369 cat. NS5, pl. 25 fig. NS5,1–4 respectively.

<sup>65</sup> For references and brief discussion, see my "The Nile Mosaic of Palestrina Reconsidered: The Problematic Reconstruction, Identification and Dating of the So-Called Lower Complex with the Nile Mosaic and Fish Mosaic of Ancient *Praeneste*", in the Acta of the IXth Colloquium of AIEMA in Rome (november 2001) (in print) on the open questions concerning the Nile mosaic of Palestrina. Significant results about the so-called Lower Complex of Praeneste with its famous Nile and fish mosaics can be expected from the study, which Sovrintendente Sandra Gatti is preparing, and to whom I remain indebted for the discussion during a visit to the site (26 November 2002). The forthcoming photographic reconstruction (scale 1:1) of the Nile mosaic in its original site in the so-called Aula Absidata under preparation by Prof. Bernard Andreae will improve significantly the hitherto made reconstruction proposals; I am indebted to Prof. Andreae for discussions about the matter and for his kind preliminary information (in 2003).

<sup>66</sup> Tammisto (note 1), 64–68, 387–389 cat. CM1, pl. 36, fig. CM1,1; cf. the divergent



Although in the pre-Christian mosaics there is a clear taxonomic concentration on Mallards, and a typological concentration to Nilescares with 37 out of the total of 79 individuals found, the waterfowl in Second Style wall paintings are even more restricted taxonomically and typologically. Both the aforementioned pre-Christian mosaics and the Second Style wall paintings show that the Mallard and Shelduck, although commonly occurring in Italy, were conceived as Nilotic representatives. The little less than 60 individual ducks in Second Style paintings are almost exclusively in a total of nine Nilescares, five of which in Pompeii, two in Rome, one in Ancona, and one in the Herodion of Masada (Palestine).<sup>67</sup> Some 39 individuals of the total of 44 ducks in Second Style paintings are in Pompeii are from the five Nilescares, almost half of which are in the Nilescape in the apse of the calidarium (48) in the Casa del Menandro (I, 10, 4), i.e., 18 ducks. This is a crucial piece of evidence as the same painting shows not only two pairs of Mallards with both ducks and drakes substantially correctly depicted, but also larger ducks with dark green heads, and either reddish-brown or ochre-yellow bodies, of which at least ten individuals are shown as five pairs beside each other, like the Mallards. These can be identified as hybrid Shelducks by their larger size, green heads and dark red bills, one of which is shown with the characteristic knob of the Shelduck drake. The reddish-brown and ochre-yellow colours seem to have been added to these Shelducks so they can be distinguished as to drakes and ducks in the same way as dabbling ducks (*Anas sp.*). As similar hybrid Shelducks can be identified the three very sketchily depicted individuals in the Casa di M. Castricius (VII, 16, 17), an ochre-yellowish-brown specimen with a green breast spot as a probable highlight being shown as a drake near a light yellowish-brown duck. The third brown specimen is identifiable as a Shelduck drake by the knob on the red bill, despite the very inaccurate rendering. Probably in the same category of hybrid Shelducks belongs the only pair preserved from the largest known, but almost entirely vanished, Pompeian Second Style Nilescape from the Casa dello Scultore. These have

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identifications by Watson (note 10), 385–386 no. 47 s.v. "Oenanthe oenanthe, Sitta europaea" ignoring the Wheatears in the *Katzenmosaik*, which Watson (note 10), 378–379 no. 32 s.v. "Fringilla coelebs" instead identifies as Chaffinches without any references to the relevant discussion in Tammisto (note 1).

<sup>67</sup> The Herodion is dated shortly after 24/23 BC, Tybout 1989, 50, 167–170, n. 591 on p. 167 with further references, pl. 80,2 (the documentation available has unfortunately not allowed closer estimation of the waterfowl).

dark green heads and necks with a red bill, light green body with yellow highlights on the breast. Another pair known unfortunately only from black-and-white photographs, which are shown in a very similar posture and from a similar point of view as the ducks in the Tomba di Morlupo were probably similar. These possibly suggest the derivation from similar kinds of repertoires, as do also a third pair of ducks in the paintings from the Casa dello Scultore, which are diagnostically different. These are much smaller and have similarly slender bodies and bills as the two smaller ducks in the Tomba di Morlupo, probably also similar highlights on the superciliaries, thus supporting their similar identification as small dabbling ducks, most likely Teals or Garganeys.<sup>68</sup>

The ducks in the Nilesapes in the Casa del Criptoportico (I, 6, 2) and the Casa di M. Obellius Firmus (IX, 14, 4) are too badly damaged to be reliably assessed and identified, which is also the case in the two examples in Rome in the Casa di Livia and the Aula Isiaca. As far as can be judged, the Nilescape and its ducks in the Casa del Criptoportico seem, however, so different with respect to the Nilescape in the Casa del Menandro, that it either argues against the earlier suggestion of their attribution to a common workshop, or suggests that one and the same workshop mastered surprisingly different "styles", or rather, was able to use a large variety of different kinds of sources.

Interesting evidence for the use of very different kinds of "styles", probably based on models from different repertoires, are the four ducks represented as swimming among the arcades, hence as in *stibadia*, among the socle-zone of the architecture in the wall from house VI, 17, 41 (now MANN 8594), which are therefore not directly Nilotic, but at any rate in a waterscape. These ducks are stylised in a clumsy caricature-like manner with indistinct violet bodies with ochre-yellow highlights on the breast, but they are also otherwise entirely different in respect to the remarkably accurately depicted four different birds hanging in the still life in the right half in the middle zone of this wall (*infra* App. 2 no. 8). Despite the entirely different caricature-like habitus, the violet colour and ochre-yellow highlights reveal the use of a probably related "key or concept of colours",

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<sup>68</sup> A. Maiuri, "Una nuova pittura nilotica a Pompei", *RAL* ser. 8, 7, fasc. 2 (1955), pl. V,2 also from the north wall (section B3) of the peristyle of the house shows the two small ducks (*Anas sp.*, pr. *Anas querquedula* / ps. *Anas crecca*) in the water on both sides and behind two male figures on the coast.

as in the Tomba di Morlupo, although the colours are here used as indistinctive exotic colours. The three Mallards, one duck and two drakes, the other of which already dead are represented together with a Shelduck in a still life from the Villa dei Papiri (MANN 8759) (*infra* App. 2 no. 10) are, together with the Nilescape in the Casa del Menandro, the only instances in Romano-Campanian wall paintings where both species are represented together and are positively identifiable in relatively accurate renderings, although here too the shape of the ducks is somewhat caricature-like. Probably because of different kinds of sources, the two gazelles lying bound below the ducks are more naturalistic. As African animals, the gazelles attest and underline, despite the still life context, the strong Egyptian connotation of the ducks.

There is also another duck in a Second Style still life in one of the painted *pinakes* with still lifes from the *oecus* (22) in the Casa del Criptoportico (I, 6, 2). This is the only representation of a duck in Second Style paintings without any other reference to water or the Nile, as the bird is shown probably as dead in a still life with vegetables (*infra* App. 2 no. 12). However, the shining all-turquoise colour of the bird contrasting with a red bill seems an indistinctive exotic characteristic here, probably referring to the Nile as it is used in the execution of the birds in the Nilescape in the calidarium (28) of the Casa del Criptoportico. In addition to these ducks also a heron with two long head feathers (on the E wall) is depicted as dark green, as is a long-tailed passerine on a lotus-flower (on the N wall), which is so far unique among the Nilescares in Romano-Campanian wall paintings, and significantly close to the two passerines in the Tomba di Morlupo, suggesting the uniform splendidly, dark colour to be an indistinctive generically exotic characteristic. There are similar dark violet or greenish and bluish fantasy passerines among the architectonic scenes in the frigidarium, probably indicating the "exotic" or divine character of the Apollonian woods seen behind the architecture.

In addition to the hybrid Shelducks in the Nilescape in the Casa del Menandro, the two or three different kinds of ducks in the Casa dello Scultore, and the Mallards and Shelduck from the Villa dei Papiri, the closest parallels for the hybrid colours of the Tomba di Morlupo are found among the ducks in the small riverscapes in the Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili. I have been able to study two scenes of the dozen calculated by Ling, which include seven specimens, three pairs and a single one. One pair

are all reddish-violet with a somewhat caricatured habitus, while a duck in the same scene is more slender with a reddish-brown body, but a green tail. In the other scene, there are two pairs with a different habitus and but with almost identical plumage, while the other pair is differentiated. As the closest parallels to such hybrid colours of the Shelduck are found among late Second Style or early Third Style representations, this seems a further element in favour of the early Augustan dating.

The two passerines on both sides of the ducks in the Tomba di Morlupo are not more closely identifiable because the combination of a long forked tail together with splendid dark greyish green plumage emphasized by white highlights on the superciliary and the lesser coverts, seem rather fantasy features instead of diagnostic characteristics of such uniform dark coloured species as the Blackbirds (*Turdus merula*), or some species of the family of crows (*Corvidae*). The highlights are probably a pictorial device deriving from earlier Hellenistic repertoires, as suggested by the fact that similar highlights are found on two of the small passerines in the cat mosaic from the Casa del Fauno in Pompeii, which is the only other still life with ducks and passerines known to me among Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings. The slender habitus with the long forked tail of the passerines in the Tomba di Morlupo resembles most the Magpie (*Pica pica*), tentatively proposed by Cappelli. The uniform greyish green colour seems here to rule out the characteristically black-and-white Magpie, known as substantially correctly depicted in some wall paintings, but the shining exotic looking colour seems more likely a feature added to the birds to underline their exotic character. This supposed transformation of Magpies into fantasy passerines, or perhaps "fantasy magpies", by changing their colour into a generic exotic colour, is one of the many examples of the variation of features which makes the identification of birds in wall mosaics and wall paintings so difficult, as has been seen in the case of the hybrid Shelduck. This is particularly the case with Second Style wall paintings, for which various fantasy passerines are a distinctive characteristic, in addition to several identifiable exotic species from North Africa and/or Asia, typically eastern fowl-like birds (*Galliformes*), like Peacocks (*Pavo cristatus*), Pheasants (*Phasianus colchicus*) and Black Francolins (*Francolinus francolinus*), but also such colourful exotic-looking, although indigenous birds in Italy, as the Bee-eater. Some of these species, and particularly the fantasy passerines, are a characteristic of the late Second

Style paintings, and hence a further support for the late Republican or early Augustan dating.

### **Interpretation of the decoration of the Tomba di Morlupo**

The two still lifes with birds in the lunettes in the Tomba di Morlupo derive from the repertory of Hellenistic art particularly known from the egyptianising decoration in mosaics and paintings in wealthy houses in Italy from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. B.C. onwards. The egyptianising repertory became especially popular in the early Augustan period after the conquest of Egypt, when it was applied also to the funerary monuments of the slaves and freedmen of the Augustan aristocracy, attested by the paintings in the Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili and the similar nearby Colombario di C. Scribonio Menofilo. Together with the probably slightly earlier Tomba di Montefiore – with a total of five still lifes, four of which depict birds – these constitute the closest parallels for the decoration of the Tomba di Morlupo. The decoration of such larger columbaria (for ca. 500-650 persons) consists of a large variety of scenes which seem to be compiled from various repertories as generic references to happiness (*felicitas temporum*) without a strict programmatic plan of the whole or particularly underlined eschatological contents. In the Colombario di Villa Doria Pamphili only one out of a total of 136 scenes depicts a subject peculiar to funerary art, but Endymion and Ocnus are not singled out or emphasized in any particular manner. It is, however, debatable whether this should be interpreted as evidence for a supposedly exclusively non-sepulchral character of the other subjects, to be regarded as pieces of genre with a mere "decorative" value, or, rather, on the contrary, as evidence in favour of the suggestion that all the other subjects could also be interpreted in an eschatological framework.<sup>69</sup>

With regard to the long traditions of various beliefs about the hereafter, a sepulchral context as such is, to a certain degree, both inherently as well as implicitly eschatological.<sup>70</sup> A sepulchral site is therefore likely to have created an eschatological framework even for generic elements of happiness. Moreover, a strict boundary between eschatological in contrast to

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<sup>69</sup> J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, London 1971, 38–39.

<sup>70</sup> See the numerous contributions in Barbet (ed.) (note 8).

"decorative" or "secular" is to some extent anachronistic as such generic elements, even in their "secular" use as embellishment of the domestic sphere, were full of references to the divine, and hence eternal happiness. Furthermore, even if the subjects in larger communal columbaria were chosen to be generic elements of happiness, which could suit anyone who happened to be buried there, this is less likely the case in smaller family tombs, where the commissioner probably had more personal interests in the choice of the decoration, as is attested by the Tomba del Patro.<sup>71</sup> The Tomba di Morlupo and its closest parallel, the Tomba di Montefiore, seem to be this type of family tomb even if their owners remain unknown. In these cases, it is more plausible to assume that the much more limited decoration was chosen with a more strict and programmatic allusive criteria. In such a context, even subjects like still lifes may have been chosen not only because of their doubtless generic decorative value, but also for their symbolic value suitable for the sepulchral context.

The subjects referring to the mythical and divine sphere in the Tomba di Morlupo were on the lateral walls, the mythical lovers Hero and Leander to the left, and the winged vegetation goddess growing out of an acanthus scroll to the right (see *supra*). This does not necessarily imply a subordinate role of these subjects in respect to the two still lifes with birds on the central axis, the ducks and passerines on the entrance wall, the Purple Swamp-hens around the glass vase on the back wall being the first visible to the visitor. The placing of the still lifes with luxurious Nilotic exotica to be seen first may indicate that they were intended as a sort of passage from the earthly, although idyllic abundance, to the mythical and divine sphere. If so, then the still lifes would constitute a sort of complementary pendant axis on the subjects of the lateral walls. The story of the mythical passionate lovers Hero and Leander is a subject, which inherently refers to love and death. Leander's tragic drowning after the fire of Hero's torch had put out by the wind, and Hero's suicide after finding his body, offer several obvious possibilities for allusions particularly suitable for a funerary context: the passionate love between the deceased, the tragedy of the loss of the other,

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<sup>71</sup> The Tomba del Patro is dated to the last decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. Its paintings include also four passerines among the branches of trees in a meadow where there stands a bird resembling a heron (*Ardeidae sp.*), but which, because of its uniform dark green colour, is more likely aimed at representing a Crane (*Grus grus*), Feraudi-Gruénais (note 2), 102–103 cat. K 45 with previous literature.

and unity in death. Leander's tragic nocturnal drowning may in addition be interpreted as a reference to the journey to the hereafter. In a funerary context, such a subject can hardly have been a casual choice. It seems more likely to have been the commissioner's wish instead of a subject chosen by the painter, who seems not to have been as experienced with mythological scenes as with still lifes, judging by the clumsy rendering of the subject, where the overlarge figure of the swimming Leander in respect to the palace with Hero looks like an addendum to a sacro-idyllic scene. The myth of Hero and Leander is known from references in Virgil (*georg.* 3,258-263) and Ovid (*her.* 18,19) attesting its popularity in the Augustan period, while a 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC papyrus supports the suggestion that the story originated in a, most likely Alexandrian, poem. This is the earliest representation of the myth in Romano-Campanian wall paintings, where five Fourth Style representations are known in Pompeii.<sup>72</sup> Likewise its pendant, the Dionysian vegetation goddess growing out of an acanthus scroll, whether identified with Nike or not, is inherently associated with fertility and regeneration, which in a sepulchral context is likely to have been associated with rebirth and immortality. As a pendant of Hero and Leander, the winged figure may well have been paralleled or also identified with Nike as a reference to the victory over death.

As the choice of the subject of Hero and Leander at any rate implies a certain knowledge of literary sources, it is likely that in addition to the decorative value of the Purple Swamp-hen, also the "literary background" of the species as not only an exceptionally beautiful exotic bird, but also as a severe guardian of chastity contributed to its choice. The fact that the symbolic representation of virtues, like those of the male sphere with arms, or those of the female sphere, beauty in particular, with objects of the female sphere has long traditions, being known already from the Classical and Hellenistic age, both from vase as well as funerary paintings, argues in favour of such an interpretation. An allusive interpretation of the so-called

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<sup>72</sup> C. Caprino, *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica* IV (1961) 515–517 s.v. "Leandro" refers in addition to the Tomba di Morlupo to the following five representations of Hero and Leander in Pompeian wall paintings: 1) Casa di Ero e Leandro (Helbig 1374); 2) Casa dei Vettii (VI, 15, 1); 3) IX, 5, 14; 4) Casa del Orfeo (VI, 14, 20); 5) Casa di Sirico. Of these the versions in the Casa dei Vettii and house IX, 5, 14 are close replicas, substantially similar to the representation in the Tomba di Morlupo, which might argue in favour of a derivation of a common or similar models; see also *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* VIII 1 Suppl. (1997), s.v. "Hero et Leander" no. 4.

*xenia*, identifiable with representations conventionally known as still lifes, is known even from a non-sepulchral context from the description of a *pinacotheca* by Flavius Philostratos (*Imagines* 2,26), where the rabbit eating a grapevine is defined as a Dionysian symbol of fertility.

Although the three ducks in the pendant lunette are bound birds in a still life -like setting without any other reference to water, their Nilotic connotation in Second Style paintings is so strong that they were most likely conceived as exotic egyptian(ising) luxuria. If the ducks as pendants of the Purple Swamp-hens were likewise associated with female virtues, then they would probably allude to the Aphrodisiac sphere and fertility since ducks in some literary and visual sources have long traditions as erotic symbols. Such an association could also be seen as a reference to the subject of Hero and Leander as Hero was known as a priestess of Aphrodite. The relation of ducks with the female sphere is, however, not emphasized in the Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings if not in a few instances.<sup>73</sup> A still life with bound ducks as such implies their forthcoming death and consumption as a delicacy, and although the representation of ducks struggling for their life as they try to liberate themselves from the string could be read as an allusion to the dramatic moment of death, as in the aforementioned still life from the Villa dei Papiri or in the cat mosaic from the Casa del Fauno, but this seems too banal an interpretation with regard to the whole. The posture of the passerines looks more like pulling the string, which rather suggests the liberation of the ducks, in which case the allusion to the liberation of the soul from earthly struggles and pain and to a journey to the Elysian fields seems obvious. This is supported by the absence of any ground line or rendering of water creating an irreal ipression. Even if the passerines would merely be holding the string, they could possibly have a similar guiding or carrying function as the pair of Feral Pigeons or Turtle doves (*Columbidae* sp., pr. *Columba livia* / *Streptopelia turtur*) in the painting from the Ipogeo degli Ottavii in Rome dated to the first quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD. Here the birds are pulling a biga in which the little Octavia Paulina, who died at the age of six, is being carried by a little boy and guided by Hermes Psychopompos to the Elysian fields, represented as a field of roses higher than the little children pecking their petals, around a column with a statue of

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<sup>73</sup> Tammisto (note 1), 35–37, pl. 9 fig. MF3,1 for the Mallard as a pet bird of the child Adonis in the Maltese mosaic (ibid., cat. MF3) and its variant in a Fourth Style painting from the Casa di Successus (I, 9, 3) in Pompeii with further references.



Hecate.<sup>74</sup> This interpretation of the paintings of the Tomba di Morlupo is probably supported by the exotic fantasy appearance of the passerines, which in such a context most likely underlines them as idyllic elements, and more precisely as an Elysian reference.

The suggestion of an Elysian reference is supported by the similarity of the passerines in the Tomba di Morlupo with the long-tailed colourful green and blue-and-red passerines among prominently depicted red flowers in the lunettes from the first two lateral alcoves (nos. 1 and 5) in the Tomba di Montefiore. The lunettes in the next two alcoves (nos. 2 and 4) show to the left (no. 2) a rabbit with fruit and a similar glass *modiolus* as in the Tomba di Morlupo, and to the right (no. 4) three bound chukar-type partridges among pomegranates, while the lunette in the alcove (no. 3) in the rear wall shows a pair of Peacocks around a glass crater containing red fruit. The two lunettes with colourful fantasy passerines among red flowers (nos. 1 and 5) in the Tomba di Montefiore seem a sort of shortened version of Elysian references similar to the fantastic bizarre birds in the clearly fantastic "sacred wood" seen through the painted architecture around the altar of the *penates* in the Casa del Menandro, or the less fantastic, although long-tailed, passerines in a similarly ideal, or rather Elysian pine wood in a meadow in the paintings in the Tomba del Patro, where the funerary poem composed by Patron himself for his tomb ends with the wish to rest even in the death in a *terpnos topos*, the Greek expression for the Latin *locus amoenus*.<sup>75</sup> The golden Phoenix shown as an egyptianising fantasy hawk among plants with three naturalistically depicted passerines and above a pair of antithetic Peacocks in the painted sign of the Caupona di Euxinus in Pompeii with the famous dipinto PHOENIX.FELIX.ET.TV has a similar Elysian value.<sup>76</sup>

The exceptional still life from the Tomba di Morlupo with the supposedly Elysian passerines and the ducks is here tentatively proposed to have an eschatological allusion. However, it remains to be verified case by case, and by aiming to a systematic comparisons of parallels, to what extent,

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<sup>74</sup> R. Santolini Giordani, in: *Romana pictura* (note 58), 175 (with a colour photo), 290–291 no. 63.

<sup>75</sup> F. Ghedini & M. Salvadori, "Tradizione e innovazione nelle pitture di vigne e giardini nel repertorio funerario romano", in: Barbet (note 8), 93–98 with further references; cf. Mielsch 1990 (note 7) denying any eschatological reference in this case, too.

<sup>76</sup> A. Tammisto, *Arctos* 20 (1986) 174–181.

or in what contexts, the other birds Romano-Campanian wall paintings can be interpreted as idyllic Elysian birds, or even as soul birds, as recently proposed by Sauron for the numerous passerines in the grotto scenes in the paintings from the cubiculum in the Villa di P. Fannius Synistor in Boscoreale.<sup>77</sup>

*University of Helsinki*

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<sup>77</sup> G. Sauron, in C. Auvray-Assayas, (ed.), *Images romaines: actes de la table ronde organisée à l'École normale supérieure (24–26 octobre 1996)*, Paris 1998, 91–114.

APPENDIX 1: THE NOMENCLATURE OF THE *PORPHYRIO PORPHYRIO* GROUP AND ITS FORMER SUBSPECIES RECOGNIZED AS SPECIES WITH A CONCORDANCE OF THE NOMENCLATURE

The *Porphyrio porphyrio* is usually referred to in English as "Purple Gallinule", as mentioned *supra* in note 1 referring to Tammisto (note 1) and its Index 2 of scientific Latin bird names which also gives the bird's name in German ("Purpurhuhn"), French ("Poule sultane"), Italian ("Pollo sultano") and Finnish ("Sulttaanikana"), but I prefer here the English name "Purple Swamp-hen" following (although adding the hyphen), e.g., C.M. Perrins (consultant-in-chief), *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Birds. The Definitive Reference to Birds of the World*, London 1996 (1991), 127-129 no. 15 s.v. "Purple Swamphen (*Porphyrio porphyrio*)", and B.L. Monroe, Jr. & C.G. Sibley, *A World Checklist of Birds*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 1993, 102, the latter listing six subspecies and using the (American) English name "Purple Gallinule" for the *Porphyrio martinicus* (in other works also *Porphyryula martinica*) occurring in the Caribbean. Following Sangster (note 1), the website of *Dutch Birding* (<http://www.dutchbirding.nl/>) and the website Western Palearctic Birds ([www.wpbirds.com](http://www.wpbirds.com)) use the English name "Western Swamp-hen" of the *P. porphyrio* and list the subspecies in Monroe & Sibley as species, though some with different English names, but do not include the *P. p. bellus* occurring in southwestern Australia, which in Monroe & Sibley is called "Western Swamphen" (see the concordance in the Table *infra*). Because of this confusing use of both the names "Purple Swamp(-)hen" and "Western Swamp(-)hen", "Purple Swamp-hen" is used here, although the name "Western Swamp-hen" better indicates the area of distribution of the species. In favour of the use of the name "Purple Swamp-hen" can be argued also its historical aspect, as it preserves a reference to the ancient Greek and Latin names *porphyrion* and *porphyrio* respectively (references *supra* in note 20, see also notes 1). On the complex taxonomy of the *P. porphyrio*, see Sangster (note 1), 13-22 with a map on p. 18 showing the range of breeding areas of the six former subspecies, now recognized as species (listed *infra*), and of the 13 subspecies recognized by S.D. Ripley, *Rails of the World*, Boston 1977, which indicates that the species (former subspecies) with which we are concerned here, the Purple Swamp-hen (*P. porphyrio*) is presently found in Spain, Sardinia and Tunis, the African Swamp-hen (*P. madagascariensis*) along the Nile, and in Central and Southern Africa, and Madagascar, and the Grey-headed Swamp-hen (*P. poliocephalus*) in the area around the Caspian Sea and Asia; cf. also E.C. Dickinson (ed.), *The Howard and Moore Complete Checklist of the Birds of the World. Revised and enlarged 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition*, London 2003, 125 with further references to the disputed taxonomy retaining the *Porphyrio porphyrio* as one species with 13 subspecies. The various English names of the Purple Swamp-hen in previous literature have usually covered all these three former subspecies, here regarded as distinct species. It is advisable to use the English name "swamp-hens" for the genus *Porphyrio*, when the three species are covered or cannot necessarily be distinguished, as often is the case with ancient sources, although the African Swamp-hen, and possibly also the Grey-headed Swamp-hen are distinguished in some cases (*supra*). The "Preliminary Checklist to the Birds of Egypt (Excluding the Sinai)" in the Appendix II by P. Houlihan, *The Birds of Ancient Egypt*, Warminster 1986, 153 gives the following

information about the former nomenclature: "Purple Gallinule *Porphyrio porphyrio* (Linnaeus) *Porphyrio porphyrio aegyptiacus* Heuglin *Porphyrio aegyptiacus* Heuglin, 1856, Sitzungsber. Akad. Wiss. Wien, Math.-Naturwiss. Klasse, 19, p. 317, Egypt. Arabic names: Dajaaja Sulṭaaniyya, Farkha Sulṭaaniyya. Comments: Sometimes the Egyptian population is regarded as a race of the Green-backed Gallinule and is designated *P. m. madagascariensis*, or synonymized with *P. p. madagascariensis*. Called King Reed-hen, Purple Waterhen, Blue gallinule, Purple Coot or Purple Swamp-hen in some other works." To this list of the various English names may be added the classical "Porphyrion" used, e.g., by Toynbee (note 69), 246.

Concordance of the nomenclature of the *Porphyrio porphyrio* group according to the division into species proposed by G. Sangster, "Purple Swamp-hen is a complex of species", *Dutch Birding* 20 (1998), 13-22, followed by the website Western Palearctic Birds (<http://www.wpbirds.com/>) as well as the review *Dutch Birding* (<http://www.dutchbirding.nl/>) and between the subspecies listed by B.L. Monroe, Jr. & C. Sibley, *A World Checklist of Birds*, New Haven & London 1993, 102.

Division of species of <i>Porphyrio porphyrio</i> (Voous 1977) according to Sangster (followed in <i>Dutch Birding</i> )	Monroe & Sibley	Area of distribution (according to Monroe & Sibley)
Western Swamp-hen ( <i>Porphyrio porphyrio</i> )	Purple Swamp-hen ( <i>P. p. p.</i> )	Southwestern Palearctic
African Swamp-hen ( <i>Porphyrio madagascariensis</i> )	African Swamp-hen ( <i>P. p. madagascariensis</i> )	Africa, Madagascar
Grey-headed Swamp-hen ( <i>Porphyrio poliocephalus</i> )	Indian Swamp-hen ( <i>P. p. poliocephalus</i> )	Southern, eastern Asia-southern Oceania
Philippine Swamp-hen ( <i>Porphyrio pulverulentus</i> )	Philippine Swamp-hen ( <i>P. p. pulverulentus</i> )	Philippines
Black-backed Swamp-hen ( <i>Porphyrio indicus</i> )	s.v. Indian Swamp-hen supra in this table	
Australian Swamp-hen ( <i>Porphyrio melanotus</i> )	Eastern Swamp-hen ( <i>P. p. melanotus</i> ) & Western Swamp-hen ( <i>P. p. bellus</i> )	New Guinea, Australia, New Zealand Southwestern Australia

In some other works, the Grey-headed Swamp-hen (*P. poliocephalus*) is defined as the subspecies *P. p. caspius*, e.g., K. Mullarney & L. Svensson & D. Zetterström, *Fågelguiden – Europas och Medelhavsområdets fåglar i fält*, Stockholm 1999 (Finnish edition edited by H. Jännes, *Lintuopas. Euroopan ja Välimeren alueen linnut*, Helsinki 1999), which is the best field guide available. According to the website Western Palearctic Birds ([www.wpbirds.com](http://www.wpbirds.com/)): "Starting from volume 21 (1999) the editors of Dutch Birding have decided to follow Mark Beaman's *A Checklist of the birds of Europe, North Africa and Asia north of the foothills of the Himalayas* (1994) for English names in Dutch Birding. The editors consider this list to be the most complete and well-considered currently available; it is, for instance, the only recent list which tackles the problem of overlapping American and English names for the same species."

APPENDIX 2: LIST OF BIRDS IN STILL LIFES WITH OTHER OBJECTS (*XENIA*) IN SECOND STYLE WALL PAINTINGS

The following representations of birds in Second Style paintings are here defined as integrated still lifes (from the German "Integriertes Stilleben", see Wesenberg (note 45) and also Robert (note 45) with further references to previous literature on the genre also to be found in Tammisto (note 1), 72-103 discussing the birds in still lifes in pre-Christian mosaics), of which especially nos. 2-4 *infra* are borderline cases: Stage 1C of the Second Style, probably ca. 60-50 BC: **1**) Boscoreale, Villa di P. Fannius Synistor, cubiculum M, back wall of the alcove (now in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art): 1 ex. parakeet (*Psittacula sp.*), Rose-ringed Parakeet (*Psittacula krameri*) / Alexandrine Parakeet (*Psittacula eupatria*) on a curtain between the pilasters in the central aedicula, in front the curtain below the bird is a glass bowl with fruit (apples) on a cornice; **2-3**) Torre Annunziata, Villa di Poppea (Oplontis), room 15, E wall: Peacock (*Pavo cristatus*) on a curtain in the left and right side vista beyond a tragic theatrical mask decorating the architecture (Tybout 1989 (note 67), pl. 52), while the Pheasant (*Phasianus colchicus*) and the Bee-eater (*Merops apiaster*) on the podium on both sides of the door opening to an altar with a torch are not regarded as still lifes, nor are the four Bee-eaters on the podium of the triclinium 14); **4**) *ibid.*, *oecus* 23, N wall: 1 ex. Cattle Egret (*Bubulcus ibis*) on a podium in the left aedicula, above on the architrave three glass bowls with fruit (De Caro (note 18), 54-56 no. 23 with a colour photo), and in the right aedicula a basket (*calathus*) with red fruit (probably pomegranate or apples and plums) visible through a transparent veil towards which leans a torch (Tybout 1989 (note 67), pl. 57; De Caro (note 18), 54 no. 22 with a colour photo of the basket erroneously stated to derive from the E wall, interpreted as an allusion to Demeter-Ceres with reference to an identical chest with Triptolemos in a now vanished painting from the Casa di Trittolemo (VIII, 4, 51), *PPMDisegnatori*, 763, n. 234); **5**) *ibid.*, S wall: 1 ex. Black Francolin (*Francolinus francolinus*) on a podium in the right aedicula walking to the left towards a bunch of grapes near an altar with a cake in the central aedicula, above the bird on architrave are two of originally three glass bowls with fruit identical to that on the N wall in preceding no. 2 (De Caro, 54-56 (note 18) no. 24 suggesting identification as a female Capercaillie (*Tetrao urogallus*) or Black Grouse (*Tetrao tetrix*), "femmina di gallo cedrone o forcello?", cf. Tammisto (note 1), 247-248 n. 309); **6**) Pompeii, Casa del Labirinto (VI, 11, 9-11), *oecus* 43, E wall: 2 exx. Black Francolins hanging alive from a nail on the wall above a pigeon (*Columba sp.*), Feral Pigeon (*Columba livia*) / Stock Dove (*Columba oenas*) in the right aedicula beyond a large bronze crater (Tybout 1989 (note 67), pl. 59; De Caro (note 18), 51-52 no. 18 with a colour photo); **7**) *ibid.*, W wall: 2 exx. chukar-type partridges (*Alectoris sp.*), pr. Rock Partridge (*Alectoris graeca*) with colours of the Grey Partridge (*Perdix perdix*) hanging alive from a nail above a pigeon sp.; **8**) Pompeii, VI, 17, 41 (former VII Ins.Occ. 39), room 17, S wall (now MANN 8594): 1 ex. pigeon sp., Feral Pigeon / Stock Dove, 1 ex., passerine sp. (*Passeriformes sp.*), pr. House Martin (*Delichon urbica*), 1 ex. thrush sp. (*Turdus sp.*), pr. Song Thrush (*Turdus philomelos*), 1 ex. Sp., pr. passerine (*Passeriformes sp.*) hanging dead from a nail in the right aedicula below a tragic theatrical mask (Tybout, 1989 (note 67), pl. 66; De Caro (note 18), 49-52 no. 16b with a colour photo), below in the socle in stibadia 4

exx. ducks (*Anatidae sp.*); stage 2A, ca. 50/40-30 BC: **9**) Rome, Casa di Augusto, room 12, dated between 36-28 BC: 3 exx. passerines (*Passeriformes sp.*), pr. finch sp. (*Fringillidae sp.*) on the architrave on both sides of a silver bowl; **10**) Herculaneum, Villa dei Papiri (MANN 8759): 1 ex. drake Shelduck (*Tadorna tadorna*) and 3 exx. Mallards (*Anas platyrhynchos*) two drakes and one duck hanging from a nail alive (except one of the Mallard drakes is already dead) above two bound living gazelles, probably Dorca's or Edmi's Gazelle (*Gazella dorcas* / *G. gazella*) (Tammisto (note 1), 64, 91, 279 n. 484-485 with references; De Caro, 52-53 no. 20 with a colour photo); **11**) *ibid.* (MANN 8753): 2 exx. Cocks (*Gallus gallus*) bound alive on the podium.

Still lifes in painted *pinakes* (stage 2B): **12**) Pompeii, Casa del Criptoportico (I, 6, 2-4), *oecus* 22, S wall (now Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei, in 2003 in the exhibition "Sotto il vulcano" in the MANN): 1 ex. duck sp. (*Anatidae sp.*) lying pr. bound and dead near fallen basket with vegetables in a painted *pinax* (2<sup>nd</sup> from the left) (De Caro (note 18), 48 no. 14 with a colour photo); **13**) *ibid.*: 1 ex. Cock (*Gallus gallus*) and a basket with fruit (figs and plums, etc.) covered with a white cloth in a painted *pinax* (4<sup>th</sup> from the left) on the architrave between hermai (De Caro (note 18), 49 no. 15 with a colour photo).

Framed still lifes and lunettes: **14**) Rome, Villa della Farnesina (now Museo Nazionale di Roma, Palazzo Massimo), corridor G, ps. datable to about 20 BC: 1 ex. passerine (*Passeriformes sp.*), Swift (*Apus apus*) / swallow sp. (*Hirundinidae sp.*) on the handle of a basket among theatre masks.

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#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present paper was originally written in Italian in 1992 to be published in the *Bollettino di Archeologia* with the aim of discussing the publication of the paintings of the Tomba di Morlupo by R. Cappelli. The publication was delayed for editorial and other reasons, mainly by the publication of my *Birds in Mosaics* (see note 1), the first volume of my ongoing work for a corpus of bird motifs in Romano-Campanian mosaics and wall paintings concentrating on the mosaics before the Christian era, and its second volume under preparation about the birds in the First and Second Style wall paintings. I have rewritten and enlarged the paper in English. I publish it in *Arctos* since in its present form the paper is less adapted to the section "Note e discussioni" of the *Bollettino di Archeologia*, to which it originally was accepted. I remain indebted to Irene Bragantini, Mariette de Vos, and Walter Pagnotta for reading the first Italian manuscript and for their valuable corrections and suggestions concerning not merely linguistic matters. I am also indebted to the editor of the *Bollettino di Archeologia* Alessandra Capodiferro for editing the Italian manuscript, and to Rosanna Cappelli for the consultation about the paintings of the Tomba di Morlupo including the original colour slides of the paintings. Regrettably, the figures cannot be published in colour here. I am also indebted to Ville Kajanne at the Institutum Romanum Finlandiae for providing copies of material in Rome, and to Docent Harry Lehto at the Tuorla Observatory of the University of Turku for the reference to Sangster. For the contents, I remain solely responsible.