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Insula Pompeiana IX 3
The Wall Paintings, Mosaics, and Upper Floors



Edited by
ILKKA KUIVALAINEN & LEENA PIETILÄ-CASTRÉN



Societas Scientiarum Fennica
The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters

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The Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters

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Preface

The fieldwork by the *Expositio Pompeiana Universitatis Helsingiensis* (EPUH) was undertaken in the Pompeian insula IX, 3 over two periods, 2002–2006 and 2009–2012, the first led by Prof. Paavo Castrén and the second by Dr. Antero Tammisto. After the intensive fieldwork period of those campaigns was completed, the results, excavation diaries other written documents, drawings, and photos were assembled, organized, and analysed back in Finland. Study periods of different length by individual researchers to check the details, visit archives, and recheck the material, whether on site in Pompeii or in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples (MANN), and even in the UK, have been diligently carried out ever since. As is usual, many other duties occupied the researchers and delayed the time of publication. The first fruits were delivered, however, already in 2008, when the exhibition *Domus pompeiana – una casa a Pompei* was staged in Helsinki, accompanied by a catalogue in Finnish, Swedish, and Italian. The target was the general public, with the aim of introducing the results of the fieldwork in the luxurious House of Marcus Lucretius, centrally located in the insula IX, 3. The first large scientific contribution was published in 2019, when the inscriptions, works of art, and finds from the older and current Finnish excavations in the House of Marcus Lucretius were published in *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*, volume 136, under the auspices of the *Societas Scientiarum Fennica*. It is a great pleasure that this second volume, now also covering the wall paintings, their chemical analyses – undertaken with great care by the APUV project – the floor mosaics, and the upper floors was accepted to be published in *CHL*. We wish to thank Prof. Mika Kajava, the chief editor, for his steadfast and understanding support.

A research project of this scale is never done alone. Several persons and institutions have always shown interest in the EPUH project and offered their unwavering help. We wish to thank the Parco Archeologico di Pompeii and the National Archaeological Museum of Naples for all of their assistance and cooperation, and especially the archives of the museum, which made it possible to research the inventorial chains of the detached paintings.

In Pompeii the central figure for the EPUH was Antonio Varone, Director of the Excavations, whose actions were decisive for the starting of the whole project in 2000 and in the choice of insula IX 3 to be studied. During the nine field seasons in Pompei there were several helpful colleagues and friends of the EPUH who in various ways contributed to its work.

In Rome, we thank the Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, which has kindly supported the project, and we also wish to thank the libraries of the American Academy,

the German Archaeological Institute, and the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies. In Finland, both the Helsinki University Library and the National Library of Finland contributed not only their expertise but also the space to carry out this research. For their many depictions of Pompeii, we thank Jackie and Bob Dunn, the great team of photographers from the Pompeii in Pictures project. Several valuable books from the 19th century were available online, and with gratitude we acknowledge all who took part in sharing this information, especially the Heidelberg University Library. We also thank all the possessors of the drawings, water colours, and photographs of insula IX 3, both old and new, that made such a great difference in this study, including Mika Seppälä for his photographs of the exhibition in 2008. The collaboration with the Metropolia University of Applied Sciences was started on the initiative of Pasi Kaarto and Vesa Putkonen. The pigment studies, led by Ulla Knuutinen, were continued and expanded with the founding of the research team of the Basque University of Bilbao, led by Prof. Juan Manuel Madariaga.

For this second volume of the results of the EPUH project we would like to thank all of its other teams, especially the survey team for making the documentation of wall paintings possible, and particularly Maija Holappa for the maps of this publication. For the layout we thank Dr. Vesa Vahtikari, and Dr. Christopher TenWolde for the revision of the English language. Our thanks are also due to the Emil Aaltonen Foundation for its financial support during this research.

Finally, our hope is that the present study would honour the builders, painters, and decorators of the insula IX 3. Although our analyses have tried to identify any irregularities, inaccuracies, or possible errors in execution as well as recognizing the many positive attributes of ancient craftsmanship, this will hopefully not diminish the appreciation of their achievements.

Introduction to Insula IX 3

ILKKA KUIVALAINEN

The insula IX 3 is located almost in the geographical centre of Pompeii, covering an area of ca. 3 500 m², in terrain that rises gently from west to east. The insula was excavated in four main projects, in 1846–1847, in 1849 and the early 1850s, then again in 1868, and lastly in 1870–1872. Some minor work was carried out in 1879, 1880, 1894, and even in 2016.¹ The initially excavated western half soon became famous for the splendid decorations of the House of Marcus Lucretius (IX 3, 5.24), the largest and richest house of the block: *“La casa situata nel quadrivio della Fortuna, e scoperta nella primavera di quest’anno, può a buon dritto contarsi fralle più importanti di essa città tanto pel numero de’ quadretti che decorano le diverse stanze, quanto per le buone sculture di marmo che vi si rinvennero.”*² As the German scholar Theodor Panofka (1800–1858) wrote at the time, the discovery of the wall paintings and statues in the House of Marcus Lucretius was an important event in the excavation history of Pompeii. His view is supported by the number and quality of wall paintings removed to Naples from the house, even if most of the paintings were not removed. The house was one of Pompeii’s top attractions until the excavation of the House of the Vettii (VI 15, 1) in 1894–1895,³ and remained in visitors’ favour until the removal of its garden statues in the 1960s.⁴

The Units

There are altogether 25 door openings, originally for 21 units, among them six private houses (*domus*), one of which, IX 3, 24, was merged with the larger IX 3, 5 during the last phase of the city, after the earthquake of AD 62. Apart from three bakeries and a

¹ Fiorelli listed the excavations from the 30th of July 1846 to the 4th of October 1847, then from the 12th of March to the 2nd of September, and on the 27th of October, and from the 13th to the 21st of December 1870, and finally from the 2nd of January to the 30th of June 1871, Fiorelli 1875, 390. Additional intermediate work was also done, Eschbach 1993, 412–419.

² Panofka 1847a (*BdI*), 130.

³ Maiuri 1958, 95. The House of the Vettii was the first house in Pompeii in which all of the wall paintings were restored and covered without delay, Moormann 1991, 93; Tammisto – Kuivalainen 2008, 74.

⁴ The statues are analysed in the previous volume of the EPUH, Kuivalainen 2019, 68–116. The 19th century guidebooks praised the House of Marcus Lucretius, e.g. Dyer recorded many of the paintings, Dyer (1st edition 1868) 1875, 455–461.

tavern, the life around this area was enlivened by a considerable number of workshops and stores with one or more rooms. Two units remained ruined after the earthquake and were no longer used as living quarters. The twenty units⁵ of the insula were (Fig. 1):

- IX 3, 1–2 *officina offectoria/tintoria* of Ubonius (a dyer's workshop, previously domus).
- IX 3, 3 *taberna* (a painter's workshop with a room behind).
- IX 3, 4 *taberna* (an artisan's workshop with a room behind).
- IX 3, 5.24 domus of M. Lucretius (two houses merged into one).
- IX 3, 6 *taberna* of Phosphorus (a pharmacy or a doctor's office).
- IX 3, 7 *taberna* of P(h)ilocalus (a stone carver's workshop).
- IX 3, 8 *taberna* of Titus(?) (a workshop of unknown activity).
- IX 3, 9 *taberna* of Titus(?), (a carpenter's workshop?).
- IX 3, 10–12 *pistrinum* of T. Terentius Proculus (bakery and mill with several rooms behind).
- IX 3, 13 *caupona* of Fabius Celer (a tavern with a large living space).
- IX 3, 14 *taberna* of C. Catius Scithus (a houseware shop with a small living space).
- IX 3, 15 domus/casa of P(h)ilocalus.
- IX 3, 16 *officina coactiliaria* of C. Tettius Faustus (a felt maker's workshop with a room behind).
- IX 3, 17 *taberna* of asinarius/iumentarius(?) Q. Sallustius Inventus (an ironmonger's shop with a small living space).
- IX 3, 18 *taberna* of faber ferrarius P. Paccius Clarus and *taberna* of Statia (a blacksmith's workshop and a store maintained by a female, with a small living space).
- IX 3, 19–20 *pistrinum* of Papirius Sabinus (bakery and mill with several rooms behind).
- IX 3, 21 *panificium* of A. Vettius Caprasius Felix (a ruined bakery, not used in AD 79).
- IX 3, 22 domus (a ruined house, not used in AD 79).⁶
- IX 3, 23 domus.
- IX 3, 25 domus of L. Clodius Varus e Pelagia.

Not all of these units contained wall paintings, and several small ones had only plain wall plaster with no figures, even before the eruption in AD 79. Some of the central pictures became well-known in the latter half of the 1800s through illustrated publications, while most of the walls or floors were either only described verbally or received very little attention at all.

⁵ About the names of the units, e.g. Eschebach 1993, 412–419.

⁶ The northeast corner of the insula, where the debris and building materials since the earthquake of AD 62 were stored, and which was bombed in 1943, was excavated only in 2016–2017, (Fiorelli 1875, 399; Mauro 2017, 129), and was not included in the EPUH field work. The discovery of the corner's two small buildings, IX 3, 21 and IX 3, 22, showed that the first was a bakery and the other a small atrium house (Martellone 2018, 197–200).



Fig. 1. Map of Insula IX 3 with EPUH room numbers.

Earlier Researchers and Visitors

The entrance to the largest unit, the richly decorated House of Marcus Lucretius, was excavated in 1846 as work continued along the already unearthed street now called Via Stabiana, although at that time Strada del Quadrivio, as the excavators proceeded southwards from its intersection with three other streets, Via della Fortuna, Via del Vesuvio, and Via di Nola. The discovery of the paintings in the fauces (1) was reported on the 30th of July, with the addition that the painting on the right depicts two figures: “una di esse nell’atto di sonare una doppia tibia, ed altra che la sostiene dalla parte di dietro”, and further that the other painting on the left with two more figures is not identifiable due to the missing upper

part.⁷ Even if the paintings were not described very accurately, the tibia and its player gave the house its first name, the Casa delle Sonatrici.⁸ According to Panofka the name was given by Carlo Bonucci, the director of excavations, though there was only one fluteplayer on the south wall of the fauces,⁹ more musicians were later discovered in the house.¹⁰

The English architect and antiquarian Edward Falkener (1814–1896) came to Pompeii in September 1846 and investigated the site for the whole autumn and winter. He wished to see an active excavation going on inside a proper house, not only along the streets, and in March he started to observe the new excavation in the House of Marcus Lucretius, staying until summer. He wrote that the excavation of the House of Marcus Lucretius started on the 17th of March,¹¹ while the *Pompeianarum antiquitatum historia* (PAH), edited by Giuseppe Fiorelli (1823–1896), reported the date as the 18th: “[--] si è travagliato nella casa delle Sonatrici, ove si principiano a palesare nelle pareti del cortile delle bellissime dipinture.” This cortile with beautiful paintings was the atrium (2) of the house. The new name of the house, the House of Marcus Lucretius, was coined in the summer of 1847, when the letter in a painting of room 20 was discovered, revealing the possible owner of the premises, as Panofka commented: “La congettura dell’illustriss. cav. Avellino che questa lettera porti l’indirizzo del padrone di casa mi pare assai probabile; per cui la casa dovrebbe intitolarsi piuttosto casa di M. Lucrezio.”¹²

⁷ PAH 2, 453.

⁸ On the 18th of March 1847 the excavation was reported to have begun in the Casa delle Sonatrici, PAH 2, 459. Also, in the drawings by the official draftsman of the excavations of Pompeii, Giuseppe Abbate, e.g. MANN ADS 997, the name of the house was Casa delle Sonatrici. Later the spelling became Casa delle Suonatrici, even if Karl Schefold mentioned it as Casa dei Suonatrici, Schefold 1957, 246.

⁹ Panofka 1847b, 144.

¹⁰ The reason behind the name was also considered, wrongly, to come from the triclinium 16, as claimed by Amedeo Maiuri, while discussing the visit of Pope Pius IX: [---] “nella bella casa di Marco Lucrezio, detta comunemente delle Suonatrici perché, insieme con le grandi composizioni di Ercole ebbro nella casa dell’Onfale, del trionfo di Dioniso di ritorno dall’India, vi si ammirava anche una pittura di Amore musico e di una Psiche danzante.”, *Pio IX a Pompei*, 21.

¹¹ Falkener first wrote that the excavation lasted until late June, during which time he attended the site several times a day. Later he continued that the excavation lasted until September, when the work was stopped due to the unsettled state of the country. Most probably the house IX 3, 5 was unearthed before the end of June, and the houses IX 3, 1–2, 24 and 25 were excavated during the summer and autumn of 1847. Falkener returned to Pompeii two years later, in 1849, publishing his report in March 1852, originally in his own journal *The Museum of Classical Antiquities: Being a Series of Essays on Ancient Art* (5), the issue numbers of which were bound together as a single volume (II) in 1855, reprinted in 1860, Falkener 1852, 37–38. In the guidebook by G. Nobile there is a list of the excavation sites with the name “La casa di Marco Lucrezio, e delle Sonatrici” for the year 1847, but for 1848, 1849, and 1850 only “Scavi sospesi”, Nobile 1863, 12. This is not accurate, since the excavations by the Via Stabiana were indeed carried out on e.g. insula IX 2, as listed in PAH 2, 482.

¹² Panofka 1847a, 132; Castrén 2008, 27–28; Castrén 2019, 17–19; Varone 2019, 29–31.

It was customary to show foreign dignitaries the ongoing works in Pompeii, and, e.g. the Swedish Prince Oscar, the future King Oscar II, was shown the excavation of one of the *tabernae* of IX 3, perhaps on the 3rd of March 1847.¹³ The same year the House of Marcus Lucretius was also visited by Prince Maximilian of Bavaria, the future King Maximilian II, on the 17th of May, and by Queen Christina of Spain on the 22nd of May. The local King Ferdinand II of the Two Sicilies visited the site on the 30th of August with several members of the royal family.¹⁴ It certainly was a season of important visitors, both locals and foreigners. In 1849 perhaps the most important visitor was Pope Pius IX. On the 15th of October the works had restarted after a pause of two months; the Pope arrived soon after on the 22nd of October and visited several sites before entering the house of Marcus Lucretius, also seeing other ongoing excavations in the *insula*. Consequently, the closest *taberna* (IX 3, 6) to the House of Marcus Lucretius was named after him.¹⁵ It was also customary that the Pompeian authorities arranged show excavations in honour of foreign dignitaries, featuring the “discovery” of objects previously recovered.¹⁶ Regrettably, some visitors scratched their names on the walls.¹⁷

Restoration Work

By the time of the eruption in AD 79 restoration work was going on throughout Pompeii. The damages caused by the earthquake in AD 62 had been huge, and fully restoring the old wall paintings or replacing them with new ones had been simply impossible before the final devastation.¹⁸ This was the case in *insula* IX 3. Some restoration work had been done, such as in the *triclinium* 112 by the bakery IX 3, 19–20. Mosaics were also under renovation in the House of Marcus Lucretius, and perhaps also some wall paintings, although most had already been remade.¹⁹

¹³ *PAH* 2, 457. It was the eleventh unit from the intersection on the left, which may be IX 3, 3 or 4.

¹⁴ In 1847 the excavations in the House of Marcus Lucretius were reported on actively until the autumn. On the 29th of March 1847 at noon, 12 men and four carts started work in the so-called *Casa delle Sonatrici* and discovered several artifacts on the same day, *PAH* 2, 459; for the visitors 460, 464, 465.

¹⁵ *PAH* 2, 482–483; *Pio IX a Pompei*, 18–25.

¹⁶ Falkener 1852, 75, condemned this practice, as the nose of one of the Bacchus herms from the garden (18) was chipped off; *Pio IX a Pompei*, 17–18..

¹⁷ Castrén 2019, 21–23.

¹⁸ Richardson 1988, 18–20; Richardson 2000, 1–2. There are several examples of the ongoing redecorations, e.g. Archer 1990, 96, 117–120; Varone 1995, 126; Leach 2004, 187, 217; Esposito 2009, 17, 44; Laidlaw – Burge 2014, 264.

¹⁹ Fragments of modest Fourth Style paintings were in fact discovered during the EPUH fieldwork, buried after the repainting, Hakanen 2019, 200–203.

There are modern repairs in places, but their dating is unclear. During the first field seasons of the EPUH project some of the modern ceilings were leaking, and some of the wall paintings had been hidden under green or reddish biopatina created by mosses, later removed during the major restoration of the House of Marcus Lucretius in 2007–2008.²⁰ In 2016 the garden was restored and copies of most of the statues were returned to their proper places.²¹

19th and Early 20th Century Observations

The wall paintings of the House of Marcus Lucretius were swiftly published with great attention to detail by several scholars in the archaeological journals of the time. The interpretations sometimes caused debate, especially in reference to rare mythological subjects. Professional, authorised artists participated in the documentation, making drawings and water colours, and several of them were engraved and published in various formats for a wider audience.

The first scholar to publish the wall paintings for the wider audience was Panofka, who already started his travel reports from Italy in the *Archäologische Zeitung* in June 1847, then again in July and September. He first described the large central pictures of triclinium (16), followed then by other rooms around the atrium. For the Italian speaking readers, he wrote in the *Bullettino dell'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica* in July, August, and December 1847. The next scholar to analyse the paintings was Francesco Avellino (1788–1850), the editor of the *Bullettino Archeologico Napolitano* and the secretary of the Real Accademia Ercolanese, who was also in charge of the *Museo Borbonico* series.²² Both the excavation reports and the analyses of individual wall paintings appeared in these two periodicals, as well as reports by several other scholars. Avellino's four articles were published in November, December, January, and March in winter 1847–1848. Carlo Pancaldi, a scholar from Bologna, was given a tour led by Fiorelli in July 1847, and he published his book *Il magnifico Iaccheo pompeiano. Ossia sacrario dei misteri dionisiaci dell'anno 1847* the following year. He described several wall paintings and even published a picture depicting Polyphemus and Galatea.²³ The

²⁰ d'Ambrosio 2008, 93; d'Ambrosio 2009, 135.

²¹ Stefani 2017, 116.

²² Avellino was the permanent secretary of the Royal Academy from 1832, and the director of the museum and superintendent of the excavations of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies from 1839, Laidlaw 2007, 625.

²³ Pancaldi 1848, 10 and fig. 1. Besides the plan (fig. 2) he published only this sketch of the central picture of the east wall of cubiculum 5; both were most probably drawn by Giuseppe Abbate, Maiuri [1958], 94–95. There are some differences with the Abbate's drawing in Naples, MANN ADS 1030.

excavation report was published in the *Museo Borbonico* by Guglielmo Bechi (1791–1852) in 1852. Avellino's nephew, Giulio Minervini (1819–1891), published several articles in the *Bullettino Archeologico Napolitano*, which he took over from his uncle; he also wrote descriptions for the large folio volumes of *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei*, edited and published by the members of the Niccolini family, whose fascicles between 1854 and 1892 were sent to subscribers. Many of the paintings taken to Naples, and some left in situ, were published in various volumes of the *Museo Borbonico*, e.g. the central pictures of the triclinium (16).

Falkener published his own report in 1852, after another visit to Pompeii in 1849. His very precise report on the house, which was, as he wrote, “excavated under his personal superintendence”, contains his own drawings and references to already published articles by Panofka and Avellino. The drawings are not completely accurate, because unofficial drawings were prohibited at the time, and he had to work on them while the custode was away for short periods. (Fig. 2).²⁴

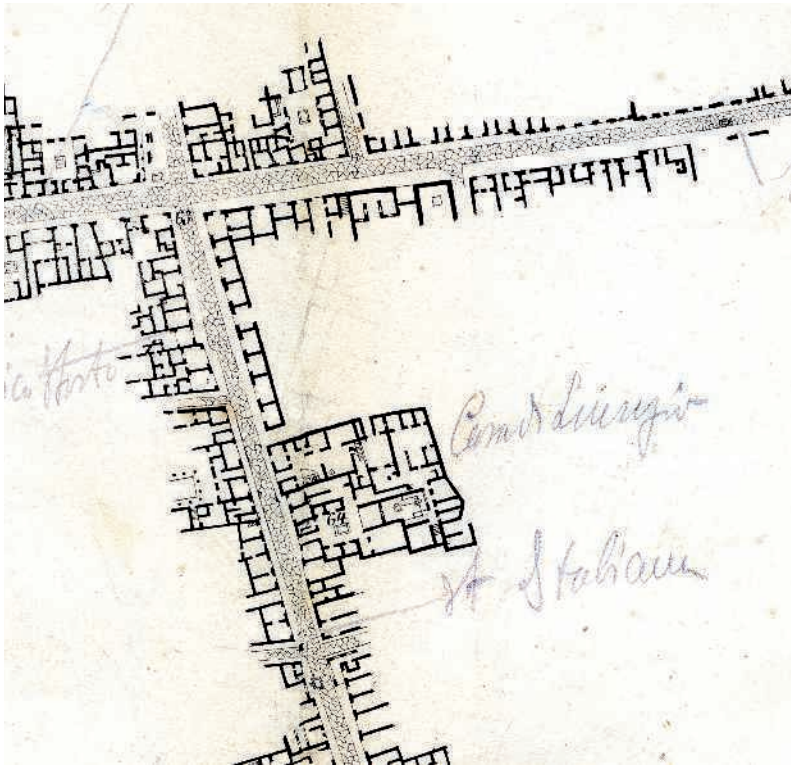


Fig. 2. House IX 3, 5.24 with its surroundings in the map of Victor Steeger ca. 1860.
"Casa di Lucrezio. st. Stabiana" written by the former owner of the map.

²⁴ The smaller pictures in the triclinium (16), Falkener 1852, 35, 37, 62, 65, 88.

The work of Wolfgang Helbig (1839–1915) is very important to this study. His *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* (1868), covering all of the discovered wall paintings, was based on his research between 1863 and 1867. He described both his own visual observations and what was earlier written about the paintings. He listed a vast number of paintings from the three western houses of insula IX 3, including all of the central pictures, the smaller pinakes, and the motifs of the architectural features.²⁵ This task was continued by Antonio Sogliano (1854–1942), whose *Le Pitture Murali Campanie Scoperte negli Anni 1867–1879* contains paintings from the later excavated parts of the insula. Fiorelli also published a list of wall paintings in his *Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872*, after the topographical part of the excavated areas. Under the section ‘Monumenti’ there is a separate chapter on wall paintings, classified first according to the place of discovery, either public streets or inside houses, and then according to the divinities and the heroes depicted, if known, then by whether they included human figures, animals, landscapes, or still-lives.²⁶ For many wall paintings the best source is *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji* by August Mau (1840–1909), published in 1882.

The wall paintings that were moved to the National Archaeological Museum of Naples have been published only partially in various guidebooks and exhibition catalogues. The *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, edited by Arnold Ruesch (1908), was the most comprehensive guidebook for many years, but did not include all of the paintings from insula IX 3. Tatiana Warsher’s various manuscript volumes also contain many pictures of insula IX 3.²⁷ Karl Schefold’s detailed *Die Wände Pompejis, topographisches Verzeichnis der Bildmotive* (1957) lists the motifs, has an earlier bibliography, and comments on the preservation, and also has tables listing the paintings in the museum and their numbers as given by Helbig. In the case of insula IX 3 there are some confusing locations, such as in the bakery IX 3, 19–20.²⁸ The most important collective work on Pompeian wall paintings, *Pompei, Pitture e Mosaici (PPM)*, published in 1990–2003, was naturally essential for this study. The chapters on insula IX 3 (PPM IX) were written by Irene Bragantini²⁹ and Valeria Sampaolo.³⁰ Many drawings and water colours by the official 19th century artists appear in its volume *La documentazione nell’opera di disegnatori e pittori dei secoli XVIII e XIX* (1995). The list of pictures from

²⁵ Helbig 1868, 482.

²⁶ Fiorelli 1873, 104–151, e.g. no. 3 is from IX 3, references to earlier publications, such as Helbig 1868.

²⁷ The volumes in the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, the American Academy in Rome, and the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies in Rome have been consulted during the research.

²⁸ Schefold 1957, 251, locates “Dianabüste” in a wrong room.

²⁹ Houses IX 3, 2; IX 3, 5.24; IX 3, 7; IX 3, 14; IX 3, 15; IX 3, 17 and 18; IX 3, 23.

³⁰ Houses IX 3, 10–12; IX 3, 19–20.

the campaign to photograph Pompeian walls and pavements in 1977–1980 had already been published in *Pitture e Pavimenti di Pompei. Repertorio delle fotografie del Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale* (1981–1986, 1992), with details of previous documentation.³¹ The mosaics of insula IX 3 have been studied by both Marion E. Blake and Erich Pernice. Since their discovery they have been deteriorating, and only partially restored.³²

The scale model of Pompeii displayed next to the wall paintings in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples is mostly accurate for the purposes of studying the vanished wall paintings.³³ It had smaller predecessors, and in 1861 it was decided to make this large-scale model of all the excavated areas. The first phase was made between 1861 and 1864 under the direction of Fiorelli and executed by model-maker Felice Padiglione and painter Antonio Servillo. It was continued actively by Vincenzo, Alessandro, and Emilio Bramante until 1908; this period saw the construction of the section portraying insula IX 3 ca. 1872–1889. The painter responsible for the miniature wall paintings may have been Geremia Discanno. In 1924, Amedeo Maiuri suggested completing the areas that had been excavated later, and several houses were added to the scale model in the 1920s and 1930s, the last parts only in 1940. The scale model was restored in 1989.³⁴ In the case of insula IX 3 the model seems to be in general trustworthy, as witnessed by the structures and the remaining incisions of paintings still visible at the site. There may be minor deviations, such as problems of scale, e.g. in room 25 the painting of the model being too short and leaving one part of the wall empty. In details one must be aware of certain omissions, e.g. the different levels of fields and even architectural parts in the upper zone in room 112 are omitted. It is to be admitted, however, that this room is particularly difficult to copy due to the intricate details.

The paintings that were left in their original locations are now all severely damaged if not destroyed. In the other parts of the insula, excavated later in the 19th century, they are even more poorly preserved. This has caused problems, because research on the House of Marcus Lucretius and the other buildings tends to focus only on certain works of art, especially the statues of the garden and the paintings removed to Naples. Many walls or individual pictures are only briefly mentioned in research on Pompeian wall paintings, and not included in the actual scientific analysis. This is the case even if there is information available on certain walls and even pictures, e.g. in the analysis of the paintings of the Third Style by Frédéric L. Bastet and Mariette De Vos, the paintings

³¹ Insula IX 3 was compiled by Bragantini, *PPP* III (1986), 428–450.

³² Maria Stella Pisapia studied the condition of the mosaic floors in regio VIII, published by Blake in 1930, and found that several were damaged or lost, Pisapia 2010, 323, 332, 334–335. The same has happened in insula IX 3.

³³ Sampaolo 1993, 89, 91; Amara 2020a 82–85; Amara 2020b 61–63.

³⁴ Sampaolo 1993, 79, 82, 84, 86–88; Amara 2020b, 55–61; Santoro 2020, 278.

of the bakery IX 3, 19–20 are only listed but not referenced in the study.³⁵ The same goes, e.g., for Maria Theresia Andrae, while analysing the animal megalographies, states in a table that the small landscapes of the House of Marcus Lucretius were destroyed.³⁶

The wall paintings of insula IX 3 cover all the Pompeian styles. Obviously, most of the paintings belong to the Fourth Style and are dated to the last phase, after the earthquake of AD 62, and according to Karl Schefold are “vespasianisch”.³⁷ A more precise dating could be the last years of the reign of the emperor Nero.³⁸ In the House of Marcus Lucretius the only room of somewhat vacillating dating has been the triclinium (25) next to the garden, e.g. Bragantini suggested the Fourth Style. The plaster analysis actually showed two plasters, one used both during the Third and the early Fourth Style (F), and another, a poor quality plaster (H), from the last phase.³⁹

The attributions to certain painters and workshops have been of great interest in Pompeii, but we do not know by name any *pictor imaginarius*. Even the definition of the term workshop is debatable, as Penelope Allison suggested,⁴⁰ and several decorators would have worked together on the same site.⁴¹ It is evident that in the House of Marcus Lucretius the cubicula (4, 5, 6, 7) around the atrium were made by the same painters, and atrium (2), tablinum (15), and the two triclinia (16, 25) may have had, respectively, the same painters. There were several *pictores imaginarii* who produced only the central pictures of a house, while the repetitive patterns, such as borders, as well as small and more modest side-field pictures may have been the responsibility of the apprentices. Pompeian painters seem to have worked near each other, as influences and ideas spread between neighbours.⁴² The condition of the wall paintings in the House of Marcus Lucretius is not good enough to offer many details for such identification, and the situation is even worse in the other parts of insula IX 3.

³⁵ De Vos compiled a list of Third Styles paintings which did not figur in the typology by Bastet, Bastet – De Vos 1979, 140.

³⁶ Andrae 1990, 115.

³⁷ Schefold 1957, 246.

³⁸ Tammisto – Kuivalainen 2008, 75–76.

³⁹ Bragantini 1999 (PPM IX), 304, 306; Freccero 2018, 114–115.

⁴⁰ Painter-workshops may have been temporary teams of decorators, Allison 1995, 98, 100–106, and discussion 109.

⁴¹ Varone 1995, 129–133; Scagliarini Corlàita 1995, 297–298.

⁴² Beyen 1951, 237; Richardson 2000, 15; Leach 2004, 240; Esposito 2009, 45, and table 2, found the similarities between the representative rooms and the workshop of the Casa dei Vettii.

The EPUH Project

The aim of this study is to present the wall paintings and mosaic floors in insula IX 3 as they were during the field seasons of the *Expositio Pompeiana Universitatis Helsingiensis* (EPUH), and to compare them with the previous documentation. The walls were documented during nine field seasons from 2002–2012 with the help of scaled ortho images.⁴³ The rectified and scaled printouts of the walls with preserved paintings were drawn on tracing paper to show the various divisions of the wall paintings, i.e. the zones and painted architectural features. Next, these drawings were photocopied and more details were manually added while measuring and visually investigating the walls. This made the wall painting documentation process faster and easier. Of the figurative parts, detailed 1:1 drawings were made on transparent foil and later added to the completed walls at a scale of 1:10. The walls were also photographed by the members of the EPUH. The documentation of the detached central panels was carried out in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples (MANN), and the wall paintings were analysed as a programmatic combination in their contexts. The sizes of the rooms were studied by the EPUH survey team, and the quality of the floors by the EPUH archaeological team.⁴⁴ The EPUH project received indispensable support from Finnish, Nordic, and European colleagues and researchers in specialist fields. The initial analyses of pigments and plasters were carried out by conservators and conservator students of the Metropolia University of Applied Sciences (formerly EVTEK Institute of Art and Design), and some sample layers of stucco were analysed by Agneta Freccero from the Swedish Pompeii project; the chemical characterisation and causes for the decay of the wall paintings were studied by the research team of analytical chemistry, *Analytica Pompeiana Universitatis Vasconicae* (APUV), University of the Basque Country. The study of the upper floors of the houses was carried out by Dr. James Andrews.⁴⁵

The documentation work that took place in insula IX 3 and in the archives and storerooms of the National Archaeological Museum of Naples took a considerable time. Some new knowledge has been obtained from the walls, and of the inventorial chain of the detached paintings. The drawings depicting complete walls in this book now also include the detached central paintings. This study will present ideas of the original appearances of the paintings and mosaics in insula IX 3, of what the upper floors may have looked like, and why the paintings have deteriorated.

⁴³ These were produced by the EPUH survey team, especially by Maija Holappa.

⁴⁴ The archaeological work was led by Dr. Eeva-Maria Viitanen.

⁴⁵ James Andrews also participated in the *Pompeii Aerial Survey Project*, which conducted an aerial photogrammetric survey of the insula in September 2012, utilising drones, in support of the EPUH and the *Pistrina: les boulangeries de l'Italie romaine* project of the École française de Rome.



Fig. 3. Insula IX 3, as seen from the air.

Descriptive Catalogue

The visual observation of the wall paintings was done repeatedly, at different times of the day and in different light contexts. The drawings were based on photogrammetric photos taken by the survey team, and the details not able to be obtained from the photos were drawn by hand directly from the wall, on film (A3), at a scale of 1:1, by architect Kirsi Murros. The practical field work was carried out by Ville Hakanen, Ilkka Kuivalainen (team leader), Antero Tammisto, Laura Tervonen, and Katja Varakas. The descriptive catalogue was compiled by Ilkka Kuivalainen and Leena Pietilä-Castrén, except for rooms 108–110 in the bakery IX 3, 19–20, and the whole house IX 3, 23, which were written by Ville Hakanen. Antero Tammisto contributed to the descriptions of rooms 1, 2 and 4 in house IX 3, 5.24.

The following information is given:

The order of the houses follows the numbering of door openings started by Fiorelli. The measurements for each room are then given.

A short introduction for each house/room.

Rooms with decorations are presented in the order of viewing the house, starting from the entrance. The first number is the EPUH number,¹ followed by any room number or letter published by Fiorelli 1873, or in *PPP* and *PPM* in square brackets.

Previous bibliography.

Floor if decorated.

Wall paintings: Common features of the room such as style, dating, plaster, and the state of preservation, with possible later interventions if known. The changes of colours are discussed whether due to the heat of the eruption of AD 79, or to subsequent weathering. Walls are discussed separately if there are any details of the decoration still to see. The descriptions are organized in successive zones, starting from the socle, and the predella if there is one, followed by the main zone containing the central picture, and then continuing to side fields with their secondary figures, after which comes the frieze if there is one, and the upper zone.

The walls are described in the assumedly most common order of viewing: back wall, right wall, left wall, and entrance wall. For each wall the points of the compass are conventionally given as south, east, west, and north, even if they are not strictly according

¹ The numbering is not always logical and consecutive, as during the EPUH fieldwork some structures were given numbers of their own, and some spaces were even split in two.

to the points of compass in insula IX 3. In less fortunate cases with only meagre remains of wall paintings, the decoration is discussed as a whole.

The painted human figures are described by using their own right and left; their measurements are given in centimetres. Their activities are described according to the viewer's right and left.

There are also comments about the painter's methods, e.g. about the use of a compass, or the appearance of joints or legers.

Parallels are mentioned, either in the description or in the footnotes.

The abbreviations:

D = diameter

DPT = depth

Fig. = Figure in this publication

fig. = figure in other publications

H = height

L = length

MANN = Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, the Naples Museum inventory number of the catalogue of Fiorelli

San Giorgio inv. = Earlier inventory of the Naples Museum compiled ca. 1840–1868.

Th = thickness

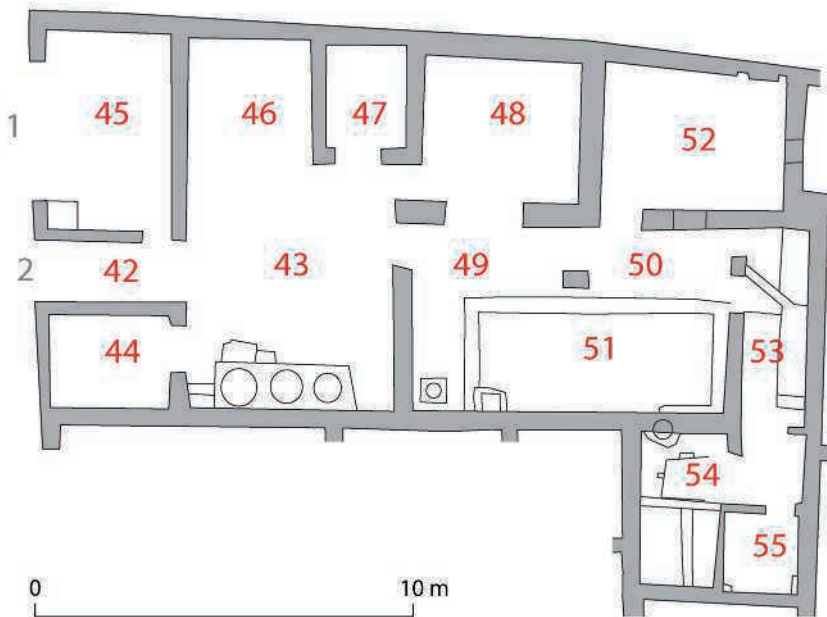
W = width

House IX 3, 1–2

The small domus in the northwest corner of the insula was converted into a dyer's workshop with a residential area, and was named after its owner, Ubonius, known from the electoral notices on the facade.² The entrance is from the west, from the Via Stabiana; there are 11 rooms, a garden, and an upper floor. From the older phase as a domus, there is a large painting of the First style in the garden, and from the later phase as an officina there are paintings of the early Third Style in five rooms.³ There were several black and white mosaics belonging to the Late Second Style, but only one in the fauces (42) is now complete. In the original atrium (43) there is an opus

² *CIL* IV 853, 858, 864; Della Corte 1965, 156; Eschebach 1993, 412–413.

³ Romizzi 2006, 476. The quality of the decoration was not highly valued, Overbeck–Mau 1884, 382: “Die Verkaufsläden liegen zu beiden Seiten des Eingangs in das Haus, welches kein besonderes Interesse bietet.”



signinum floor made from crushed lava and decorated with pieces of white marble. The wall paintings are poorly preserved, the exception being the First Style wall in the garden (51), which has been published many times as the most notable feature of the whole house.

Room 42 [1] N-S 1.65 m, W-E 4.1 m; 5.7 m²

This entrance corridor (*fauces*/vestibulum) leads to the original atrium 43, which was converted into a manufacturing area, and has an opening on the left to the taberna 45 in the northwest corner of the insula.

Bibliography: Bechi 1852, 17; Breton 1855, 308; Niccolini 1862, 73; Fiorelli 1875, 390; Pernice 1938, 70, 136, pl. 30:3; Schefold 1957, 246; *PPP* III, 248; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 128–129; Kärfe 2022, 163, 165, 175, 372 (fig. 81).

Floor: *Opus tessellatum*; a well-preserved black and white mosaic known in Pompeii in connection with Second Style paintings.⁴ The centre of the mosaic depicts scales,

⁴ Pernice 1938, 70, 136, pl. 30:3; Kärfe 2022, 169.

lined with white on a black background.⁵ There are nine whole scales alternating with eight scales and two halves, arrayed in 17 rows. This tapestry is framed with white and black bands, the rest of the mosaic being white. The mosaic continues towards room 43 as a threshold-like design, separated with a black band from the tapestry. In the centre of this smaller mosaic there is a horizontal black band on a white background, inside a setting of alternating black and white triangles, connected in the corners to an outer black frame with black lines made of single black tesserae.



Fig. 1.

Wall Paintings: There are no preserved wall paintings.

Room 45 [4] N–S 5.4 m, W–E 3.3 m; 17.6 m²

This is a taberna opening to Via Stabiana and to the fauces 42.

Bibliography: Bragantini 1999 (*PPM IX*), 130–131.⁶

Floor: Opus signinum but later covered with soil and mortar.

Wall paintings: Wall paintings are not preserved, but the scale model shows a bipartite north wall, with a reddish yellow high socle (H ca. 150 cm) and a white main zone.

Room 46 [5] N–S 3.3 m, W–E 3.25–3.55 m; 11.2 m²

This is an ala opening to the earlier atrium 43.

⁵ Other fauces mosaics with this kind of imbrication pattern are in Casa dell'Ancora (VI 10, 7), Casa del Ninfeo (VIII 2, 28), Casa delle Colombe a mosaico (VIII 2, 34), and Casa di Oppius Gratus (IX 6, 5), Kärve 2022, 189–190, 367 (fig. 70), 368 (fig. 72), 369 (fig. 74), 370 (fig. 76), 388 (fig. 112).

⁶ The mosaic floor belonging to the ala 46 is erroneously described for this room 45.



Fig. 2.

Bibliography: Bechi 1852, 17⁷; Mau 1882, 387; Pernice 1938, 70, 138; Schefold 1957, 246; *PPP* III, 428; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 130–132.

Floor: *Opus tessellatum*; a geometric mainly black and white mosaic containing also coloured tesserae in the centre, is now poorly preserved. There are diagonal white tesserae along the walls, then a narrow straight band, a black band, another narrow white band, and the area with white diagonal tesserae. In the centre there is a white stripe of two straight tesserae and a black band. Then white, green, black, yellow and red tesserae form rectangles and a meander. The complete geometric central pattern (108 x 108 cm?) remains now uncertain, as only the meander which the coloured tesserae pattern is known from a photograph published by Pernice.⁸

Wall Paintings: The wall paintings of the *ala* followed a tripartite design with slender candelabra, and according to Mau the main zone was red. In the scale model the socle

⁷ Bechi used the same number 44 for both the *ala* and the atrium.

⁸ Pernice 1938, pl. 36:5.



Fig. 3.

is black, and both the main and upper zones are red. The best-preserved areas are the left side field of the back (north) wall, and the left side field of the right (east) wall, the left (west) wall contains very little plaster.

Also, the *socle* (H 60 cm) is now reddish. The *main zone* (H 170 cm) is divided into three fields on the back (north) and right (east) walls. The red colour of the side fields is still clearly visible, but the middle field on the back (north) wall, now destroyed, may have been white. The *upper zone* contained architectural features on a white background. The left (west) wall is covered with grey plaster and may be later than the wall paintings on the other walls.



Fig. 4.

Room 47 [6]N-S 2.7 m, W-E 2.1 m; 5.7 m²

This is the second and the smallest of the row of four rooms on the northern side, a cubiculum opening to the former atrium 43.

Bibliography: Bechi 1852, 17; Mau 1882, 387; Pernice 1938, 70; *PPP* III, 428; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 132–133.

Floor: Opus tessellatum, which is now nearly destroyed; a black and white mosaic representing the Second Style, mostly with diagonal white tesserae framed with a black band. Originally the centre was decorated with a checkerboard pattern and black triangles on top of each other, and the threshold featured a black meander with another checkerboard pattern.⁹

Wall Paintings: There is only faded plaster showing a tripartite design, and a lunette on the back (north) wall. There are cramp irons, but even if they have protected the walls, the surface plaster is mainly lost. Very little is left of the entrance (south) wall.

Originally there were simple but elegant Third Style grotesques with candelabra and five small landscapes.¹⁰ The plaster of the *socle* is mixed with terracotta, being reddish yellow. The *main zone* is white. In the scale model the left (west) wall is divided into four equal fields divided by blue vertical bands, framed with narrower red and yellow bands, and with garlands hanging from them. The *upper zone* is white, and on the back (north) wall the division into a middle field and two side fields, and horizontal bands in them, are still visible. There is also a stucco cornice between the upper zone and the lunette continuing to the walls on both sides.



Fig. 5.

⁹ Pernice 1938, 70; Bragantini 1999, 132–133.

¹⁰ Bechi 1852, 17.

Room 48 [7]N–S 3.9 m, W–E 4.25–4.85 m; 16.9 m²

This is the third and the second largest of the row of four rooms on the northern side, sometimes conventionally named an oecus. There are two door openings, one towards the workshop (43) and a wider one towards the garden (51), with a broad pillar in between them.

Bibliography: Bechi 1852, 18; Helbig 1868, 227–228 (no. 1130), 275 (no. 1282); Mau 1882, 387; Dawson 1944, 88–89;¹¹ Schefold 1957, 246; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 134–135; Romizzi 2006, 476.

Floor: *Opus signinum*.

Wall Paintings: The mythological central pictures representing Early Third Style, The Judgment of Paris,¹² and Hercules and Hesione/Perseus and Andromeda,¹³ are both destroyed, but the conventional structure of the three zones can still be seen in the back (north) and right (east) walls. The room was barrel vaulted, as is shown in the east wall, with remains of a low white lunette and a stucco rib in the northeastern corner. Remains of painted plaster, i.e. a black *socle* and a red *main zone* (excepting the blue middle fields)¹⁴, are preserved on three walls (north, east, and west) and on the pillar of the south



Fig. 6.

¹¹ The location of the paintings is given as IX 4.

¹² Helbig 1868, 275 (no. 1282): "Berglandschaft. Die Gruppe des Paris und Hermes ähnlich. Hinter Paris eine Säule, an welcher ein Köcher angebunden ist, und ein Altar, auf welchem Früchte und Tainien liegen. L. auf einem Hügel sieht man die drei Göttinnen, sehr zerstört, Hera in der Mitte sitzend, l. von ihr Aphrodite und r. Pallas, letztere beiden stehend." This was the large central picture, 154 x 94 cm.

¹³ Helbig 1868, 227–228 (no. 1130): "Landschaft mit Staffage. Andromeda ist an den Felsen geschmiedet. Perseus eilt zu ihrer Vertheidigung herbei. Auf dem Felsen der Andromeda steht eine Figur, welche einen Felsen gegen das Ungeheuer schleudert." The identification is uncertain, either Hesione or Andromeda is being saved.

¹⁴ The colour of the middle field is blue in the scale model, but according to *PPP* III, 429, it is white. Now it is faded.

wall. There are clear joints between the zones. The plaster is protected with several cramp irons, and parts of the vault seem to have fallen down recently.

Furthermore, in the north wall the black *socle* is separated from the main zone by a yellow horizontal band. In the red *upper zone* there are traces of architectural features with pediments in all three fields, at least the middle one painted in perspective. Between the upper zone and the vault there is a horizontal green band.

Room 51 [9]

N–S 4.95 m, W–E 8–8.75 cm; 40.7 m²

The garden lies behind the original atrium 43, now furnished with three dyeing vats on masonry boilers and forming a passage to the rooms on the north side, and further to the rest of the rooms at the back of the house through a corridor leading to the kitchen area and latrina (54, 55), and the second floor.

Bibliography: Bechi 1852, 17; Helbig 1868, (no. 69b); Mau 1882, 104; Rizzo 1929, pl. 1; Boyce 1937, 82 (no. 406); Beyen 1938, pl. 2 (no. 3); Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 53, 107, 158 (no. 89); Bragantini et alii 1981, 168–169; Laidlaw 1985, 285–285; *PPP* III, 428–429; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 136–137.

Floor: Opus signinum in the portico.

Wall Paintings: On the left (north) and back (east) walls there are some remains of plaster, but with no traces of colours. The First Style painting on the right (south) wall is however preserved. Five white pilasters divide the area into four fields, each consisting of a *socle* made of a black plinth (H 10 cm) and alabaster slabs (H ca. 90 cm). In the *main zone* a red string course (H ca. 20 cm) separates the socle from the black orthostats (H ca. 115 cm) with yellow drafts, with the width of each pair of orthostats (i.e. field) varying from 150 to 157 cm, the narrowest being on the left. In the second from the left there is a lararium in a vaulted, semicircular niche (H 48 cm, W 62.5 cm, D 35 cm) on the right-hand side orthostat. Above the orthostats there is a red horizontal band and a simple stucco moulding followed by two isodomic courses in red, green, and yellow. The drafted rectangles are separated by bands with the same colours. The lower row is made of one whole and two half-rectangles and the upper row of two complete rectangles. Upwards next there is a fascia and a cornice in each field. The *upper zone* consists of one large panel in each field, alternating from left to right from yellow, green, red, and yellow. The uppermost part of the wall is destroyed.¹⁵

¹⁵ Mau provides a reconstruction of the wall, excluding the lararium and the edges, Mau 1882, pl. 2 b (Fig. 8).

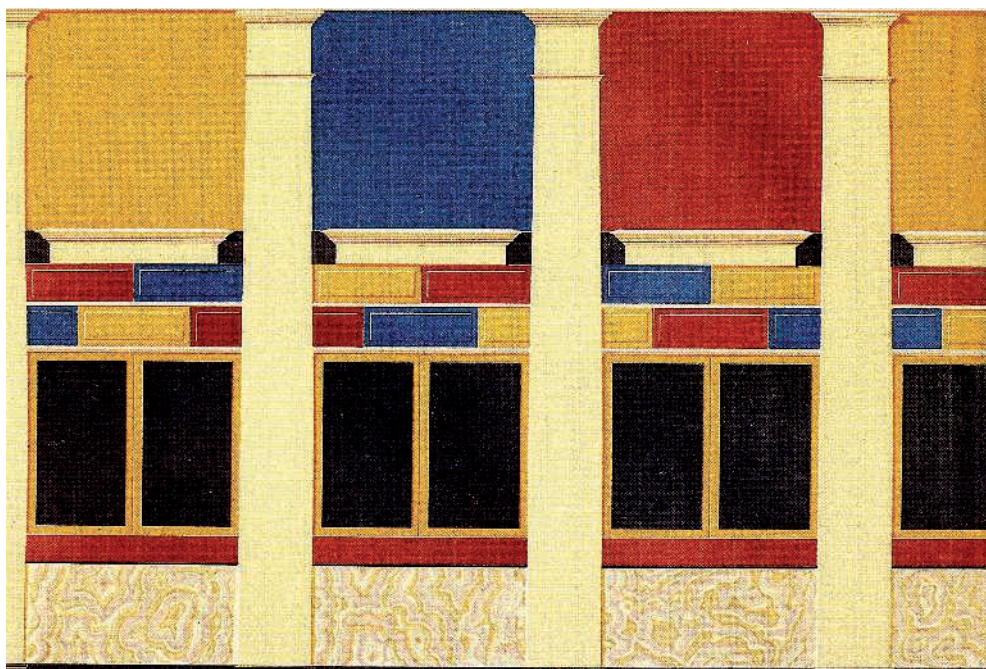


Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.

The lararium niche was decorated with a creeper with tiny red flowers, some of which are still visible on the left side. Below the flowers there is a red horizontal band, and the background is white. Beneath the sill there were two serpents facing an altar, now preserved only as some red spots, while two lares were depicted in the area above the niche. Within the niche five bronze statuettes were discovered, three male and two female, one of which was Isis-Fortuna, favoured also in the lararium paintings in the neighbouring houses, (IX 3, 10–12, and from either IX 3, 7 or IX 3, 12, now MANN 8836, see p. 164–166, 253–254).¹⁶



Fig. 9.

Room 52 [10]N–S 3.8–4.5 m, W–E 480 cm; 17.9 m²

This is the last and the largest of the row of four rooms on the northern side, probably a triclinium, opening to the garden 51. The identification of room 52 as a triclinium is supported by a fixed bench made of masonry, inside a high recess in the right corner of the back (north) wall.¹⁷

Bibliography: Mau 1882, 387; Schefold 1957, 246; *PPP* III; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 138–139.

Floor: Opus signinum with some traces of small black and white tesserae.

Wall Paintings: The walls are divided into three zones in the typical manner: a black *socle* and white *main* and *upper zones*, now white turned partially black. The scale model shows a white background divided into three panels with red, yellow, and blue bands. From earlier documentation it is known that there was a white frieze with painted animals and grotesques.¹⁸

¹⁶ For the collection of statuettes, e.g. Bechi 1852, 17; Boyce 1937, 82 (no. 406), Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 107, 158.

¹⁷ It was considered a cubiculum by Bechi 1852, 18, for which purpose it would have been rather large in the Pompeian scale.

¹⁸ Bechi 1852, 18.



Fig. 10.

The original black colour of the socle is still visible in the back (north) wall inside the recess, and one darkish leaf of the more detailed decoration remains on the right in the main zone, perhaps part of a floral candelabrum. The whole back (north) wall was framed with green bands, still visible in the right corner and above the upper zone, below the moulded stucco cornice. A small recess also in the south wall with red edges.

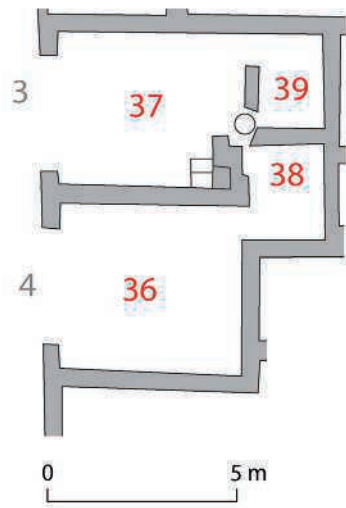


Fig. 11.

The house, though small in size, was originally elegantly decorated in the Late Republican period and during the Early Empire. Even after the transformation into a partially small-scale manufacturing area it preserved its refined character with its mosaic floors and paintings of the First and Third Styles, though in a simple manner. Now we can see only traces of painted plaster and very vague architectural features, luckily the former publications apprise of the important mythological landscapes in representative rooms of the house.¹⁹

Taberna IX 3, 4

This small taberna consisted of a shop/workshop (36) opening onto the Via Stabiana and a backroom (38). There was a mezzanine, or perhaps just shelves, above, but the upper floor was not a part of this house. The finds indicate that the workshop may have belonged to an artisan.



Room 38 N-S 260 cm, W-E 200 cm; 5.0 m²

The tiny backroom contains the only painted plaster fragment in this taberna.

Bibliography: Falkener 1852, 71; Raoul-Rochette 1852, 69.

Floor: There are no traces of the original pavement.

¹⁹ Bechi 1852, 17–19; Helbig 1868, 482: “Strada Stabiana N. 25: Peristyl: Laren 69b. Zimmer 1. vom Peristyl: Hesione 1130. Parisurtheil 1282”; Mau 1882, 387: “Ganz in derselben Weise wechseln die beiden Stilarten im Hause IX, 3, 2, wo I. vom Eingangsraum das erste und dritte Zimmer im dritten Stil mit rothem Grunde, das zweite und vierte in dem in Rede stehenden Stil [der Candelaberstil] mit weissem und schwarzem Grunde ausgemalt sind. Die Malereien dritten Stils sind sehr schlecht erhalten; es fehlen aber auch hier die charakteristischen Ornamente”.



Fig. 1.

Wall Paintings: On the left side of the back (north) wall there is a low, shallow recess that tapers upwards. Its interior was decorated with white wall plaster, of which a small fragment showing a yellow vertical band is visible. Otherwise, there are patches of unpainted or greyish plaster. Considering the addition of the wall painting the recess was most probably for a bed



Fig. 2.



House IX 3, 5.24

This is the largest, most representative, and best preserved and well-published domus of all the houses of the insula. Its decoration was mainly made during the last phase of Pompeii, at the same time that the two neighbouring houses, IX 3, 5 and IX 3, 24, were merged into a L-shaped compound with 32 rooms, a garden, and upper floors. Now it is called the House of Marcus Lucretius due to a painted letter with an inscription on the north wall of room 20.¹ Many of the panel paintings were removed, and are now in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples. The protection of the paintings

¹ Castrén 2019, 17–19; Varone 2019, 29–31.

started soon after the excavation, first with light shelters, later removed and replaced by solid constructions, but not in all rooms; e.g. the atrium 2 and tablinum 15 are poorly preserved. Now in rooms 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 19 and 20 there are modern roofs partially protecting their wall paintings.

Room 1 Fauces

N–S 2.2 m; W–E 5.0 cm; 12.0 m²

The entrance corridor, a fauces or prothyron,² to the House of Marcus Lucretius opens through wide doorways both onto the Via Stabiana and into the atrium (2), and in the north further to a small room with a staircase (3). Near the atrium the wall paintings are edged with stucco pilasters (W ca. 38 cm).³

Bibliography: Avellino 1846–1847, 33–35; Panofka 1847a, 130; Panofka 1847b, 141; Avellino 1847–1848, 1–8, 9; Falkener 1852, 39–42; Bechi 1852 (*MB* 14), 2; Raoul-Rochette 1852, 67, 70–74; Niccolini 1854, 2–3; Minervini 1855, 52–53; Breton 1855, 319; Helbig 1868, 113 (no. 482); 323 (no. 1399), 352–353 (no. 1469), 443 (no. 1919), 446 (no. 1945); Fiorelli 1877, 391; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 315; Blake 1930, 99–100; Schefold 1957, 246; Eristov 1979, 736; *PPM Disegnatori*, 472, 474–475; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM IX*), 143–151; Romizzi 2006, 477; Tammisto – Kuivalainen 2008, 84–85; Ynnilä 2011 II (cat.), 36–37; Kärfeve 2022, 109–110, 129–132, 222–224, 381.

Floor: Opus tessellatum, black and white mosaic with black double frame on a black background in the edges, and white background in the middle. It is renovated in patches, and the threshold consists of grey restoration mortar, pieces of modern roof tiles, and two pieces of white marble. The mosaic continues directly towards the atrium, and the bands form angles in the larger space.



Fig. 1.

² Falkener 1852, 39; Helbig 1868, 482.

³ These pilasters are vertically profiled, with four pairs of incised lines bordering four stripes and three vertical bands between the stripes. On the eastern side, towards the atrium (2), is a fourth stripe. Originally here must have been some now-perished decoration of the corner of the door jambs, probably made of wood as suggested by Falkener 1852, 42. The same or similar supposedly wooden decorations probably also decorated the other rooms opening onto the atrium.

Wall Paintings: The wall paintings are now bipartite, consisting of a mostly preserved socle and the main zone.⁴ Above there is only a frieze. On the right (south) wall there are three fields and, in the left, (north) wall only two, as the doorway replaces the left side field. The original colours have partially changed, as cinnabar was used in a thin layer, which is now completely faded.⁵



Fig. 2.

Right (south) wall: The *socle* (H 68–98 cm) consists of marble imitations. Its height varies due to the ascending terrain towards the atrium; the height difference is balanced with a grey lower horizontal section, a plinth, below a red band.⁶ Above, in middle field, there is red porphyry circle framed by a now nearly vanished green band, against a background imitating Numidian yellow marble with red veins. The right side field is mostly destroyed, but the left side field is complete, and divided from the middle field with a pilaster decorated with a lozenge shaped yellow marble, framed with red, as well as vertical green bands at the edges.⁷ The left side field contains two porphyry half-

⁴ The upper zone does not contain any plaster, similar to the triclinium 16; it may have been decorated with curtains.

⁵ The use of cinnabar on yellow ochre underpaint was ascertained by the analyses made by the team of EVTEK-Metropolia during the field seasons in 2004–2006..

⁶ Falkener 1852, 40 describes that earlier there was blue plaster under the grey marble imitation.

⁷ Falkener 1852, 40 names the yellow sienite, i.e. the yellow marble from Siena, and the now green material

circles with curving sides towards the middle, both framed with green bands, which are separated from the red by incised lines. Above the socle there is a joint covered with a green horizontal band (H ca. 5 cm), now turned nearly black, over a red undercoat.

The *main zone* (H ca. 171 cm) is best preserved on the right side. Its background is light (Egyptian) blue, and the three fields are separated with two yellow columns.⁸ They were decorated with spiral candelabra, on top of which maenads were standing, however only one is preserved on the right; she holds a tambourine in her hand. The now faded central picture (55.5 x 51.5 cm) depicts three figures moving to the right. On the left there is a drunken youth in a light, carelessly girdled short chiton and red cloak, covering his ivy-wreathed head; he is returning from a party, and leans on a wreathed female figure who plays a tibia. She is robed in a green tunic and yellow himation draped over her left shoulder and around her lower body. Both of these young adults seem to wear masks, as their faces are pallid and the overall appearance is glazed.⁹ The same effect could of course be reached by excessive drinking of wine. The shorter third person observes the couple and illuminates the scene with a torch, which touches the frame of the separately-made panel. The details have vanished, and consequently the identification of the subject has varied from a comedic scene to a depiction of mythological heroes.¹⁰



Fig. 3.

as black marble; Eristov 1979, 736: "Formes ovoïdes séparées par du du violet marbre de Skyros (?)."

⁸ Panofka described the walls as red, Panofka 1847a, 130; Falkener 1852, 40: "[--] pilasters which appear to have been black, but their colour has much changed by the action of fire; in some places being black, and in others purple and red." This problematic red may refer to cinnabar, which could have changed and vanished, leaving only the yellow undercoat visible.

⁹ The old drawings and descriptions of this painting show considerable variation in the details of the clothing, e.g., shoes, long sleeves, and leggings. M. Mastracchio, MANN ADS 998; N. La Volpe (1853), MANN ADS 1000.

¹⁰ Panofka 1847a, 130; Avellino 1846–1847, 34–35; Avellino 1847–1848, 1–2; Raoul-Rochette 1852, 74; Helbig 1868, 353 (no. 1469): "Ein epheubekränztes Mädchen in gelben Schuhen, hellgrünem, langärmeligem Chiton und hellgelbem, grüngefüttertem Mantel, welcher um ihre Hüften gegürtet

In the side fields, on a slightly higher level, there were floating female figures (H 37 cm) moving towards the centre and each other. The one on the left, holding a rudder with both hands, is a yellow-robed Fortuna with her upper torso bare.¹¹ In the right field there is Abundantia, Ceres, or Victoria holding a cornucopia in her outstretched right hand and wearing an allegedly violet robe; now only the sketchy outlines are visible.¹²

The painted frieze (H ca. 15 cm) on top of the central zone is preserved to a length of ca. 130 cm above the right column. It is the only indication of the upper zone, a rarity in this house, and perhaps a reminiscence of the Second Style. It consists of a horizontal line, a band, and another band with hatched diagonal lines and an Ionic cyma, on top of which there are rosettes with eight petals inside rectangles.

Left (north) wall: The north wall is a parallel to the right (south) wall, with a slight variation in the positions of the panels. The green details of the socle are better preserved; even the lowest (in practice triangular) section below the red horizontal band is clearly green.

The central picture (W 49 cm, preserved H 28 cm) is preserved only up to the waistline of the three female figures depicted, showing criss-crossing damage lines. The figures stand on a raised floor level. The one on the left, robed in light green, holds two torches pointing slightly downwards, emitting smoke. Her drapery is painted partly crossing the red frame. The figure in the middle is presented in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile, and the third, in full profile, is only partly inside the frame; both wear green tunics and red cloaks. They face the torch bearer – the torches seem to be the central element of this painting. The topic

ist und über ihren l. Arm herabfällt, steht da, nach r. gewendet, und bläst die Doppelflöte. Hinter ihr steht ein Jüngling mit bleicher Maske in Schuhen, engen Hosen, langärmeligem gegürtetem Chiton, und legt, schwach auf den Füßen stehend, die Hände auf die Schultern des Mädchens; ein rothes Gewand ist kapuzenartig über seinen Hinterkopf gezogen und an der Stelle, wo es das Haupt bedeckt, mit einem Epheukranz umgeben. Vor der Flötenspielerin steht ein Knabe in gelbem langärmeligem Chiton, welcher sich nach dem Paare umblickt und mit beiden Händen eine brennende Fackel hält. Am Halse des Jünglings und des Mädchens erkennt man deutlich die Bänder der Maske (vgl. *Bull.nap.* (n. s.) IV p. 53). Dieser Umstand und die Tracht des Jünglings lassen uns entschieden eine Komödienszene erkennen: ein liederlicher Jüngling kehrt mit einer Dirne von einem Gelag nach Hause. Die Erklärungen von Avellino auf Atyr und Sangaritis und die von Minervini, welcher in dem Bilde den Dionysos, begleitet von einer Bacchantin und dem mystischen Daduchos, erkennen wollte, sind keiner Widerlegung bedürftig.”

¹¹ According to the museum catalogue for G. Abbate's drawing (1846) MANN ADS 1018: "una Nike in volo, a torso nudo". Cf. *PPM Disegnatori*, 341–342 no. 151; Falkener 1852, 41: "and Fortune on the left side, bearing a cornucopia reversed in her left hand, and holding a globe in her right"; Helbig 1868, 446 no. 1945.

¹² Falkener 1852, 41: "[–] the figure of Abundance, with a cornucopia on her shoulder"; Helbig 1868, 443 (no. 1919).

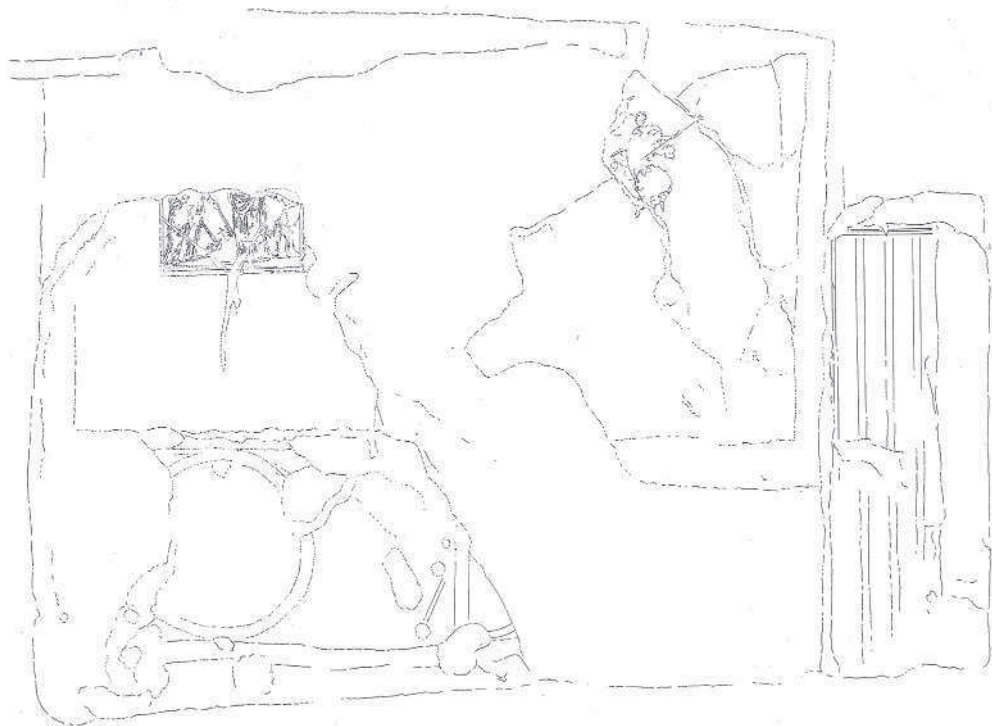


Fig. 4.

is unclear, with suggestions varying from an interrupted wedding to a mythological scene with Ceres.¹³ On the right hand side the wall painting is preserved to a height of 215 cm, and contains a floating figure (H 36 cm), a maenad robed in bright red and moving to the left, holding a slender thyrsus in her left hand.¹⁴



Fig. 5.

¹³ Avellino 1847, 35: Ceres; Panofka 1847a: a wedding scene; Falkener 1852, 41; Raoul-Rochette 1852, 70: Ceres; Helbig 1868, 323 no. 1399; Schefold 1957, 246.

¹⁴ Helbig 1868, 113 no 482.

Despite the poor condition of the wall paintings in this space it may be suggested that they allude to the whole Bacchic world of the house. The three floating figures are easily associated with such divinities, and do not have to be merely ornamental characters.

Atrium 2

N–S 8.35 m, W–E 9.4 m; 78.4 m²

The entrance hall, or atrium, in the middle of the west part of the house is a very large rectangular room. Its walls are interrupted by eleven door openings to the surrounding rooms. There are two doorways in the entrance (west) wall, i.e. the large main entrance from the fauces (1), and a narrow doorway to the small room with a storage space and staircase (3) to the upper floor. There are three doorways in each of the remaining three walls. In the centre of the back (east) wall there is a wide opening to a tablinum (15), on its left side a small doorway to the stairs (17), and further to the private quarters, and on the right a small servants' doorway to the triclinium (16). In the right (south) wall two doorways open to the cubicula (4) and (5), while a third part of the wall is occupied by the wide opening to the prestigious southern ala (8), through which guests could be invited to enter the triclinium (16). In symmetrical fashion, on the opposite left (north) wall there are doorways to the two cubicula (6) and (7), while a third section of the wall is again occupied by the wide opening to other ala (9), and further to the servants' quarters



Fig. 6.

with the kitchen (14) and latrina (13). The remains of a lararium are immediately to the right of the main entrance, against the west wall. The preservation of the paintings is poor in this central space with its interrupted walls, which may almost be considered piers. The reproductions and photographs of early documentation have been essential for the following descriptions, as relatively little is now discernible. Primarily, the main zone of the central section of the left (north) wall, i.e. the middle field, and some minor details were copied and published, e.g. Abbate's picture by Niccolini, and by Zahn.¹⁵

Bibliography: Avellino 1847–1848, 2–3, Bechi 1852 (*MB* 14), 3; Falkener 1852, 42–44; Niccolini 1854, pl. 6; Zahn 1854, pl. 56; Breton 1855, 299; Fiorelli 1875, 391; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 315; Boyce 1937, 83 (no. 408); Schefold 1957, 246; Eristov 1979, 736–737; *PPP* III, 430–431; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 151–157.

Floor: Opus tessellatum in black and white. By the walls and the door openings, a black border (15 tesserae) followed by four black and white bands of varying widths (4, 5 or 10 tesserae), laid in straight rows, and continuing seamlessly to the fauces (1),¹⁶ also framing the three sides of the lararium. According to the early reports, a white mosaic field covered the entire floor,¹⁷ laid diagonally, but was later damaged and largely destroyed. Traces of an impluvium were also reported, but without its pavement.¹⁸ The thresholds to the cubacula (4, 5, 6, 7) and to the corridor (17) were covered with white marble slabs, set at floor level, while the thresholds to the rooms (8, 9, 15, 16) in the east part are raised some 10–20 cm above the floor level, the edges covered with white marble. Many damages and repairs were visible on the floor until 2008, when nearly the entire floor was covered with concrete.

Wall Paintings: There is a tripartite scheme, but in the socle there are also upper panels that resemble a predella (H 10–13.5 cm). All of the walls contain marble imitations in the socle (H 77–88 cm), and in the main zone (H ca. 280 cm) elaborate architectural structures on a light (Egyptian) blue background. After excavation this room was considered one of the finest in Pompeii, but almost nothing remains of its splendours.¹⁹

¹⁵ Niccolini 1854, pl. 6; Zahn 1854, pl. 56. In Zahn's picture the socle is included.

¹⁶ Blake 1930, 100, "The practice of connecting the entrance pavement with the atrium without a separating border or band [--] seems to have come into being at this time." Sc. after the earthquake.

¹⁷ Avellino 1847–1848, 3; Falkener 1852, 42–43, plan.

¹⁸ Falkener 1852, 42–43: "a handsome quilloche border round the *impluvium*; [--] It is probable that this part of the house was excavated by its former owner, after the destruction of the city, [--] The pavement of the impluvium probably consisted of slabs of precious marble, as in the Casa del Fauno."

¹⁹ Falkener 1852, 44.

The two-storey aediculae continue almost to the destroyed upper zone, but the original height and design are not known, except for the reference to some of the fallen pieces.²⁰

Back (east) wall: This wall consists of two small sections on piers between the side walls of the open tablinum (15) and the doorways to rooms 17 and 16. The wall paintings are limited to worn and faded remains. On the left side there is some more plaster (H 187 cm) in the middle of the pier, surrounded from the top and from both sides by modern repairs, and on the right pier a trapezoidal piece surrounded completely by modern plaster. There are two narrow vertical fields with remains of quadrangular marble imitation in the *socle*, with a red frame, between the red ochre base band and the upper band; below, a predella with green marbling, as also on the left (north) wall.²¹ Above the socle there is a joint, and a green area (H ca. 8–10 cm) above it. In the scale model in Naples the north pier and the wall plaster covering it is preserved to the height of some 200 cm; in the south pier the wall plaster is preserved only to the height of some 150 cm above floor level

Right (south) wall: This wall is the partition wall between the atrium and ala 8, with a wide opening and doorways into cubacula 5 and 4, dividing the wall paintings into three parts. The horizontal tripartite scheme is somehow visible, although the upper zone has been destroyed. In the *socle* (H ca. 90 cm) there is a plinth, above it a wide red horizontal band, and then marble imitations, divided from each other by red vertical bands, and atop a red horizontal band. In the centre of the middle field (the pier between doorways to the cubacula) there is a green marble imitation of a curious form, a green rectangle with rounded tips and a contracted middle on a yellow background. On the left pier (i.e. the side field) of the wall, the central marble imitation is a red medallion on yellow background, framed with a green band. The right side field in the west corner is narrower, and no peculiar traces of painted marble are visible, only a quadrangular area above the red band. The possible predella is green (H 22–25 cm).

In the *main zone* there is an elaborate scenography with a central two-storey aedicula in the middle field, with columns and a pediment, now only in red. Above the pediment is the second storey, also with several columns, now seen as wide vertical bands as the slender columns of the original receding wings have been destroyed. In both side fields there are smaller architectural structures; in the better-preserved left-side field an open pavilion is seen in perspective, containing four columns, two in front and

²⁰ Dyer 1867, 84: "The whole was surmounted by a frieze of gilt stucco, many fragments of which were found during the excavation."

²¹ Eristov 1979, 736: "Tracés vert, type de marbre de Carystos (?)." – This refers to the green cipollino from Euboea.

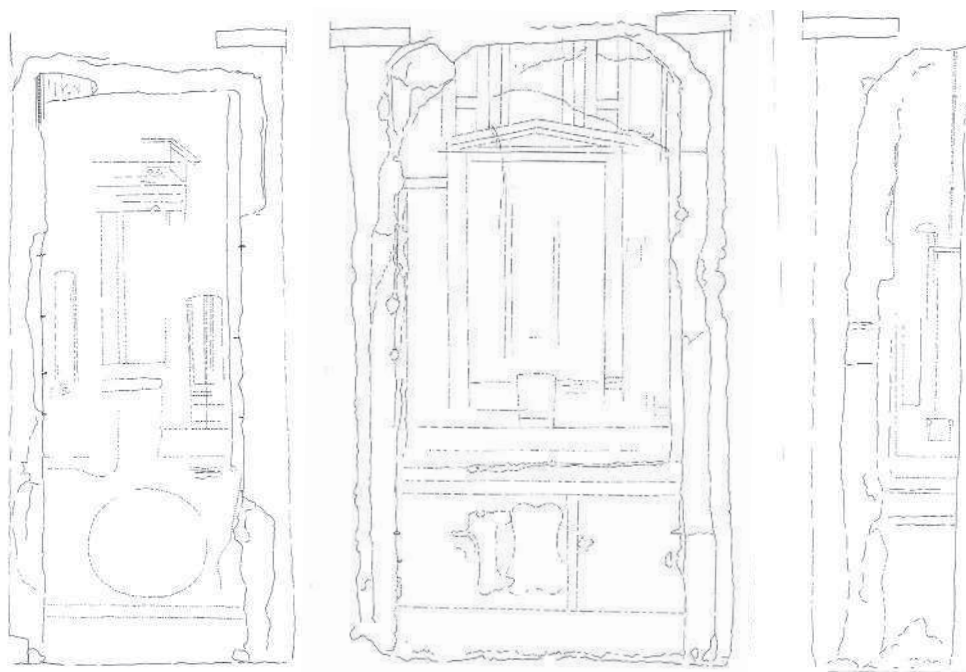


Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.

two in the back supporting a heavy entablature with a projecting cornice. In the western doorjamb of cubiculum 5 a short (W 0.28 cm) section of a vertical stucco frieze with an egg-and-dart moulding is preserved between a height of 237–265 cm, adjoining the left eastern side of the wall painting.

Left (north) wall: This wall separates the atrium from rooms 6, 7, and 9, with the wall paintings being again on the piers, ending in roughly vertical lines some 20–25 cm before the edges of the pier. The middle field (the pier between cubacula 6 and 7) seems to have been better preserved than the others when excavated in 1847, judging by the two detailed colour reproductions of its main zone. It is identical to the opposite right (south) wall. The left side field is in better condition, and contains in its *socle* a quadrangular painted marble imitation in red and green between a red horizontal band below and above, and green vertical bands on sides. In the *main zone* there is a scenography dominated by a wide central two-storey aedicula with a pediment as in the south wall.

In the old pictures the architectural structure of the middle field can be seen in more detail: in the *socle* there are three yellow panels in green marble enclosed below and above with three white lines. The central panel is decorated with a green rectangle with rounded tips and a contracted middle, with red squares on the sides. A dark green band



Fig. 9.

course separates the socle from the *main zone*. A complex aedicula is presented in frontal view; in its centre, on green terrain, a staircase with three steps ascends to a platform. In front, on both sides there are two white columns standing on pedestals, in the dados of which are masks decorated with ribbons and tendrils inside a panel,²² and boucrania tied with garlands in the narrow cornices. The columns, with simple bases, are decorated with spiralling florals in yellow, and have Ionic capitals; the two pairs of columns are connected with a screen wall halfway up; the lower halves are decorated with acanthus scrolls and standing *Victoriae* on an ochre background, and atop with a horizontal border of acanthi. These slender columns support a pediment; the entablature, in the shape of a narrow fascia, is decorated on the sides with a sphinx and an acanthus scroll, and in the middle with a suspended mask and seahorses moving towards the sides. The geison is decorated with an astragal,



Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.

²² The mask spreading into volutes on its sides was also drawn by an unknown artist, MANN ADS 1004, *PPM Disegnatori* (1995), 910.

and the sima with an anthemion, and in the tympanum there are more acanthus scrolls with another sphinx in the centre. The space within has green walls, a coffered ceiling, and a semicircular back wall, through which a doorway with slender yellow columns and a pediment, crowned with an anthemion, leads to the next room. This room, with brown walls and a coffered ceiling, leads finally to the back room again with green walls and a coffered white ceiling.

This central aedicula is framed with antae on pedestals, decorated in front with feline heads with a cone on top(?), on the sides with sitting animals, and dolphins at the back. The wall is red, decorated with a simple vertical panel with three dots and a dotted horizontal band. In front, slender candelabrum columns support the fasciae; the lower half of the receding intercolumnia is painted green and decorated on top with a border with dots inside squares, and tragic masks. Seahorses with riders complete the top decoration. On both sides of the aedicula there are annexes with quadrangular pavilions, with the fronts of their bases also decorated. These platforms and outer pillars are painted greyish brown with white corners; the fasciae are decorated with crosses and dots on green in the lower part and cones on red in the upper. There is no obvious entrance to the back room, suggested only by green walls and a green coffered ceiling, supported with a slender simple column in its back corner.

On top of the central aedicula there is an open pavilion that follows the basic cross-shaped plan of the main aedicula below. On the back wall, half green, there are arched window openings. Slender candelabra columns support fasciae, on top of which are again seahorses, now without riders, and on top of the annexes, volutes. In the centre, garlands are fastened onto a shield.

Entrance (west) wall: The entrance wall contains doorways to the fauces (1) and the small room with a staircase (3), which again divide the wall into three sections. The widest section is on the southern side, split into a field to the left, then the aedicula type masonry lararium, and another field. Then there are two narrow fields on the northern side of this wall, one in the pier between the two doorways, and one by the north wall.

The almost entirely faded *socle zone* preserves features similar to the other three walls: the same red horizontal bands, and some marble imitations. In the right side field there is a panel framed with vertical green bands – presumably such green bands closed all the fields of the socle on this wall.

By the *main zone*, the aedicula-type lararium on a masonry pedestal (H 110 cm, W 119 cm, DPT 70 cm) preserves very little of its original decoration. On the left side of the pedestal there are remains of a circle (D ca. 61 cm), drawn with a compass and framed by three red lines with small green leaves, perhaps indicating a laurel wreath, if not a clipeus; the panel was framed with a red band, now only seen on the left edge

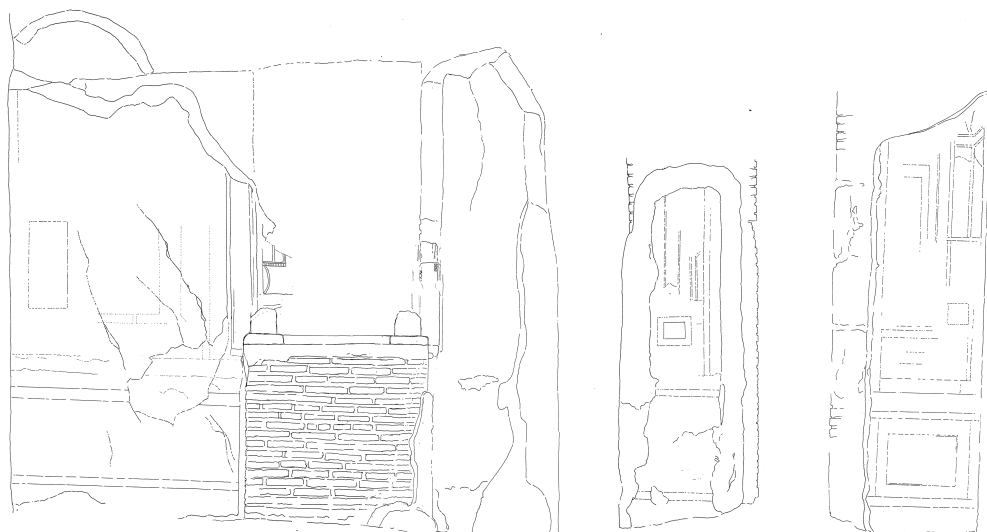


Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.

and above. On the right side of the pedestal there is reddish plaster around the front corner, and white moulded stucco at the top and bottom edges. The platform is bi-level, the front being 5 cm lower and supporting the quadrangular bases (H 5 cm) of two columns, the shafts of which still partially exist (H ca. 15 cm); but the roof, probably an architrave and a pediment above, is destroyed.

At the back of the platform the wall is recessed (W 99 cm, DPT 10 cm), and contains some white stucco; on the left side a fragment of a dentil moulding is preserved; below it there is the left edge of a concave panel (H 16 cm), and above two vertical bands, all made of the same white stucco. The two pilasters framing the recess at the back of the platform extend slightly outwards from the axis line of the front columns; only the inner side of the left pilaster, i.e. the left side wall of the recess, has preserved some of its original decoration, a vertical red panel framed with an egg-and-dart stucco moulding (H of the preserved part 18 cm). Nothing is known about the lararium painting, if it existed above the white stuccoed area.²³

On the left in the main zone wall painting, between the south wall and the lararium, there are remains of an aedicula similar to those in the middle fields on the lateral north and south walls. In the three narrow fields of the piers there are vague remains of architectural features; those in the right edge preserve more of their original colours, such as the blue panel of the pedestal and red columns.

The atrium, with its bright light blue background colour, was one of the finest rooms in the House of Marcus Lucretius, and was also visible to passers-by when the front door was open. It showcased the painted architectural elegance of the Fourth Style, now only faintly visible.

Room 3

N-S 1.45 m, W-E 5.15 m; 7.0 m²

This narrow, small room on the north side of the entrance corridor (1) was previously identified as the doorman's room,²⁴ and a parapylon,²⁵ as it opened both towards the main entrance and the atrium. Nowadays it is rather considered a space leading to the upper floor, a staircase and a storage room (p. 299).

Bibliography: Falkener 1852, 41, 43; Bechi 1852 (*MB* 14), 2–3; Niccolini 1854, 3; Breton 1855, 299; Fiorelli 1875; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 315; *PPP* III, 4321.



Fig. 14.

²³ For the figurines, Pietilä-Castrén 2019, 123, 132.

²⁴ Overbeck – Mau 1884, 315: *cella ostiarii*.

²⁵ Falkener 1852, 41.

Floor: There are some traces of opus signinum and a marble threshold to the atrium (2). Most of the floor has been destroyed except the masonry and stone structures used as a base for the staircase.

Wall paintings: The only decorative elements were a red socle (H ca. 70 cm) and the white main zone, and this bipartite scheme is also visible in the scale model in Naples.

Cubiculum 4 N–S 280 cm, W–E 225 cm; 6.3 m²

This is the first of the two barrel-vaulted cubacula on the right (south) side of the atrium (2). The only doorway is on the north side of the room.

Bibliography: Panofka 1847a, 137; Panofka 1847b, 144; Avellino 1847–1848, 4–5, Falkener 1852, 43, 45–46, 48, 50–51; Bechi (*MB* 14) 3–4; Helbig 1868 137 (no. 624), 176 (nos. 876, 880), 187 (no. 950), 206 (no. 1029), 290 (no. 1294); Overbeck – Mau 315, Fiorelli 1875, 391; Schefold 1957, 248; *PPP* III 431–432; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 159–167; Romizzi 2006, 477.

Floor: Opus signinum of whitish mortar mixed with crushed terracotta, and decorated with inlaid marble crustae, of which there are two triangular pieces of white and greenish (cipollino) marble left. The other slabs have been removed, as the pavement is mostly destroyed. The threshold is of white marble.

Wall Paintings: There is a tripartite decorative scheme on all the walls, with a yellow socle and white main and upper zones. The original lunettes of the back (south) and entrance (north) walls no longer exist, but were covered with painted plaster. The upper zones have been mostly destroyed except on the right (east) wall. The lateral right (west) and left (east) walls are pendants. The horizontal dividing bands and embroidery borders cover all four walls, including the narrow side fields on the entrance (north) wall; in the left side field the horizontal bands and garlands,



Fig. 15.

framing the lower and upper sides of the main zone, are on a clearly higher level than on the west wall. This shows that each wall was done separately, perhaps starting from the entrance (north) wall, continuing then to the left (east) wall, back (south) wall, and finishing with the right (west) wall.

The plaster is partially destroyed in places. During the restoration in 2007–2008 more areas were filled with modern plaster on the right (west) wall, as previously plaster was missing only in a small, though fairly deep break under the central picture. In the scale model a third of the upper zone wall paintings are depicted.

The architectural structures seem to have been painted mainly in yellow ochre, which appears to have turned into red ochre by the heat of the eruption in the middle of the main zone, from the height of 150 cm upwards. The change suggests that the upper halves of the walls remained above the layer of pumice and ash of the first phase of the eruption. In the narrow side fields on the entrance (north) wall the white background of the main zone is partially blackened, in the right almost totally, caused by the burning of the wooden doors and their frames.

Back (south) wall: Half of the main zone and the right side field are destroyed. There is a large oblong break, possibly a looter's hole, now also filled with modern repair. The yellow *socle* (H ca. 70 cm) is divided into three fields with narrow intervals. The only complete area is the left side field (W 63 cm), horizontally split into two with a red band, framed with white stripes and a white embroidery border with flowers with four petals alternating with vertical heart-shaped leaves.²⁶ The lower (H 37.5 cm) part does not contain any decorative features, and in the upper part (H 28.5 cm) the plaster surface has been damaged. The left interval (W ca. 14.5 cm) with an arched top is framed with red; a hanging object inside is now faded. The interval was placed under the columns of the main zone as a pedestal. Of the middle field little remains, except an arched garland on the left and a white narrow band above it. In the right side field there are remains of the same embroidery border as on the left. The dividing band below the main zone is white, framed with red on both sides.

The white *main zone* (H 181 cm) is divided into three fields. The middle field is dominated by a central aedicula with receding wings divided into two stories, and a simple pediment above. The first columns are yellow, but turn into red above; the second greyish columns support the entablature above the first floor, decorated with an inclined shield, visible only on the left side; the third set of columns are green. The undecorated pediment and the parts of the entablature are differentiated by green, blue, and red

²⁶ The same embroidery border is used in the back (south) wall of the neighbouring cubiculum (5), but there in the middle field of the socle.

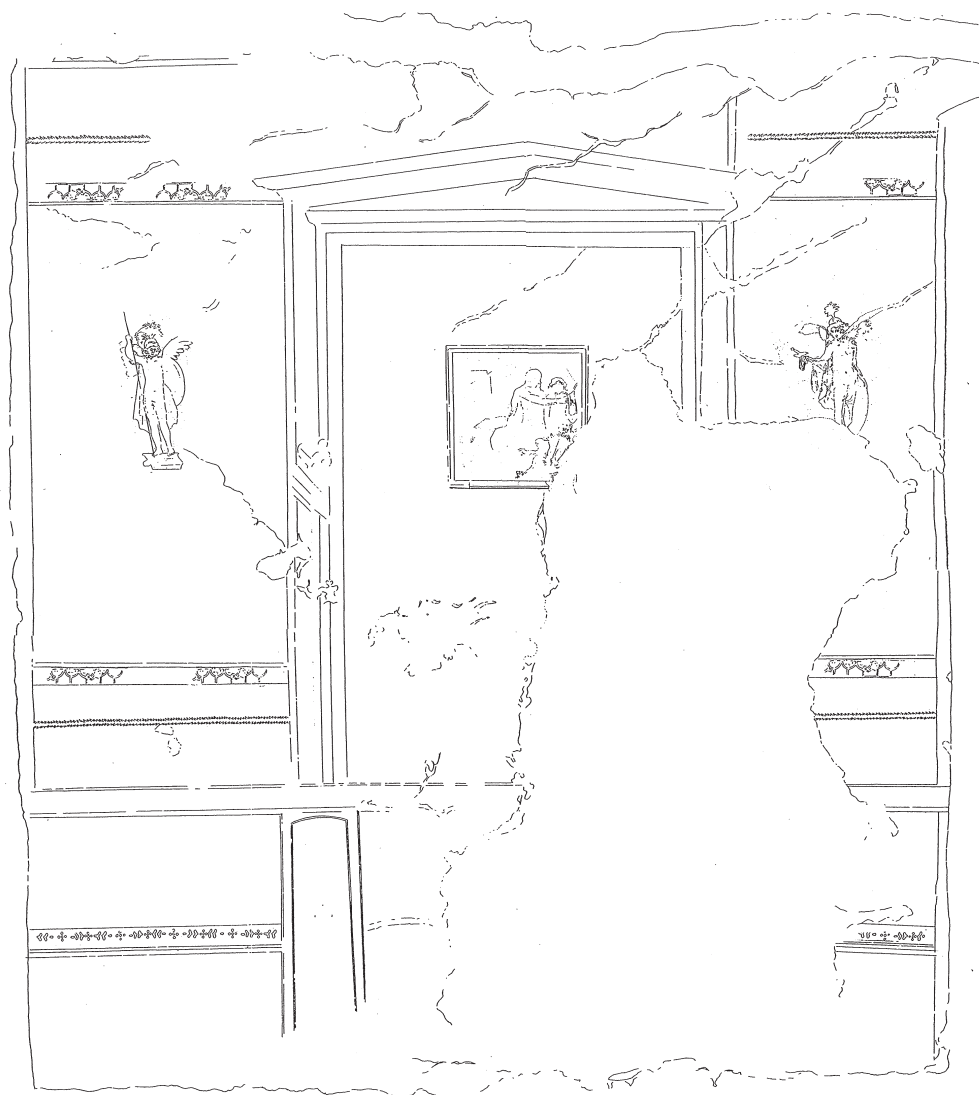


Fig. 16.

bands, with yellow scrolls in the raking cornice, and orange on top. The central picture (32 x 32 cm) depicts Chiron instructing Achilles on the lyre, a subject well-known in Pompeii and in the Vesuvian area.²⁷ It is a composition of two figures. The centaur on

²⁷ Helbig 1868, 279–280 (nos. 1291–1295); Sogliano 1879, 109–110 (no. 571). In Pompeii the subject is known, e.g., from Casa di Adone ferito (VI 7, 18), Casa di Giulio Polibio (VI 17, 36), and the priests' cubiculum of the temple of Isis (VIII 7, 28); the nearest examples are in a cubiculum of house IX 5, 6, which is almost the same size (37 x 36 cm), and in the tablinum of IX 9, 3–5.

the left is sitting and leans on his forelegs; he is depicted in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile, bearded, with curly hair, his back and left shoulder covered with a cloak. He has wrapped his arms around young Achilles, while holding the lyre in his left hand and playing it with his right. He looks at the fair boy, who has turned his admiring face in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile towards his talented tutor; he stands with his weight on his left foot, wears a chlamys around his neck, and holds a plectrum in his lowered right hand. On the background there are some rocks on the left and a tree on the right.

Both the side fields are horizontally divided into three compartments with red horizontal garlands and green embroidery borders. The lowest embroidery border has straight, five-sided compartments facing arches above, and a red stripe on top. In the upper part of the field there is first a red stripe and then the embroidery border with semicircles and five-sided compartments above, and further a horizontal red garland. In the middle there are winged figures (H ca. 33 cm), probably genii, both standing frontally and barefoot on a floating console (bracket). The feet of the right one are destroyed; he wears a cloak on his back, and holds a sword in his right hand, steadying with his left a shield resting on the ground; he wears a crested helmet and turns his head slightly towards the centre. The similarly helmeted companion on the left stands with his weight on his right foot, a spear in his raised right arm, and carries a shield with his left. The upper dividing band, with red and blue stripes, is visible only above the left side field.

Right (west) wall: The *socle* (H 67 cm) is divided into three fields by intervals. The middle field (W 98 cm) has been partially destroyed. In the centre, attached to the underside of the lower dividing band, there is a small panel (W 28.5 cm) with its lower edge arched,



Fig. 17.

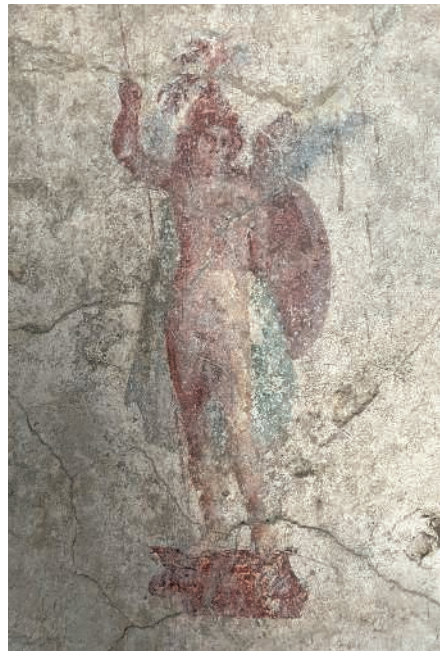


Fig. 18.

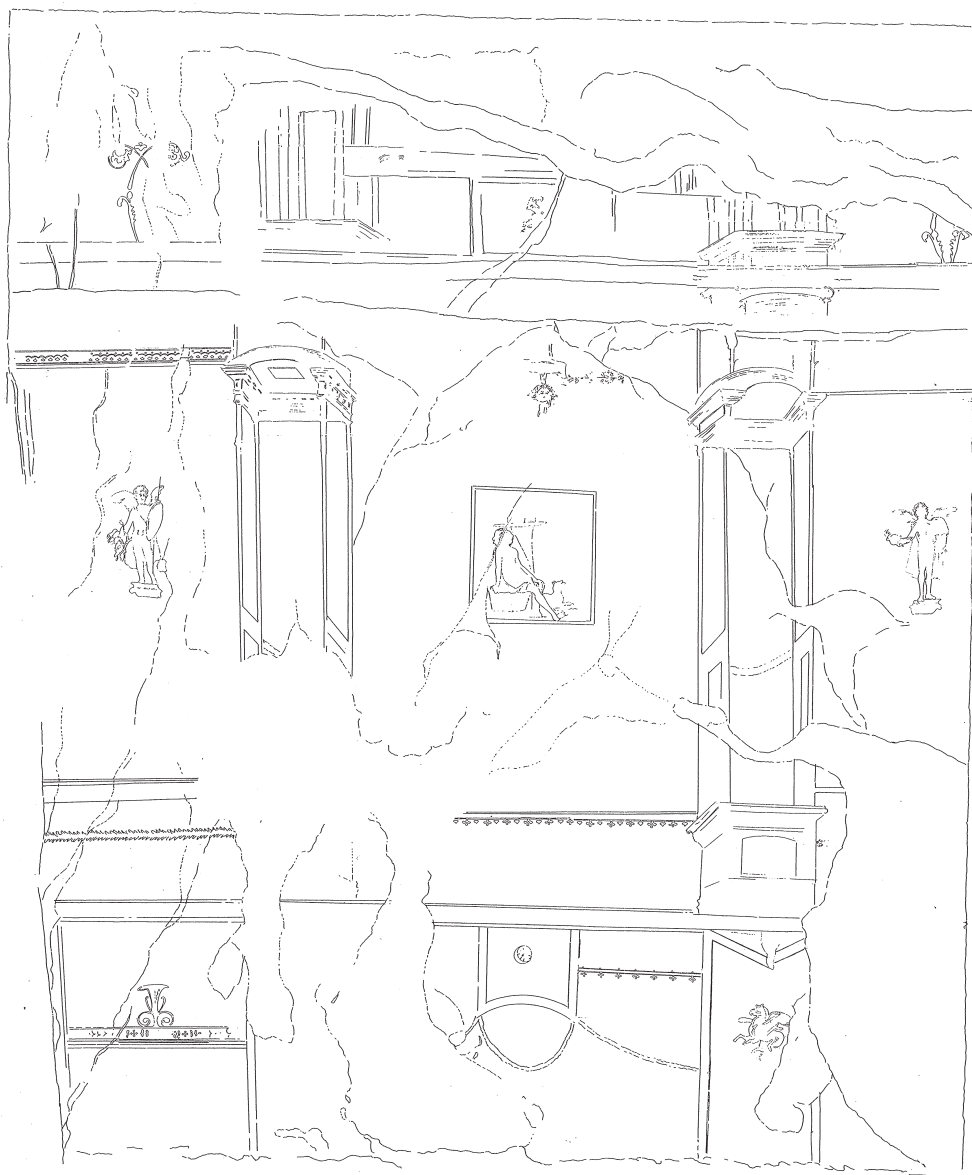


Fig. 19.

framed by a blue band and enclosing a patera or a tympanum. Underneath, interlocking into the arched edge, hangs a red garland with white highlights in the upper edge. It is attached to the corners of the panel and loops towards the vertical red bands framing the whole field. The suspended rhyton is no longer visible. On the right side of the small panel there is a simple horizontal embroidery border, a blue line with lotus flowers

hanging below it and another blue line with little dots above, destroyed on the left side. The intervals (W 28.5 cm) form M-shaped panels framed by red bands, with a Pegasus flying towards the centre; the only one remaining is on the right, shaded with red. The right side field is nearly destroyed, while the left side field (W ca. 65 cm) preserves the decoration; the field is divided horizontally with a red stripe and an embroidery border similar to the back (south) wall. On top of it is a crater with tendrils and volutes on its sides. The lower dividing band above the socle is white with a red stripe along the top and below, as in the other walls.

The *main zone* (H ca. 180 cm) is divided into three fields by architectural intervals. The middle field (W 98 cm) is crossed by a horizontal border below, with two blue stripes, the lower one with teardrops alternating with hanging lotus flowers. The central picture, framed with red (37 x 34 cm), depicts Endymion with his dog.²⁸ He is seated on a rock, depicted in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile with his head turned towards the viewer. This painting is documented at least in three drawings from the 19th century, with only slight differences.²⁹ His cloak covers his back, extends over his right thigh, and falls to the ground; his hair is decorated with a fillet. There is a pedum leaning against the rock. The written descriptions gave him two spears, not seen as such in the drawings; in Abbate's drawing there are two long sticks with a curve on the top, and La Volpe drew one spear, head downwards. The dog, depicted in profile, lies on the ground on the right, partially behind the young man, and looks upwards. In Abbate's drawings there is also a small crescent and a dot rosette above, in the upper right corner. In the background there are angular cliffs and trees. On the wall itself the details have been lost. The crescent confirms the identification as Endymion, the lover of Selene.³⁰ Above the



Fig. 20.

²⁸ Helbig 1868, 187 (no. 950): "Ein Jüngling, vermuthlich Endymion, sitzt da, mit weissem Haarbande, eine rothe Chlamys über den Schenkeln, zwei Speere in der L., die R. auf den Steinsitz gestützt, an den ein Pedum angelehnt ist; neben ihm liegt sein Hund. Im Hintergründe Berg und Wald. Oben am Himmel ist ein rother Halbmond gemalt. Panofka vermuthet in der Figur Orion oder Kephalos."

²⁹ Abbate, MANN ADS 1015 and 1020, *PPM Disegnatori* (1995), 355–357; La Volpe, MANN ADS 1016, *PPM Disegnatori* (1995), 590.

³⁰ Endymion is known elsewhere in Pompeian wall paintings, e.g. from a now destroyed painting in the house I 2,17; also in Casa del Sacello iliaco (I 6, 4), Casa dell'Argenteria (VI 7, 20), Casa dei Dioscuri (VI

central picture there is a suspended mask and a pair of arched garlands; now they are mostly faded.

The intervals (W ca. 32.5 cm) contain pedestals with strongly projecting cornices and inner mouldings at the bottom, and a two-storey receding, open architectural feature standing on them. In these pavilions there are four slender red columns, two at the front and two at the back. The side walls are closed at the lower half and decorated with a garland at the back. An entablature with a projecting cornice and a green, slightly arched ceiling with a compluvium is seen further above, but on top of it the slender columns continue still upwards, to support the architectural features in the upper zone. In both side fields there is again a winged figure standing barefoot on a floating console, the right one carrying an unidentified object in his right hand, a shield in his left. The left figure carried unidentified objects in his right hand, a spear and a shield in his left hand. Crossing the side fields above there is a red stripe and an embroidery border, now with tear drops beneath an arched line, topped with dots. The upper dividing band consists of several stripes, now somewhat unclear.

The *upper zone* contains more architectural framework, up to height of ca. 38 cm above the dividing band. In the middle field there is a horizontal band that separates the area below, divided further into three small panels, of which at least the central one possibly featured masks. Atop there was a fully robed Melpomene, now completely disappeared.³¹ Some columns of the aediculae above the intervals of the main zone can be seen, but the structure is not fully preserved. In the side fields there is a horizontal embroidery border, and on top of it a floral ornament, with two plant-tendrils that first intersect to form an almond shape and then curve to left and right.

Left (east) wall: This wall is better preserved than the two opposite walls, containing many details that have been lost in the right (west) wall. The *socle* (H ca. 70 cm) is closed by vertical bands (W 3–5 cm), the inner side of which is outlined by a white line. In both M-shaped intervals (W 37 cm in the left one including the red bands, and 35 cm in the right) the Pegasus in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile is preserved; they are painted with white and red shadowing, flying towards each other. The left one is directed more upwards, and its tail curves down, while that on the right has a straight tail; the head is more horse-like

9, 6–7), now MANN 9240, Casa dell'Ara massima (VI 16, 15), Casa di Sirico (VII 1, 25.47), Casa dei Capitelli Figurati (VII 4, 57), Casa di Ganimede (VII 13, 4), Casa dei Postumii (VIII 4, 4), Casa di Omfale (VIII 4, 34), priests' cubiculum of temple of Isis (VIII 7, 28), IX 2, 10, Casa della Principessa Margherita (IX 2, 16), though possibly Narcissus, and Casa del Centenario (IX 8, 3.6). Helbig 1868, 187–190 (nos. 951–962); Sogliano 1879, 75 (nos. 456–457), 119 (no 592).

³¹ Helbig 1868, 176 (no. 876): "Melpomene steht da, vollständig bekleidet, in der R. die Keule, auf der L. vermuthlich Maske."

than the shorter and feline-like head of the right one. These differing details, as well as the differences in the pedestals above in the main zone, are probably due to their being painted by two different artists. In the centre, a suspended rhyton below the loop of garland is preserved. In both side fields, on the horizontal white embroidery border, there is still a slim stylised crater painted in pinkish white with volute scrolls growing symmetrically from the lower edge of the handle. The lower dividing band is white and outlined by red stripes, with two yellow lines in between.

The *main zone* (H 181 cm) is closed by vertical red bands with a white outline (3–5 cm). The middle zone is similar to the opposing right (west) wall. The central panel, framed in red (35 x 35.5 cm), depicts a Nereid (Thetis?), with a seahorse to the right.³² She is depicted barely touching the hindquarters, semi-recumbent, nearly frontal, her head in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile; her legs are crossed to the side, shown above the water. Her left arm is wrapped around the horse's neck, and she steers the horse with her left hand; she has raised her right arm, touching her tied hair with her fingers; a reddish



Fig. 21.



Fig. 22.

³² Helbig 1868, 206 (no.1029): “Die Nereide auf dem Meerpferde ähnlich N. 1027; ihr Gewand ist roth; die Einzelheiten unkenntlich; der Hintergrund röthlich wie im Abendrothe. Im Bull. nap. ist fälschlich angegeben, sie reite auf einem Meerstier.“

cloak billows behind her back. The seahorse is bluish, with a brown mane; it is depicted in almost $\frac{3}{4}$ profile, swimming with its forelegs above the water. In the background there is only the sea and the sky aglow. Above the central picture the mask and arched garlands on its sides are visible.

In both the intervals, the view extends through receding two-storeyed pavilions, standing on pedestals. The architectural structures are depicted in yellow with red details and shadows. The yellow has turned red from a height of ca. 150 cm upwards. Atop the small leaves of a candelabrum, a column is visible on the left. In the side fields there are frontally depicted genii standing on consoles, without helmets;³³ the one in the right side field stands with his weight on his left foot and carries a shield in his left hand, and most probably had a sword, now lost, in his right hand. The other genius in the left side field stands with his weight on his right foot and carries a shield in his left hand and holds a spear with his raised right hand.

In the *upper zone* the (preserved maximum H 67 cm), the same vertical red band as in the main zone continues along both edges. In the centre, the shape of the masks in a small panel above the upper dividing band are barely visible. Above it there is nothing left of the original Thaleia, except two vertical lines.³⁴ Of the architectural features, some horizontal red bands are visible in the better-preserved right side field. The floral ornament, with two plant-tendrils that first intersect to form an almond-shaped figure, then curve to the left and right (the worse-preserved side), also continues upwards, but only a vertical red line is visible.

Entrance (north) wall: The wall is split into two narrow halves by a doorway, the wall paintings are even narrower; on the right (east) side the maximum W is only 24 cm, and on the left (west) side 32 cm. Unlike the other cubacula around the atrium there is no wall plaster in the doorway and the extent of the wall paintings in the entrance wall is also more limited. This could indicate a wooden door frame.

The *socle* (H 68) with a yellow ochre background is closed by vertical yellow bands separated by white lines. Horizontally the socle is bisected by a red band, framed by two white lines both on top and below (total H 2.5), and a white embroidery border with flowers with four petals alternating with vertical heart-shaped leaves, as a continuation to the other walls. The panels below and above are devoid of ornaments.

The *main zone* is not preserved up to the upper dividing band (H ca. 175 cm). Both parts are closed by a red vertical band (W 4–5 cm) on both edges, indicating that there

³³ Avellino 1847–1848, 4. On other walls the genii either wear or carry crested helmets.

³⁴ Helbig 1868, 176 (no. 880): “Thaleia mit aufgelöstem Haare, in ärmellosem Chiton, Mantel über der l. Schulter, steht da, in der L. die Maske, mit der R. ein Pedum auf den Boden stützend.”

had been no wall paintings by the doorway.

In this cubiculum the central pictures do not depict a clear scheme, however all the winged genii with their various arms and armour may refer to Mars. They are all different, as the spears and swords alternate, some have crested helmets on their heads, some carry them, and the rest are without. It is exceptional that the two parts of the entrance (north) wall do not contain any figures, perhaps due to the narrow area.

Cubiculum 5 N-S 285 cm,
W-E 265 cm; 7.6 m²

This is the second of two barrel-vaulted cubicula on the right (south) side of the atrium (2).

Bibliography: Panofka 1847a, 136; Panofka 1847b, 144; Avellino 1847–1848, 5–7; Pancaldi 1848, 10; Falkener 1852, 46, 51–53; Niccolini 1854, 5–6; Breton 1855, 319–320; Minervini 1855, 53–54; Helbig 1868, 60 (no. 219), 111 (no. 474); 154 (no. 778); 157 (no. 792); 168 (no. 845); 207 (no. 1037); 211 (no. 1051); 224 (no. 1116); 432 (no. 1847), 433 (no. 1851); Schefold 1957, 248; *PPP* III, 432–433; *PPM Disegnatori*, 358, 361, 362; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 167–186; Romizzi 2006, 477.

Floor: Opus signinum of white mortar and crushed terracotta decorated with inlaid crustae. There are 18 small, irregular marble slabs (e.g. white, grey, giallo antico, and africano) forming two consecutive quadrangles in the centre. The threshold to the atrium is of white marble.

Wall Paintings: The room has a typical structure of three zones, and a low lunette in the south wall, with a yellow socle and white main and upper zones, divided into three fields on all the three whole walls. In some fields the main zone is horizontally divided and the lower panel resembles a separate predella with marine creatures. On the back (south)

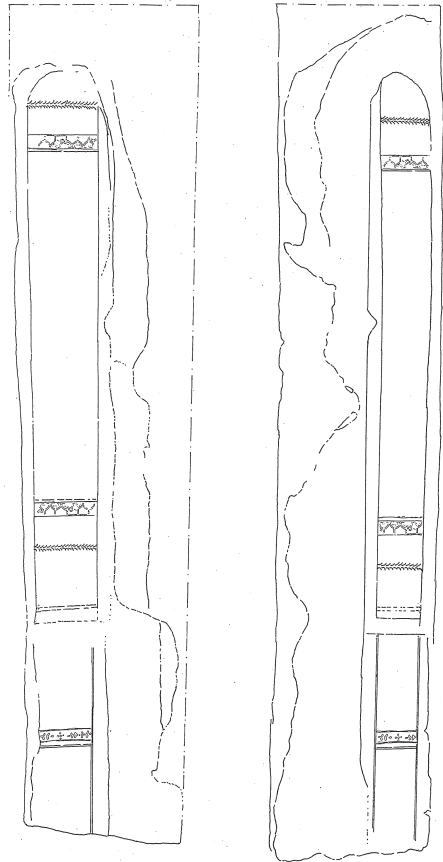


Fig. 23.

wall more than half of the left upper zone was covered with algae at the time of the documentation, and some part of the plaster in the socle was faded. In the right (west) wall the fallen plaster has left an area devoid of decoration in the right half of the upper zone, and a part of the right upper corner of the central picture in the main zone. There are modern repairs on both sides of the socle, and faded plaster below the central picture. On the left (east) wall the plaster has fallen from the lower right corner by the central picture. Modern repairs cover the left compartment of the socle and the majority of the rectangular pedestal.



Fig. 24.

South (back) wall: The *socle* (H ca. 65 cm) is horizontally divided into two parts with embroidery borders, and vertically into three fields divided by narrower intervals in the form of high rectangular pedestals (W 16 cm), framed with blue, and decorated inside with a vase hanging from a ribbon, all of this supporting the architectural feature above in the main zone. In the middle field of the socle the horizontal white embroidery border lies higher up than in the side fields and is decorated with flowers with four petals alternating with vertical heart-shaped leaves. In the middle of this upper part there is a small panel framed with red bands with white edges, and with an arching (inward curving) lower frame. In the centre there are remains of a small shield or rosette, though the plaster surface is severely damaged. The two side fields of the socle are further divided into three parts: firstly, a red vertical band halves the lower part into two equal-sized panels, separated from the upper half with a horizontal red band, a white embroidery border decorated with semicircles with palmettes beneath them, and the simple flowers

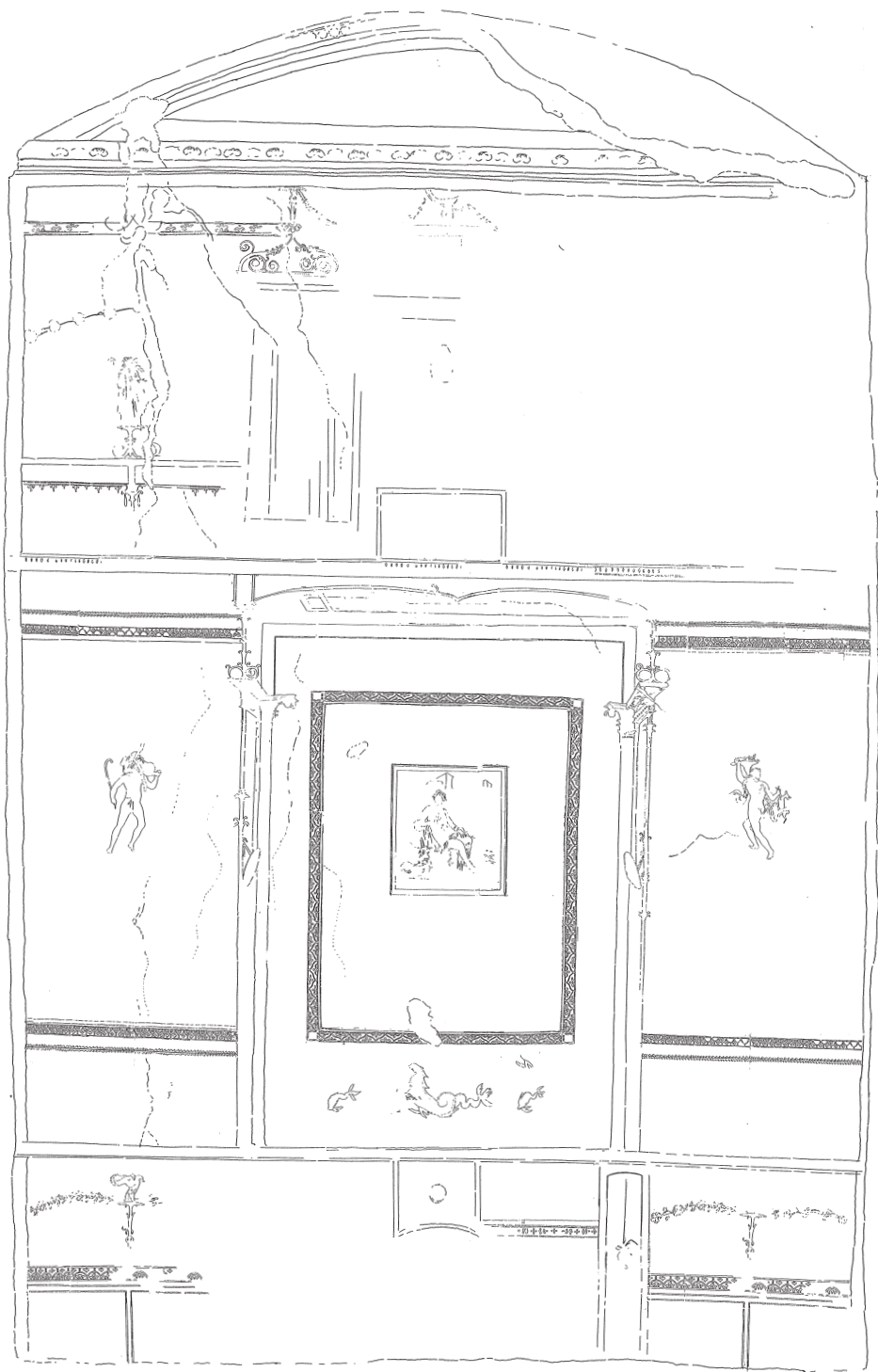


Fig. 25.

of four petals inside calf's tongue pattern above. A candelabrum stands in the middle of this border, decorated on top with a swan, into which a festoon, shaping into two arches, is fastened.

Between the socle and the *main zone* (H 178 cm) there is a dividing band with red stripes both below and above. In the middle field the space below the panel is also decorated, here resembling the separate predella of the right ala (8). A left-facing seahorse with two dolphins is framed only by the embroidery border framing the central panel. The middle field of the main zone is framed with an architectural feature with receding wings containing yellow outer, red central, and blue innermost columns, the last connecting to the blue tie beam and the brown cassette ceiling. The shafts of the yellow columns are moulded with candelabra, all the capitals are Corinthian, the foremost topped with more candelabra, which bind together the two delicate arches above. There is an inclined shield attached to both lower candelabra. The light blue embroidery border framing the central picture is decorated with alternately up and down pointing curvilinear triangles, inside of which there are palmettes with three petals, and with an inner stripe and small quadrangles in the corners.

The central picture is a mythological scene with only one human figure (36 x 43 cm).³⁵ In a rocky landscape with a small house high on top of a plateau, a young man is reclining on a stone, stretching out his right leg and steadying his right elbow on a rugged cliff; he holds a sprig of Cyprus tree in his right hand and a javelin in his left hand, which rests on his thigh. His red cloak is wrapped around his right arm, goes over both his thighs, and falls by his ankles. His torso is presented almost frontally, and he turns his head slightly to the right, looking into distance. A bejewelled stag with long horns is lying by his side, blood oozing from a wound. This is the ill-fated Cyparissus, who moments earlier had accidentally killed with his javelin the sleeping animal, his favourite. In his grief, he is turning into a Cyprus tree, the process of which has

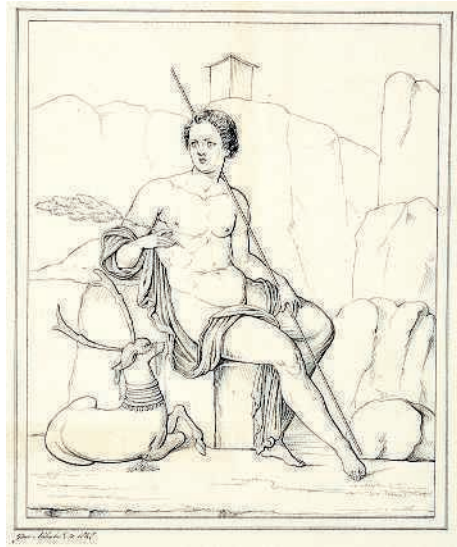


Fig. 26.

³⁵ Helbig 1868, 60 (no. 219): "Kyparissos sitzt auf einem Felsen, den r. Ellenbogen, von welchem eine rothe Chlamys auf seine Schenkel herabfällt, aufstehend, die L., in welcher er einen Speer hält, auf den Schenkel legend. Er blickt zu einem Hirsche nieder, welcher vor ihm liegt, geschmückt mit einem goldfarbigen Halsbande, am Blatte verwundet."

already started. The painting is framed with red brown, highlighted with white and red brown lines, in accordance with all the other central pictures of this room. The composition is still recognizable; the purple cloak is preserved in places, and the outlines of Cyparissus are preserved, although worse so than those of the stag.

The side fields are horizontally divided into three panels. At the lower edge there is firstly a narrow leafy garland, and then a horizontal embroidery border with five-sided compartments facing alternately inwards and outwards and containing skeletal palmettes, and on top the same border and a leafy garland above. In the middle of the right side field there is floating figure, depicted in $\frac{3}{4}$ back profile: a naked man stepping briskly towards his left on steeply ascending terrain, turning his head right. In his right hand he holds a kid by its front hooves, drawn in profile. On his left shoulder he carries a calathus full of fruit, holding onto its rim with his left hand.³⁶ In the left side field the floating figure, a frontally depicted naked young man, is energetically moving towards his left. He holds a pedom in his right hand, and in his raised left hand he holds onto the foot of a large vase,³⁷ resting on his left shoulder. The direction of the two figures of the side fields is towards each other, and they are part of a convivium, judging by their burdens. The yellow band above the main zone seems to have been decorated with dentils.

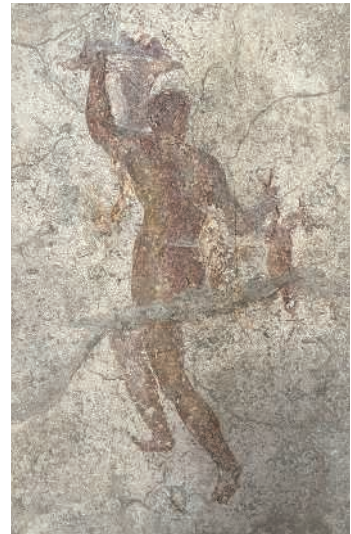


Fig. 27.

In the *upper zone* (H 120 cm) the colours have faded on the right edge. On top of the yellow band separating the upper zone from the main zone, in its central part, there seems to be a portico type construction on the left side, with alternating yellow and red columns. In the middle, on a lower level (below the vanished aedicula), there is a panel framed with red (23 x 40 cm), which probably contained a cuttlefish.³⁸ It is lamentable that we have also lost the central figure, perhaps part of a theatrical/Bacchic ensemble, taking into consideration the centrally situated decoration above, which seems to be a mask with

³⁶ Helbig 1868, 432 (no. 1847): "Bekränzt, mit gelber Chlamys, mit der L. einen Kalathos voll Laub auf die Schulter stützend, in der R. ein Zicklein."; Instead of a kid, a hare has been suggested, Bragantini 1999 (PPM IX), 181.

³⁷ Rather a crater than "a large cantharus", as understood by Falkener 1852, 51–52; Helbig 1868, 432 (no. 1847): "In der R. Pedom, auf der l. Schulter Krater, ohne Kranz."

³⁸ Avellino 1847–1848, 6.

a garland.³⁹ On top of the architectural feature, in its left corner, a volute supports a candelabrum, which is tied to a garland and arcing towards the right. A red embroidery border with simple palmettes extends through this decoration and continues across the whole upper zone. From earlier documentation we know that in the side fields there were a fully robed female figure with a Psyche, and another Psyche on the other side.⁴⁰

On the left side field an unidentifiable figure stands on top of a short, yellow candelabrum, positioned on the blue horizontal band, supported by a vertical blue band and a red horizontal border with palmettes beneath. Higher up, in the middle of the top of the side field, there is a very simple volute decoration in the red beam-like border, with more palmettes. The whole south (back) wall is framed in red, as are the other walls, and topped with a border of stucco moulding decorated with palmettes inside low arches, alternating light blue and red in colour. This stucco moulding is not preserved on the opposite entrance wall, but it also covers the segmental pediment, around which there is a red border.



Fig. 28.

³⁹ Helbig 1868, 111 (no. 474): "Auf mit blauem Tuche behangenem Throne in bräunlichem Chiton, gelben Schuhen und grünlichem Mantel, in der R. Schale, die L. auf ein Tympanon stützend."; Falkener 1852, 52: "[--] a figure seated, holding a patera in one hand, and something indiscernible in the other."

⁴⁰ Avellino 1847–1848, 6.

firstly, a red vertical band halves the lower part into two equal-sized rectangles, separated from the upper half with a white embroidery border, decorated with palmettes inside arches and simple flowers of four petals inside calf's tongue pattern. In the middle of this border there is a candelabrum, decorated on top with a griffin, onto which a garland, shaped into two arches, is fastened. In the middle field of the socle, the horizontal blue band and a white embroidery border lie higher up, now with a somewhat different pattern: inside the arches there are heart-shaped leaves and simple dots inside the calf's tongues. Here, and on the opposing east wall, there is a red griffin in the middle on the border, as an attachment point for a ribbon hanging down with a red patera, and for two white garlands descending diagonally towards the corners of the lower panel.

Above the dividing band with red, grey, yellow, and red lines there is a separate zone, which could be called a predella (H ca. 30 cm). It is separated above from the main zone first by a narrow leafy garland and then by a broader embroidery border with dots in spandrels beneath the palmettes, inside arches above. In between these two horizontal elements there are red tendrils forming a very dark red circle above and volutes on the lower sides, with a ribbon hanging down – visible now only on the right side of the west wall. Only the border with triangles and circular motifs separates the middle field from the main zone, the space below being decorated with a blue-red seahorse facing right. All of the zones except the socle are terminated at each end by a red vertical band.

The centre of the *main zone* (H 145 cm) is framed with a simple aedicula with receding wings. There are yellow outer, red central, and blue innermost columns, the last connected to the blue tie beam and the brown ceiling. The shafts of the foremost columns resemble candelabra, with small shields on top. An unidentifiable, half-destroyed rosette-like object, hanging by two ribbons from the tie beam in the middle, is the attachment point for a leafy red garland curving upwards, also fixed on the sides to the outer shafts.

The central picture, framed in red (38 x 34 cm), depicts a naked female who rides a dolphin with a curly tail, swimming to the right.⁴¹ She is depicted in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile,



Fig. 30.

⁴¹ Helbig 1868, 207 (no. 1037): "Eine Nereide, wegen des Gegenstückes N. 1051 vermuthlich Galateia, reitet sich umblickend auf einem Delphine durch das Meer, von den Hüften abwärts mit einem gelben

facing the tail of the animal; her right foot is seen under its belly, as if to ease her balance; she holds onto the animal's back with her right hand, and carries a large heart-shaped⁴² leaf, if not a fan, in her left hand, arm raised. A yellow robe covers her thighs, and her head is turned to the right. The painting, depicting either Galatea, alternatively any other Nereid, or even Venus,⁴³ is turquoise blue, and the fan-like leaf is now dark grey. In the current state the outlines of the female and the curling tail of the dolphin are still visible.

In the middle of the right side field there is a pinax (19 x 36 cm), in which a frontally depicted Cupid is moving towards the right. He carries a pedom in left hand, holds a basket⁴⁴ in his right hand, stretching it towards a bear⁴⁵ seen in sideview with head in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile. He is tempting the animal to follow him to the extreme right, where stands an object of some ambiguity: a leafy tree, or branches on top of a pedestal. The frame and Cupid's transparent wings now seem light blue, as do parts of the animal, perhaps an indication of shiny fur. In the current state, and even in earlier documentation, the object on the right side remains ambiguous.



Fig. 31.

On the left side field there is a parallel pinax (18 x 35 cm). On the right of the composition a Psyche, in a green⁴⁶ girdled chiton with a long overfold, is standing in

Gewände bedeckt, indem sie die L. auf das Haupt des Thieres stützt und in der R. einen blattförmigen Fächer hält.”

⁴² Falkener 1852, 51: "a fan-like ivy leaf."

⁴³ *ibid.* Venus.

⁴⁴ A cista, according to Falkener 1852, 52.

⁴⁵ Helbig 1868, 154 (no. 778): "sei es ein Affe, [--] sei es ein Bär."

⁴⁶ The colour of the robe was detected by Helbig 1868, 168 (no. 845): [--] Sie ist in irgendwelcher Weise

contrapposto, her lower body depicted frontally, torso and head in slightly $\frac{3}{4}$ view. She extends her hands towards a sitting lion. The two figures are portrayed on a long slab-like level, with a leafy tree growing at both ends; the one on the left is short, the other on the right is larger and depicted behind a now empty-looking pedestal. According to Helbig, there was an ithyphallic Priapus. The basic composition can still be discerned, excepting the now lost left tree. In its current state the lion appears as a light shape, the lower part of the Psyche is broken off, and the longish object on the right is hazy. Above the pinakes there is an embroidery border with palmettes inside arches beneath and dots in spandrels above, opposite to that below.

The main zone is separated from the *upper zone* (H ca. 111 cm) by a yellow dividing band framed with a red line. Only the left side field is wholly discernible, framed with yellow and red on the right side, with a broader red band on the left corner, and below by a blue and yellow band, on top of which is a pseudo-aedicula construction in red. It appears to be a round construction, originally perhaps with a shell canopy, fixed above with a red candelabrum to an embroidery border with rosettes inside arches. Inside the pseudo-aedicula there is a floating, winged figure, seen as a brownish silhouette; the figure (a genius?) moves energetically to the left, is presented in $\frac{3}{4}$ back profile with head turned to the right, and carries a pedum. The pseudo-aedicula is framed by a border decorated with flowers and a creeper in concave-edged compartments. Above the pseudo-aedicula there is another horizontal garland, a creeper with flowers. Under the pseudo-aedicula a volute-like, heart-shaped decoration hangs down from two vertical ribbons, joined together with an arch. On the top a part of the stucco moulding is preserved. In the destroyed central part, there was a maenad holding a hare and a dish of fruit.⁴⁷

Left (east) wall: The *socle* is similar to the right (west) wall; divided into three fields separated by narrow intervals containing a hanging vase (visible here only on the right, and none on the west wall). In the predella there are no remaining marine creatures.

The basic structure of the *main zone* is similar to that on the opposite wall. The central picture is a two-figure composition presented in a rocky landscape (38 x 35 cm), framed with red and blue bands. On the left side a female stands behind a stone, which reaches up to her breast; her long cloak falls by her left side, she holds a heart-shaped leaf in her left hand; her head is in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile and decorated, according to the

mit einem vor ihr sitzenden Löwen beschäftigt, sei es dass sie ihm eine Schale vorhält, sei es dass sie ihm ein Band um den Hals bindet (so Zeichnung von La Volpe). Dahinter eine ithyphallische Herme.“; Falkener 1852, 52. – In fact, there is a drawing by Abbate, MANN ADS 995.

⁴⁷ Falkener 1852, 52: ”a Bacchante”; Helbig 1868, 433 (no.1851): ”In bläulichem Chiton und Mantel, auf der L. Schale, in der R. einen Hasen.“

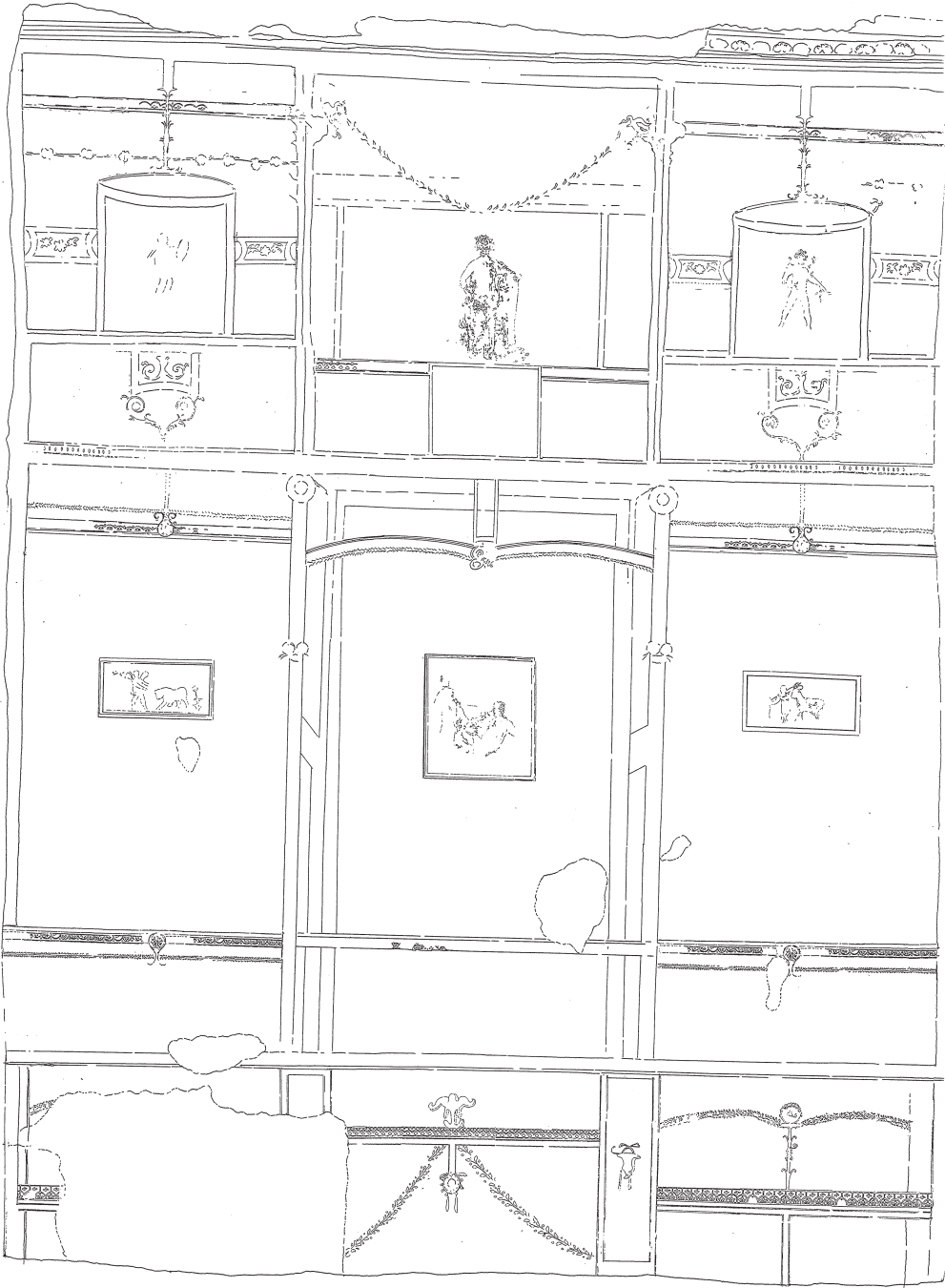


Fig. 32.

early reports, with a crown of reeds; she watches, and points with her right hand towards an almost naked male on the right side. He is reclining, depicted in $\frac{3}{4}$ back view, and resting his right elbow on a low stone block; his legs are crossed and covered with a fold of his cloak; he holds a pedum in his left hand, resting his arm on his left thigh; his head is in profile, he looks at the female. Behind him there is a high wall-like construction, next to which a tree with two branches is growing. The scene is understood to represent Galatea and Polyphemus, with a reference to a fragment by Synesius,⁴⁸ according to which the cunning Odysseus tried to trick Polyphemus into becoming interested in Galatea, so that he would lose his concentration and allow Odysseus to escape. A goat was also discerned in the painting, according to the early reports, lying by the side of the male figure, thus supporting this identification.⁴⁹ Alternatively, the image may be of a Nymph and a Faun – always with his goat.⁵⁰

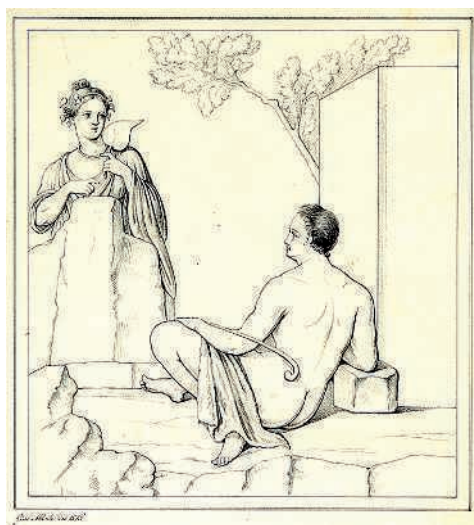


Fig. 33.

In the 19th century drawings there is no goat next to the seated man, and none of them show him with a beard or a single large eye either, as has been regarded as typical for Polyphemus due to other depictions of the same subject, e.g. Polyphemus is bearded in the opposite cubiculum (7). He holds a pedum and has three eyes and fluffy hair. In another central picture from Pompeii, MANN 8983, Galatea has the same leaf in her hand, but Polyphemus is bearded and has fluffy hair, both not seen in Abbate's drawings made in this cubiculum.⁵¹ Not much is preserved now of the painting; the male on the left is seen as a reddish reclining shape, the standing figure even more hazily.

⁴⁸ Synes. *Epist.* 121.

⁴⁹ Helbig 1868, 211 (no. 1051): "Vermuthlich giebt dies Bild mit einigen Modificationen den sitzenden Polyphem und die stehende Galatea [-]."

⁵⁰ Panofka 1847a, 136; Panofka 1847b, 144; Avellino 1847–1848, 6, does not identify the persons; Falkener 1852, 51: "That on left hand has a figure, apparently a female, standing, and a male figure fallen in front. (Or sitting on the ground.)" It is obvious that the picture was not in a good condition even immediately after it was unearthed.

⁵¹ Abbate's drawing, MANN ADS 1030, and another published in Pancaldi 1848, fig. 1, which according to Maiuri [1958], 94–95, would also have been drawn by Abbate.

In the right side field the pinax (17 x 35 cm) depicts a Cupid with a green⁵² chlamys tied around his neck, moving towards the left, carrying a pedom in his right hand and across his shoulder. He leads a goat by its horns. The figures are again depicted against a purple background, but their outlines are barely visible. In the left side field the pinax (18 x 35 cm) depicts, on the left, a Psyche seen in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile, extending both hands toward a creeping panther with head lowered, on the right.⁵³ Behind the panther a long flower is growing, and in the left upper corner, next to the Psyche, there are unspecific vague lines, perhaps remnants of a now lost tree; this would be in accordance with the many trees depicted in other side pinakes.

The four pinakes on a purple background on the opposite west and east side walls present an interesting quartet of animals: a bear, a lion, a goat, and a panther, guided by Cupid and Psychae. According to Falkener they were "representing the power of Love", and were "of graceful design and execution", with which we can certainly agree, even if we can see them now as mostly dark purple rectangles with only pale remnants of their former miniature beauty.

The upper zone is the best-preserved in the room, and the architectural setting is here seen in full. The figure in the centre seems to stand on a stage; the platform-like board is decorated with heart-shaped leaves and a wavy line with dots on top; the platform is supported by a tripartite proscaenium, in the middle panel of which there was originally a landscape painting below the figure. Two narrow shafts support the architrave, at the front of which arches a long garland, held by two birds on top of the side capitals. A standing figure (H 42 cm) is accompanied by a small lion on the platform; his weight is on the right foot and he presses the left foot on an elephant's head with tusks and trunk. The figure's right hand rests on the hip, the left arm on a short column, with a long pole (sceptre?) in the crook of the left arm. The torso is bare, a reddish robe covers the legs, goes round the back, and hangs down over the left arm. The figure is bejewelled, and the head is decorated with a small scalp of



Fig. 34.

⁵² The colour was still seen by Helbig, who also referred to a parallel from Herculaneum, now MANN 9170, Helbig 1868, 157 (no. 792): "Eros trägt einen Stab über der r. Schulter."

⁵³ Helbig 1868, 168 (no. 845): "Psyche in grünem Chiton zieht an einem Bande einen Panther nach l."

an elephant with tusks and trunk. The lion sitting on his right holds up its left paw. The elephant, an animal feared in war and shown in triumphal processions, may refer to Egypt, as the silver dish from Boscoreale portraying a female with the same headdress.⁵⁴ The figure in cubiculum 5 could still be interpreted, however, as an effeminate male,⁵⁵ another Bacchus, recognized in other depictions from all around the House of Marcus Lucretius.⁵⁶ This upper zone picture is almost in a direct line to the triclinium (16), with the Triumph of the Child Bacchus. The structure of the side fields of the upper zone is identical to that on the opposite wall. The decoration under the pseudo-aedicula is now seen as a whole; the volutes support another, smaller volute upside down and inside a frame, the sides of which are joined with an arch. Inside the pseudo-aedicula, on the right side, a floating Cupid stands with his weight on both feet, holding a pedom. On the left side pseudo-aedicula there is another winged figure, badly preserved, possibly with a lyra in hand.

Entrance (north) wall: On the narrow pier-like walls by the doorway, the decoration of the *socles* is simpler; the embroidery border is

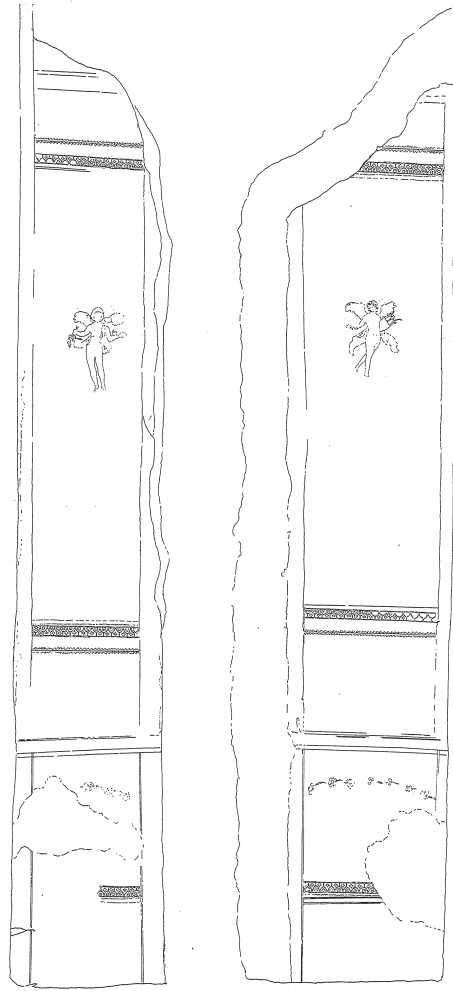


Fig. 35.

⁵⁴ Silver emblema dish with Cleopatra Selene (40–5 BC), the daughter of Cleopatra and Mark Antony, from Boscoreale treasure, in the Louvre (inv. MNC 1960; Bj 1969).

⁵⁵ Helbig 1868, 224 (no. 1116): “Eine weibliche Figur — als weiblich deutlich durch die Brüste charakterisirt —, vermuthlich bekränzt, die Exuvien des Elephanten über dem Kopfe, ein Scepter in der L., geschmückt mit Hals- und Armspangen, steht da, den l. Ellenbogen auf einen Pfeiler stützend, und hält mit in die Seite gestemmter R. das röthliche Gewand, welches um ihre Schenkel fällt. Der l. Fuss tritt auf einen Elephantenkopf. R. sitzt ein Löwe. Bisher wurde die Figur für männlich gehalten und auf Dionysos bezogen. Ohne Zweifel stellt sie eine Personification dar, vermuthlich Aegyptens oder Alexandriens.“; even Mercury was suggested, Falkener 1852, 52.

⁵⁶ Avellino 1847–1848, 7, 16; Minervini 1855, 53.

a continuation of those in the side fields of the other walls, with a garland arching above. In the predella the two horizontal borders of the cornering sidewalls also continue here, leaving the spaces empty. In the *main zone*, on the right side of the doorway, there is a floating naked figure with wings, moving to the right and carrying a lyre under its left arm, while extending its right hand to the right, with its head turned to the same direction. The hair is dark, the wings are greenish, and a short pink cloak floats behind the hips. On the left side of the doorway there is another floating and naked figure with wings, presented frontally and spreading its arms, with a posy of flowers hanging from its right hand, and again a short cloak floating behind the hips. Uppermost on both sides, a narrow leafy festoon and a broader embroidery border with palmettes inside arches frame the zone, in the opposite order of those below the same zones. The *upper zone* has been destroyed.

The decoration of this cubiculum was connected to that in the other rooms in the atrium complex. The marine creatures linked it with the right ala (8), and the motifs used are the same as in the other cubicula: the floating Cupids and Psychae carried, e.g., canthari, garlands, paterae, baskets, and a pedum and a lyre, all seen also in the other parts of the house.

Cubiculum 6

N–S 2.2 m, W–E 2.7 m; 6.0 m²

This is the first of two barrel-vaulted cubicula on the left (north) side of the atrium 2.

Bibliography: Panofka 1847a, 131; Panofka 1847b, 141–142; Avellino 1847–1848, 41–43; Pancaldi 1848, 9; Bechi 1852 (*MB* 14), 5; Falkener 1852, 47–49; Raoul-Rochette 1852, 76, 78–79; Niccolini 1854, 6–8; Breton 1855, 300; Helbig 1868, 126 (no. 562), 135, (nos. 603, 605, 606, 607), 162 (no. 820b), 219–220 (nos. 1100, 1102), 299–300, (no. 1354); Overbeck – Mau 1884, 316; Ruesch 1908, 341 (no. 1437); Reinach 1922, 197 (no. 1); Elia 1932, 79 (no. 169); Schefold 1952, 200; Schefold 1957, 246–247; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX); Richardson 2000, 158; Romizzi 2006, 477; Hodske 2007, 103; Tammisto – Kuivalainen 2008, 86; Lorenz 2008, 608.

Floor: Opus signinum of white mortar and crushed terracotta decorated with inlaid crustae. There are small, irregular pieces of e.g. pavonazzetto and grey marble laid in rows in the central part of the floor. The threshold to the atrium is of white marble.

Wall Paintings: The room has a typical structure of three zones and a low lunette in north and south walls. The socle has a yellow ochre background, while the main and upper zones have white backgrounds. The paintings belong to the Fourth Style and are

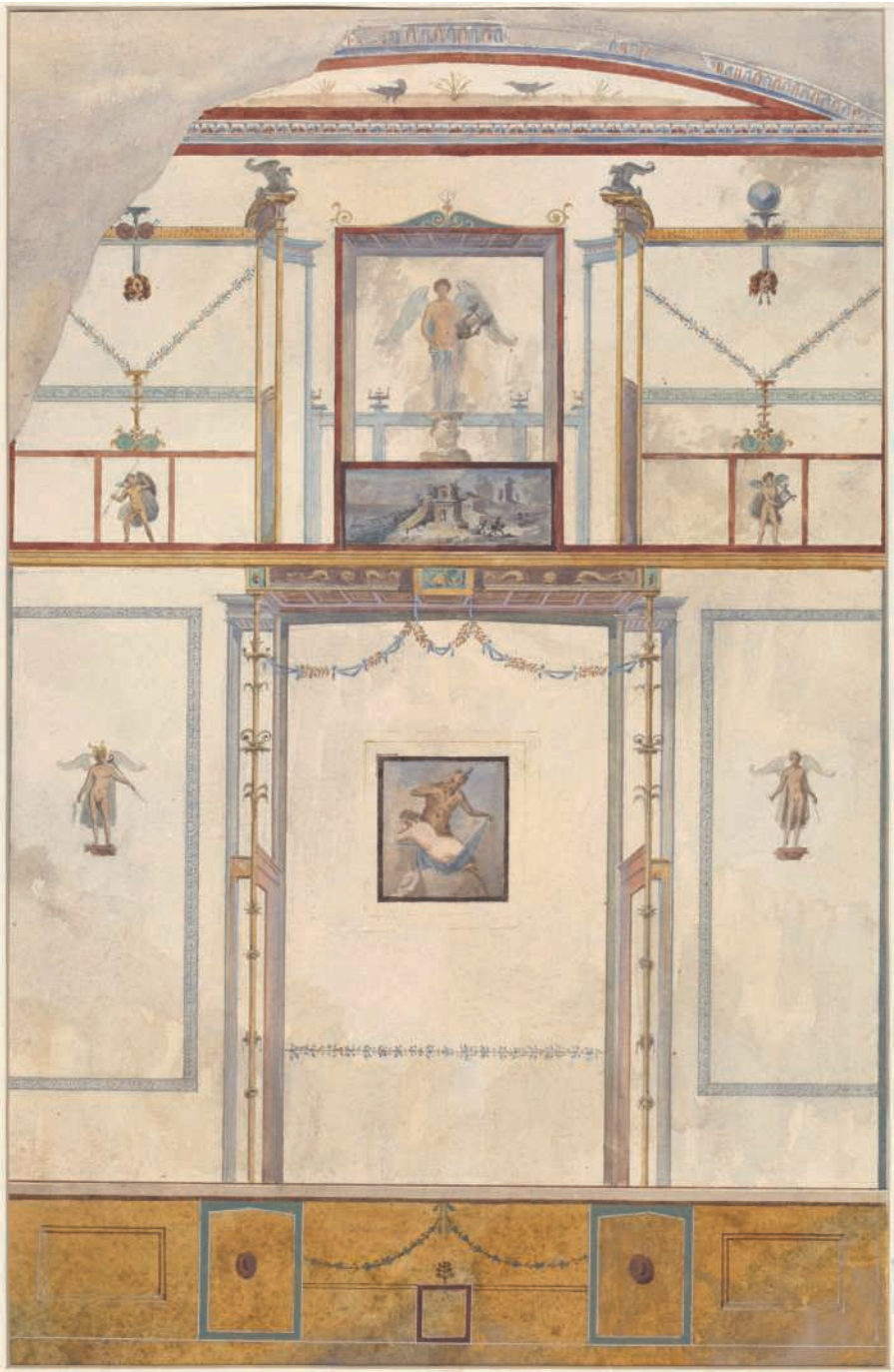


Fig. 36.



Fig. 37.

of standard quality. The room has been identified a *sacrarium* by Falkener, because of the niche on the back (north) wall.⁵⁷ However, a characteristic side room, *cubiculum*, of the atrium had no distinctive religious signs. The finds consist of several bronze and glass objects.⁵⁸ The small central pictures were made by the same hand.⁵⁹ The surviving plaster is well preserved. The walls were restored in 2008; the covering green vegetation was removed, but no remarkable changes in the faded colours were noted. The finishing stucco layer is ca. 0.1 cm thick and very smooth and white. The preparatory coat of plaster is whitish with small white, red, and grey particles. Underneath the plaster is grey.

Back (north) wall: The yellow *socle* (H 55–57 cm) consists of a lower part (plinth, H 14.5 cm) and an upper part (dado, H 40.5 cm), separated from each other with a white line. The upper part is divided into five panels framed in either red or white. The bottom level (i.e. floor) of the recess (W 52.5 cm) on the right is lower than the upper band of the socle. Approximately in the centre there is a quadrangle framed in red, inside of which the original decoration has been destroyed, and on top of which there is a palmette with incurving petals, and above a garland with white flowers. The horizontal line is decorated with tiny floral motifs. On each side, suspended red and white paterae are painted inside panels with slightly arched tops, and on the extreme left there is a red hippocampus to the right inside a double frame. The socle is crowned by a white band with red and yellow stripes (H ca. 6 cm).



Fig. 38.

The *main zone* (H 189.5 cm) is white and divided into three fields. The central field (W 154.3) is framed with a symmetrical architectural structure with red and blue columns and yellow candelabra. Its central picture (44.7 x 40.3 cm), framed red, depicts

⁵⁷ Falkener 1852, 49: "I had carefully examined the several pictures, that I perceived that this room had been consecrated to a similar purpose. The niche served for the statue or statues of the divinities." The corner niche and the paintings, however, do not differ from the other *cubicula*.

⁵⁸ Berg 2019, 242–244.

⁵⁹ Richardson 2000, 153–154, 158.

Pan discovering a sleeping maenad, if not a hermaphrodite. The light is reflected pink and yellow in Pan's left side and muscles, while his right side appears dark in the shadow. The bearded and horned Pan with curly hair is leaning forward, his right forehand raised as a sign of astonishment, while with his left hand he grasps the blue mantle of the figure in front, who is in a semi-recumbent position, revealing the naked back. The interpretation of this figure as a hermaphrodite would explain the gesture of Pan.⁶⁰

Below the panel there is a horizontal garland in red with green leaves and small red flowers with three to five petals. Above there is a wavy garland in blue with flowers painted in different shades of yellow. The garland is fixed on the red and white coffered ceiling and to the candelabra on the sides. The entablature is decorated with curvy lines, possibly dolphins.

In the left side field a genius (H 31 cm) with the attributes of Mercurius stands barefoot on a floating console, which was painted later than the figure. He stands with his weight on his right foot, holding a blue pouch in his right hand and in his outstretched left hand a caduceus, the entwined serpents of which touch his shoulder. His head is slightly turned towards the left, and his facial features, except the mouth, are clearly marked; he wears a yellowish petasos on his curly red hair. The colour of his skin is pinkish white, with dark brown shadows all over the right side of the body. He wears an undulating chlamys that shows several layers of paint from dark red, grey, to yellow. His wings, with upward curving primary feathers, are painted in blue and yellow with some feathers indicated in red.

Opposite the Mercurian genius, in the right side-field inside the recess (H 37 cm), there is a genius with attributes of Bacchus. There are yellow sinopia lines visible under overpaint. The genius stands with his weight on his left foot, holding a rhyton in his right hand and a thin thyrsus in his left, with the staff's pinecone resting on his left shoulder. His head is slightly turned to the right, and his facial features are covered with blue paint, originally probably white but now appearing greyish. He has short curly hair held together with a floral crown with a prominent central decoration. On both side walls of the recess there are vertical bands framing the end wall. Perhaps due to the plentiful modern vegetation removed in the restoration, the colours in this recess have remarkably changed since they were recorded.

In the middle field of the *upper zone*, there is a landscape in a small panel with dark red frames. The sky above and the sea in the lower left corner are blue, and there is a small sailing ship painted dark red approaching a yellow sweeping shoreline. In the middle and on the right side there are several houses painted with somewhat sketchy

⁶⁰ A parallel in Pompeii, 'Pan flees after having detected the bisexual nature of Hermaphrodite', was discovered in Casa dei Dioscuri (VI, 9, 6), MANN 27700.

brush strokes. In front of them there are four darkish people, the first from the left is a porter, burden in both hands; the second is riding a mule; and the two on the right, standing side by side, are scarcely visible. The houses, set in a row, are painted yellow and brownish red. They show some details, e.g., the door of the first house from left.

Above this landscape the main panel depicts a winged figure⁶¹ standing on a blue band and robed in light blue, holding a cithara in the left hand and a longish plectrum, if not a bow, in the right. The figure has earlier been identified as Victoria, but it may be a genius with emblems of Apollo. Above the figure, a ceiling with cassettes is shown in perspective, and on the top of the actual frame there are floral spiral scrolls. The side fields are separated with slender pale blue and yellow columns, also seen in perspective, on top of which are seated red griffins.

Both side-fields are divided into five panels, three quadrangular framed red below, and two horizontal above, on top of each other. Inside the lowest middle panel on the left there is a standing Cupid with a reddish spear in his right hand and a shield in his raised left. The figure is mostly yellow, probably signifying an undercoat, with red and brown reflections. He wears a cloak in red paint over blue, and his wings are multicoloured. The Cupid on the right carries a small stringed instrument, probably a lyre, on his left side. His cloak is light yellow and wings blueish green. Inside the lower horizontal (middle) panel there are blue floral scrolls and yellow candelabrum. In the top (uppermost) panel, above the light blue band, is a tapering ribbon. In the lunette, two sparrows are depicted in profile, opposite each other. The one on the left has turned its head backwards and the other, portrayed in between clusters of grass, looks towards it.

Right (east) wall: The yellow *socle* (H 59 cm) consists of a lower part and an upper part, separated from each other with a white line. The upper part is divided into five panels framed either red or white, and a small part of the recess on the left (W 42 cm). The wider middle panel, split into two halves, is decorated with a garland with whitish flowers and attached to a vertical band; otherwise details are destroyed. On both sides an arched panel originally with figures, a winged figure as a parallel to the west wall, and only vague red traces on the right panel remain. In the external rectangular panels with double frames nothing remains of the original shields over paterae.

The white *main zone* (H 189.5 cm) is divided into three fields. The middle field is bordered by symmetrical simple columns in blue, yellow, and red, and a bluish embroidery border surrounds its central panel (44.7 x 40.3 cm), framed in red. The central picture depicts Venus with two bathing Cupids in a rocky landscape, still visible is the shape of standing Venus on the right.

⁶¹ Helbig 1868, 184 (no. 932): "Ein geflügeltes Mädchen mit blauem Mantel über den Rücken und um die Schenkel steht da, in der R. Plektron, mit der L. die Kithara rührend."

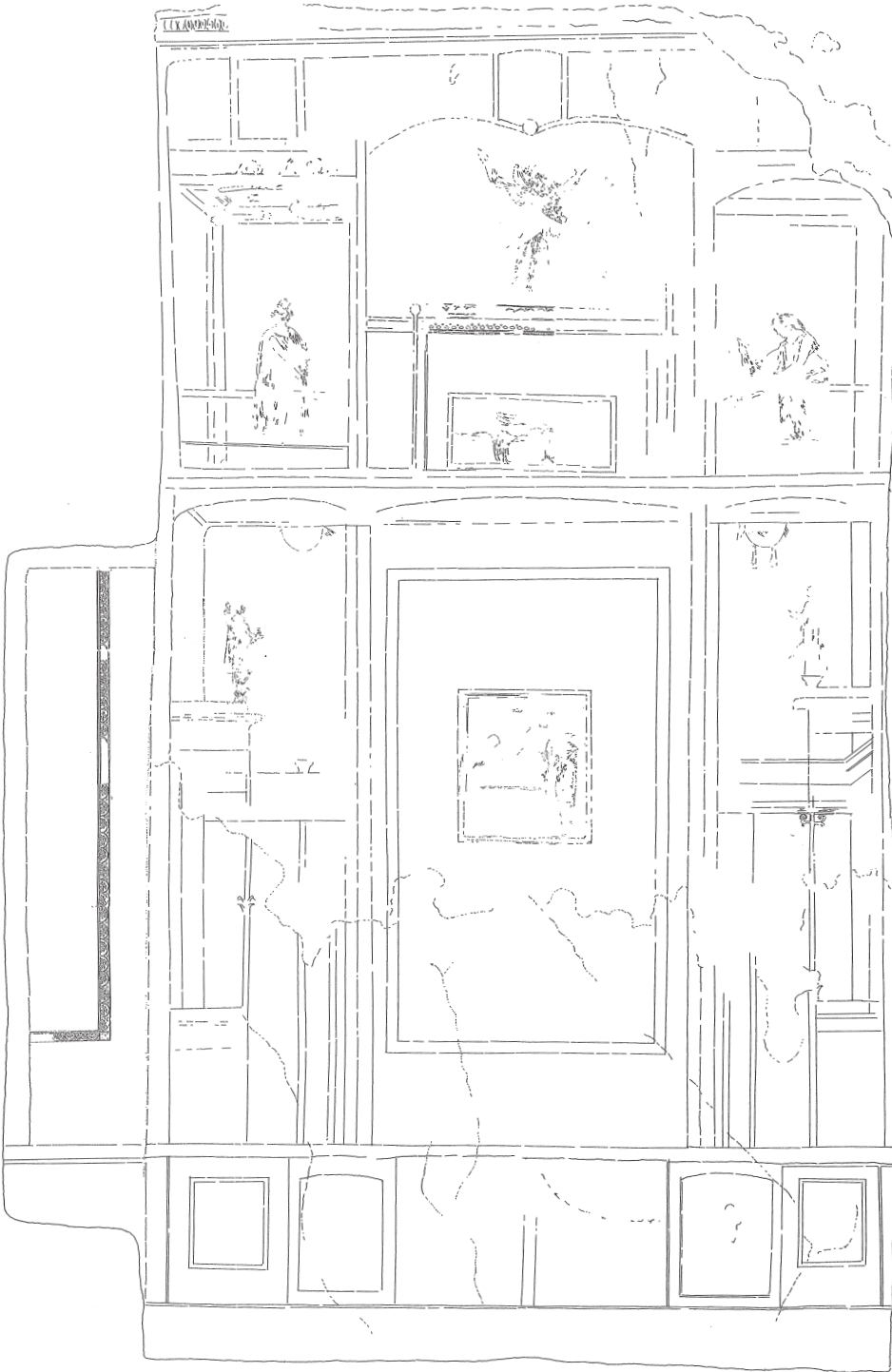


Fig. 39.

In the side fields architectural views, in front on top of the candelabra-type slender columns there are gilded statues of worshippers, Isis and Hercules,⁶² and further at the back on a lower level bluish loutrophoroi on the entablature. The wider architectural frame on top is decorated with yellow bronze shields with ribbons.

In the white *upper zone* in the middle field there is a pinax with blue background and contours in red and white. Its outer frame is blue, and on the top of it a winged figure, probably Victoria, stands on a horizontal ornamental band. She wears a blue robe with a yellow



Fig. 40.

flowing cloak; above her there is a double arch. On the sides, seated figures inside a mainly red architectural setting carry votive offerings. The one on the left is portrayed frontally, robed in a red tunic, with a yellow and blue cloak. The one on the right is seen in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile looking towards the middle, perhaps with a mirror in her right hand. She wears similar robes, with a blue cloak covering her head. The uppermost part is split into nine, or perhaps eleven, panels. Above there is an ornamental moulding in stucco.

The left (west) wall: The yellow socle is split into five panels, divided by red bands, some decorated with white lines. The broad middle panel contains a garland. The arched side panels contain winged figures; the only one visible is on the left. Other objects in the outermost panels with double frames are now destroyed.

The white main zone is divided into three fields. The middle field is bordered by simple symmetrical columns in blue, yellow, and red. The central picture, framed with red bands lined with white, depicts Narcissus on the left in a rocky landscape.⁶³ He is seen $\frac{3}{4}$ from behind, standing with his weight on his right foot, carrying two spears on his left shoulder, spearheads pointing down, and admiring his image in the fountain, but only his head is reflected in the water. On his lower back, his right arm grasps a blue cloak

⁶² Falkener 1852, 47–49; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 316.

⁶³ Narcissus was the most common motif of Pompeian central pictures. Hodske 2007, 166–171; Prehn 2018, 27–29. See page xx.

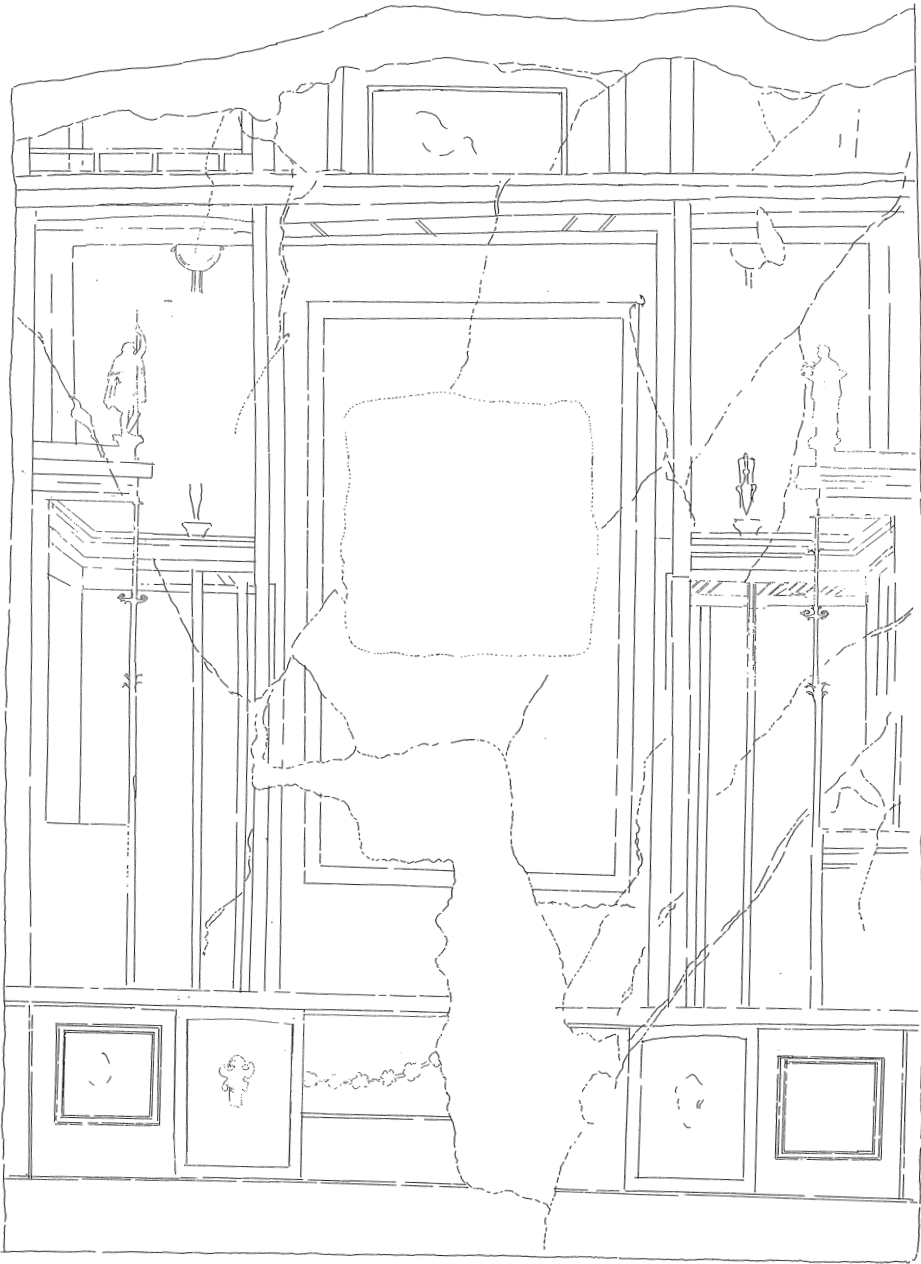


Fig. 41.

that is falling from his left shoulder. He is accompanied on the right by a kneeling Cupid with a torch held downwards, illuminating the image. Cupid's left forehand is raised as a cautionary gesture. Between the two figures, indistinct white outlines of trees are seen. The outer embroidery border is blue. The detached painting is in Naples (MANN 9381).

The side fields show slender columns supporting gilded figures on top of the entablature. The one on the left is a male in a relaxed contrapposto with his weight on his right foot, robed in military fashion, wearing a short tunic and a short cloak. He seems to hold a spear in his raised left arm, and a shield or a draped cloak on his elbow. In his lowered right hand he carries an unspecified object,



Fig. 42.



Fig. 43.

interpreted as the hat of Egyptian Mercury with the head of a dog,⁶⁴ or a wreath. His head is in profile to the left and he is looking intensely at the female figure in the opposite side field on the right. She stands in profile to the left, wearing a robe with elaborate drapery, holding an object in each hand, and her hair is decorated with a crescent. She is identified as Artemis with torches.⁶⁵ There are two vases on top of the entablature, the one on the right is a loutrophoros, but only the lower part of the one in the left remains. Conventionally, all four vases painted on the opposite walls must have been loutrophoroi; the vessel type is connected to the cult of Artemis, especially in her role as bridal helper, nymphettria. The wider architectural frame on top is decorated with partly shown yellow bronze shields with two red ribbons.

In the middle of the upper zone, there is a pinax with red frames depicting a still life on a blue background. A wiggling aquatic animal moves to the right, interpreted as either a moray, or two morays by a seashell,⁶⁶ if not a large serpent feeding from a patera.⁶⁷ In both side fields there are vague traces of a small parapet made of rectangular components; the figures behind them are mostly destroyed, only the lowest part remains.

Entrance (south) wall: In the yellow *socle* framed with double red lines, wiggling shapes on both sides, identified as marine monsters; by the door posts, flying swans now completely faded away.

In the middle field of the *main zone* on the left, a genius stands on console in contrapposto. He wears a knee-length blue cloak with yellow and red lining.

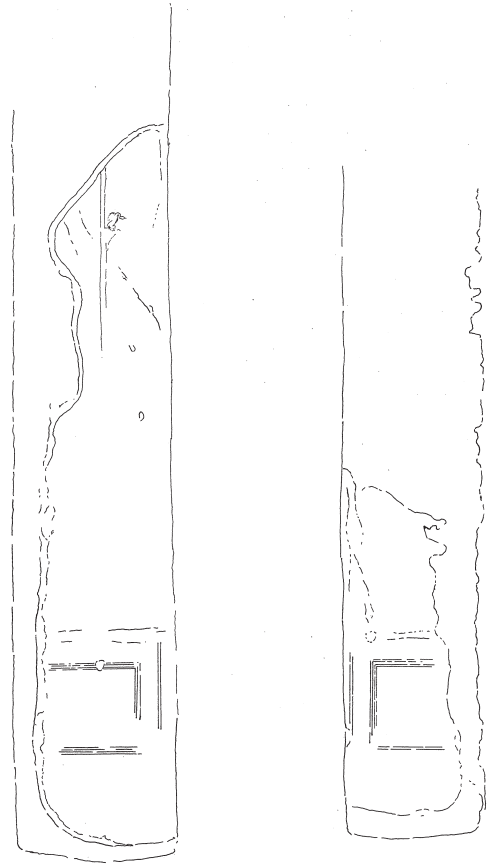


Fig. 44.

⁶⁴ Falkener 1852, 47.

⁶⁵ Falkener 1852, 47, calls this figure Leucophryne emphasizing Artemis' Magnesian popularity; W. Kroll, *RE* 12 (1925) 2286–2288; W. F., *Kleine Pauly* 3 (1969) 600, s.v. Leukophryene.

⁶⁶ Avellino 1847–848, 42; Helbig 1868, 405 (no. 1657).

⁶⁷ Falkener 1852, 48.

He is playing a lyre, Apollo's attribute, with red strings in his left hand, while looking at the instrument. His body is pink, shadowed with darker red, and his hair is curly. On the right, another standing genius with a club cradled in his left arm, a lion's skin, and a sprig of oak in his right raised hand, identified as Hercules. His gaze follows the sprig. His body is somewhat darker brown than his counterpart, and the wavy curls are broader. Both genii are framed with a blue embroidery border.

In the *upper zone* only the lowest part of the red parapet remains. The doorposts were painted as well, with double framed panels in the yellow socle and a swan-decorated candelabrum (left side) in the white main zone.

In this cubiculum the central pictures on the opposite right and left walls formed a good pair: on the right seminude Venus is seen almost frontally, and on the left almost completely nude Narcissus from behind, and Cupid(s) appear in both on the waterside.⁶⁸ The central picture on the back wall unites the scheme by containing two main protagonists instead of one.



Fig. 45.

Cubiculum 7

N–S 2.6 m, W–E 2.8 cm; 7.3 m²

This is the second of two barrel-vaulted cubicula on the left (north) side of the atrium 2.

Bibliography: Panofka 1847a, 131; Panofka 1847b, 142; Avellino 1847–1848, 35–37; Pancaldi 1848, 9–10; Bechi 1852 (*MB* 14), 6; Finati 1852 (*MB* 14), pl. 45; Falkener 1852, 49–50; Raoul-Rochette 1852, 80; Zahn 1852, pl. 36; Niccolini 1854, 8–10; Minervini 1855, 54; Minervini 1858, 35; Helbig 1868, 30, (no. 99), 46 (no. 159), 75 (no. 269), 76 (no. 277), 91 (no. 354), 109 (no. 453); 111 (no. 471), 137 (no. 624), 142 (no. 687); 166 (no. 830), 185 (no. 939), 210 (no. 1049), 267 (no. 1253); Ruesch 1908, 339 (no. 1425); Reinach 1922, 61 (no. 4), 335 (nos. 5–6); Elia 1932, 75 (no. 148); Schefold 1957, 247; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 207–223; Richardson 2000, 158; Romizzi 2006, 477–478; Hodske 2007, 51–53, 171, 218 (nos. 682, 686); Tammisto – Kuivalainen 2008, 86; Lorenz 2008, 387–388, 608–609.

⁶⁸ Hodske 2007, 103.

Floor: Opus signinum decorated with inlaid crustae, small irregular marble pieces (white, cipollino, giallo antico, pavonazzetto) laid in rows with an hexagonal white piece in the centre. There is also a white marble threshold.

Wall Paintings: This cubiculum has a typical structure of three zones and a low lunette on the north and south walls. The background of the socle is yellow ochre, and the main and upper zones are white. The paintings, of standard quality, represent the Fourth Style. The upper zone is better preserved on the east wall, while on the others only the lowest part or the corners remain, with occasional traces of painting (west wall); some destroyed lacunae are also preserved in the other zones.

Back (north) wall: The *socle* consists of five fields. The sphinx in red, now recognised only by tips of the wings, is depicted in the middle, below a garland hanging from a ribbon. On both sides in gable-shaped panels framed in red and lined with white stripes a flying swan carries a ribbon, the two birds



Fig. 46.

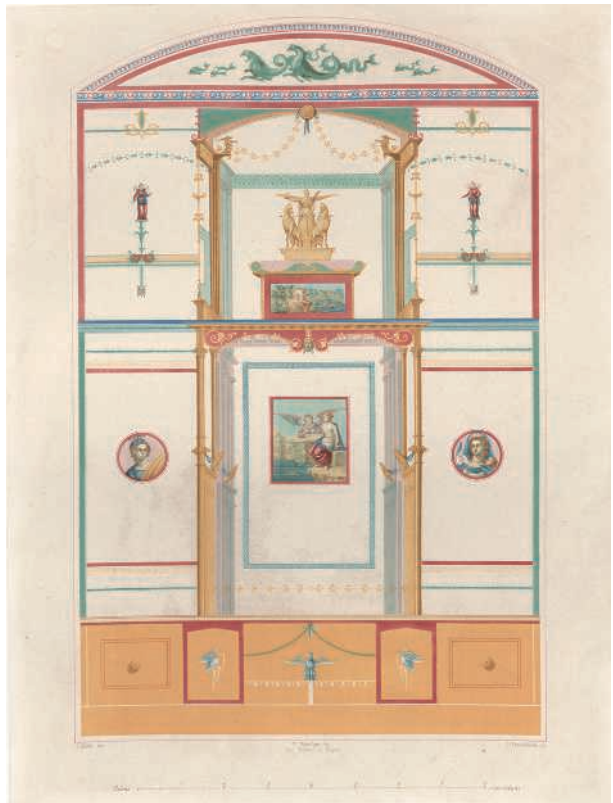


Fig. 47.

facing each other, the right one is now destroyed. In the outermost fields there are paterae, double-framed in red.

In the middle of the *main zone*, the central picture depicts a fishing Venus in profile sitting on a stone and holding a fishing rod in her right hand. She is accompanied by Victoria, portrayed frontally. The left side of the painting with a fish is destroyed, and only the general shapes of the figures remain. This subject was common mainly in cubacula, in small scale.⁶⁹



Fig. 48.

The central picture is framed with a blue embroidery border, a simple guilloche with dots, and dot-rosettes in the corners. An orange horizontal garland with flowers is attached to the architectural frame with blue, red, and yellow columns, decorated with two shields, hung with ribbons and adorned with bosses depicting human heads. Above there is a coffered ceiling and a curvy branch ending in scrolls with a mask in the middle. In the side fields, a helmeted Mars with a shield on the left, and Venus with a Cupid on the right, in medallions framed with red. The zone is divided with green horizontal garlands below and on top, then yellow horizontal embroidery borders with five-sided compartments facing alternately inwards and outwards and containing teardrops.

In the middle of the now mostly destroyed *upper zone* there originally was a red-framed pinax depicting a seashore landscape with houses, on top of which stood a statue of Victoria riding a biga. The architectural frame from the main zone continued here, with the blue columns and slender candelabra on top of pedestals. On the sides, on the right a mask hangs from a green ribbon attached to a horizontal ornamental band, the lower part of which is green, and the upper part, originally yellow, has turned red because of the heat. The destroyed part of the upper zone consisted of Psychae with butterfly wings on top of candelabra, and two marine monsters surrounded by pairs of dolphins in the lunette.

Right (east) wall: The *socle* is similar to the back (north) wall, divided into five fields. The seated or kneeling sphinx (H 15 cm), portrayed in the middle balancing on a pedestal,

⁶⁹ Hodske 2007, 78, 149–150.

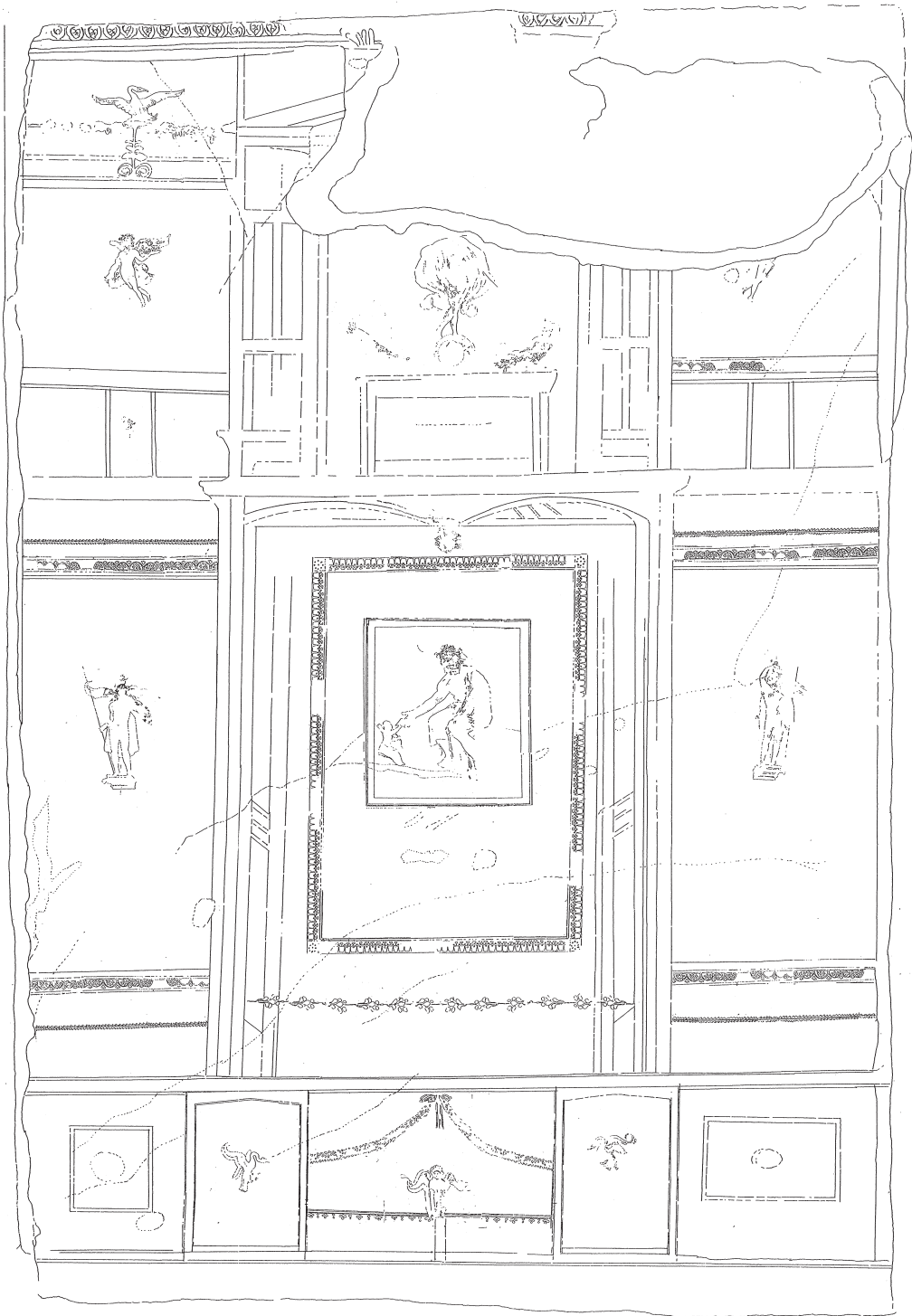


Fig. 49.

is painted in white and pale grey, the wings shadowed in red. Her eyes and nose are marked with red dots, and a red line for the mouth. A red horizontal band with triple petals alternating with double dots splits the field. The position of the sphinx deviates from the vertical centre formed by the pedestal and the bow of blue and white ribbons, to which a garland with greenish leaves is fastened. There are other deviations with the positioning of the fields; the leftmost field is narrower than the rightmost compared to the overall decoration of the wall with matching outlines of panels.

In the middle field of the *main zone* the central picture depicts the cyclops Polyphemus receiving Galatea's letter from a winged Cupid. It is a seascape rendered similarly to all the other central pictures in the room. Polyphemus is seated on a rock, slightly leaning forward; he reaches out for the letter, scarcely visible, from a Cupid riding a dolphin and carrying a bow in his left hand. The rectangular shape of the letter suggests a wax tablet and is depicted variously in modern versions of this painting. The bearded Polyphemus is seen in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile, he has a crook in his left hand and cloak over his thigh. Behind Polyphemus there is a boulder.



Fig. 50.

Another type of Pompeian fresco depicting the embrace of Galatea and Polyphemus⁷⁰ shows the success of the love letter, taking into account their three children known by name.⁷¹ In the House of Marcus Lucretius there is another painting depicting Polyphemus and Galatea, and one with a nereid, possibly Galatea, in room 5 (p. 61, 64). The central picture is framed with a celestial blue tapestry border and columns in perspective, blue, red, blue, and yellow. Below there is an orange band with palmettes from opposite directions. Above there is a simple festoon with a mask hanging in the middle below a double scroll.

In the middle of both side fields is a winged genius; the one on the left is standing with his weight on his right foot on a red console. The one on the left (H 35 cm) holds

⁷⁰ Polyphemus receiving the letter appeared e.g. in V 2, d; VI 10, 1.19; VI 14, 28, and one from unknown origin. Erotic paintings, e.g. from the Casa della Caccia antica (VII 4, 48) now MANN 27687, Casa del Gallo II (IX 2, 10.14), Casa delle Pareti Rosse (VIII 5, 37). Helbig 1868, 208–212; Hodske 2007, 196–199; Miele 2007, 115; Lorenz 2008, 201–204; Nemeček 2014, 14, 26–28, 31–32. *LIMC* 8 (1997) s.v. Polyfemos I, 10–16; *LIMC* 5 (1990) s.v. Galateia, 1000.

⁷¹ App. III, 1,2.

in his right hand a red spear propped up against his right ankle. In his outstretched left arm he holds a shield shown in profile, and a blue cloak (chlamys) covers his back. His head is slightly turned towards his counterpart in the right-side panel. The wings are outlined with yellow and painted in blue with red feathers. His hair is brownish, and he seems to wear a floral crown. His counterpart on the right stands with his weight on his left foot and holds both a red spear and a shield with his left hand. His right arm is raised, and he is adjusting the floral crown with ribbons on his curly hair. His body is outlined with yellow and painted in pink. He wears a chlamys painted in yellow, blue, and red, now mostly brown. There are two embroidery borders in green and orange below and above them, similarly to the north wall.



Fig. 51.

The *upper zone* is better preserved on the left. In the middle, a pinax now showing only a horizontal line separating darkish terrain and the blue sky. There used to be two dogs attacking a wild boar.⁷² On top of the zone, a maenad with a thyrsus stands on a globe flanked by peacocks, presented in perspective and looking in opposite directions. The maenad is depicted frontally as *velificans* with a reddish cloak. The middle field is framed with columns in blue, red, and yellow, on top of a yellow base with a red quadrangular recess. The structure supports an open pediment, of which only a raking cornice on the left remains. In the side fields the lowest part contains three panels, each originally decorated with an object, of which only the one in the left middle is vaguely visible; it is triangular in shape, portraying two elements pointing upwards, possibly horns of a slim bucranium, if not wings of a cupid. Above a blue embroidery band, there are floating figures flying outwards as mirror images in the middle of the panels. According to the 19th century eyewitnesses, they were Cupids carrying provisions for the table, e.g. patera and situla.⁷³ In the uppermost side-field, with now only the left side remaining, horizontal yellow and orange bands and a blue garland. In front of them there is a short candelabrum, on top of it a swan with open wings, head turned towards the centre. Uppermost, below the original barrel vault, there are fragmentary pieces of a moulded stucco.

⁷² According to Bechi 1852, *MB* 14, pl. 44, the painting comes from this cubiculum; the traces on the wall point rather to the triclinium (16). Many authors comment on both pinaces but do not, unfortunately, specify the exact walls. According to Falkener 1852, 50, below the maenad holding a thyrsus there is a scene with a wild boar attacked by dogs; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 316.

⁷³ Avellino 1848–1849, 37; Falkener 1852, 50.

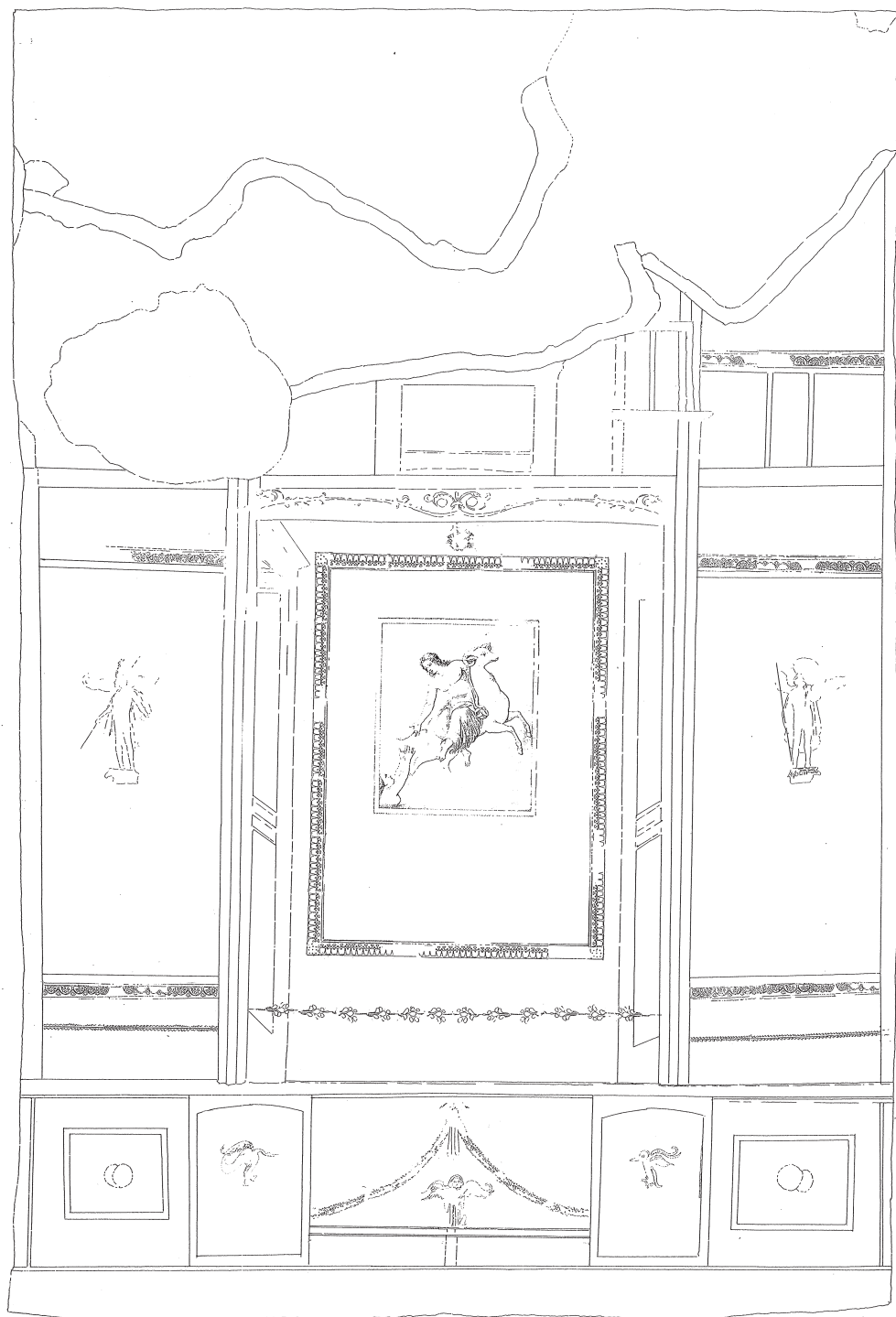


Fig. 52.

Left (west) wall: The wall in its entirety is almost identical to the east wall with the following exceptions: the winged sphinx in the *socle* is exactly centrally positioned, while the upper horizontal frame-piece of the outermost west field is drawn too much towards the left. In the middle field, the central painting, framed with red, depicting Phrixus and Helle has been transferred to Naples (MANN 8896). The diagonal composition from the lower left to the upper right of the painting shows the tragic moment of the myth.⁷⁴ In the lower left corner she is already sinking and visible only from chest upwards, trying to reach with both hands towards the right hand of Phrixus, the main subject of the panel. He is sitting astride a ram, his torso is portrayed frontally, and his curly head is in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile; he wears a yellowish cloak with brown shadows over his thighs and looks downwards, trying to reach Helle. The golden ram is seen in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile moving vigorously upwards, towards the right upper corner. The background is blue, depicting the straits of the Hellespontus. In the side fields, there are armed genii on top of the capitals. The *upper zone* is destroyed.



Fig. 53.

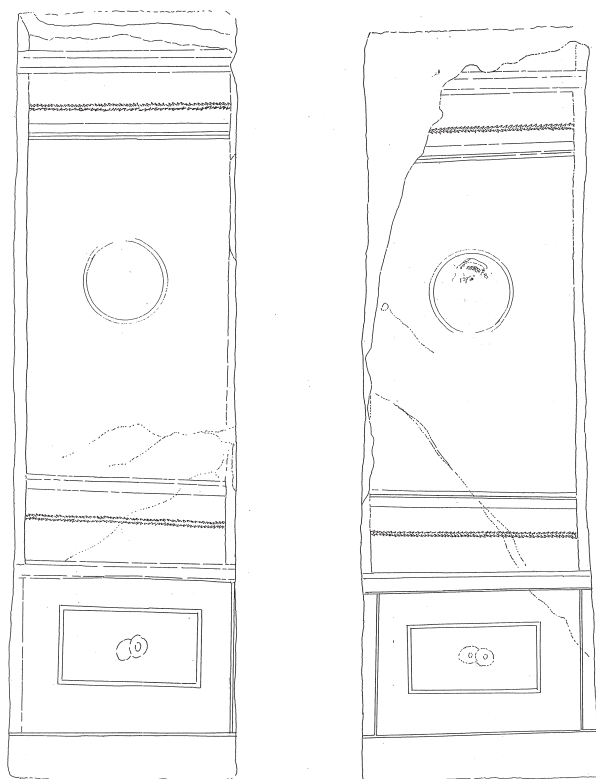


Fig. 54.

⁷⁴ The topic is well known in Pompeii. More than ten central pictures have been discovered, the latest discovery is from 2024. P. 239.

Entrance (south) wall: The door opening divides the wall in two parts. In the *socle* there are paterae, double-framed in red, on both sides. In the *main zone* there are Jupiter and Juno in medallions, and a better-preserved Juno in the right side field. The zone is horizontally divided with green garlands at the bottom and the top, then yellow horizontal embroidery borders, and nearest the medallion with a red band. In the doorposts there is a framed panel in the socle, and in the central zone a genius on top of candelabrum. The slender candelabrum on the western doorpost contains more details on shaft, e.g. leaves and tendrils, but the top with a winged genius holding a tall, decorated torch in his left hand remains extant only in the eastern doorpost.

All the central pictures of this cubiculum contain water: Venus fishing, Polyphemus by the sea, and Helle sinking into the sea. They also depict the naked bodies, both young men and women. This kind of mythological paintings became usual in the Fourth Style.⁷⁵

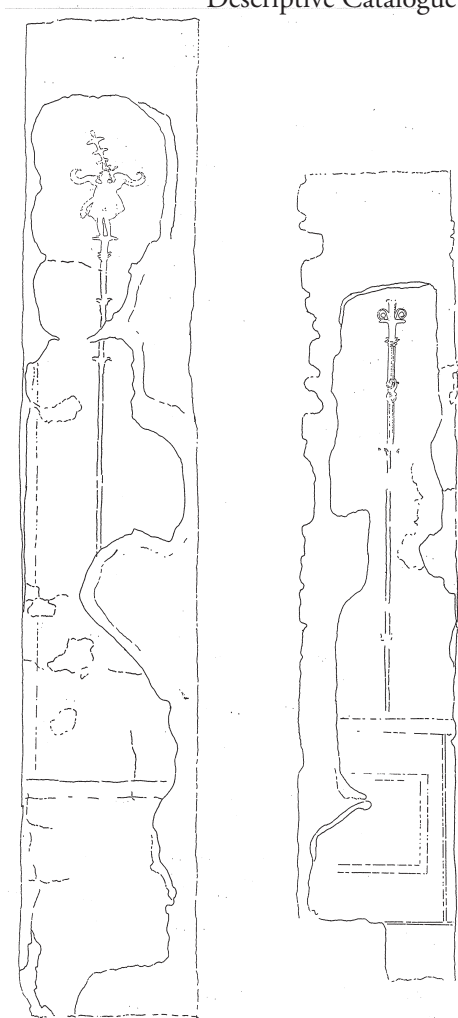


Fig. 54.

Ala 8 N-S 4.0–4.45 m, W-E 3.18 m; 13.2 m²

The room is an ala in the south side of the atrium, with a wide opening leading into the adjoining triclinium 16, and a window in the upper zone of the south wall.

Bibliography: Avellino 1847–1848, 7–9; Falkener 1852, 54–56; Niccolini 1854, 10, pl. 1 – 3; Zahn 1854, pl. 75; Helbig 1868, 116 (504c); 134 (nos. 593, 598), 139 (647), 167 (no. 835), 168 (nos. 839–840), 214 (no. 1066); 346 (no. 1455), 346–347 (no. 1458); Hermann – Bruckmann 1904–1950, pl. 66, 67; Reinach 1922, 74 (no. 10), 145 (no. 6), 314 (nos. 1–2); Beyen 1928, 86;

⁷⁵ Hodske has also shown similarities in these kinds of watery scenes between Venus and Polyphemus, Hodske 2007, 50–52, 103.

Blake 1930, 99–100, pl. 29:4; Pernice 1938, 105; Schefold 1957, 248–249; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM IX*), 224–240; Romizzi 2006, 478; Hodske 2007, 112, 277–278 (cat. 687, 688); Tammisto – Kuivalainen 2008, 86–89; Kärfeve 2022, 358.

Floor: The plan of the floor is not rectangular, due to the obliquely angled back wall. The effect of this awkward situation was reduced by situating the black and white geometric mosaic as a parallelogram. The decoration consists of rectangles inside overlapping octagons, the whole of which is framed with a black band.

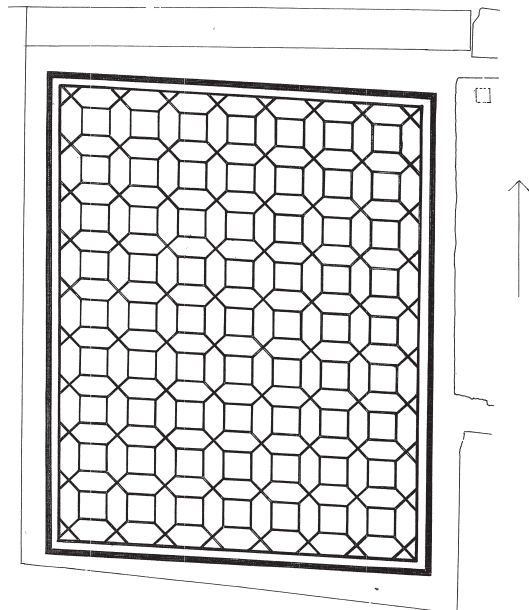


Fig. 56.

Wall Paintings: The wall paintings are structured in four zones: the socle in customarily cipollino marble imitation, the predella in either red or white, the main zone in yellow, and upper zone white. The only unbroken length of wall is the west wall. The fields of the west wall are strikingly asymmetrical, being narrower on the left side. Half of the upper zone, and the outermost part of the right side-field of the central zone, are destroyed. In the upper parts of the main zone yellow ochre has been transformed into red hematite due to the eruption of Vesuvius.⁷⁶

Back (south) wall: The *socle* is divided into three fields with vertical red bands, and in one undivided shallower compartment, broadening towards the left, above a horizontal multiline band in brown and yellow. The side fields of the predella depict whitish marine creatures, framed with triple white stripes now turned partially blue. On the left, there are two off-white dolphins on a red background, harassed by a sea monster (*cetus*) with a boar's head swimming to the right. In the middle field a still life is depicted inside green frames. The depicted objects are on a green floor, in front of brown and blue steps against white background between fluted columns. In the still-life on the left there is a brown goat with big horns standing sideways, viewed from the back; the centrepiece is a

⁷⁶ Pérez-Diez et al. 2021, 15875.



Fig. 57.

silver cantharus with *vannus*⁷⁷ covered with a purple napkin, and a leaning thyrsus with a ribbon and flowers, as well as a red and blue tympanum with small bells – the whole set being well-known Bacchic emblems. In the right field with red background there are more marine creatures: a sea monster to the left and a dolphin at both ends. The three fields of the predella are separated from each other by white columns with simple bases, and red columns with white edges, continuing upwards across the main zone.

The *main zone* with a yellow ochre background has partially turned red due to the exceptional heat. The central picture (H 43 cm) depicts on the right a poet seated on a rock and leaning on his right hand.⁷⁸ He wears a whitish himation covering his lower body and left shoulder. He holds a comic mask in his left hand. His beardless head is seen in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile and wreathed with ivy. He looks into the distance. On the ground by his right side there is a scroll container, *scrinium*, with a lid resting on it. He is accompanied by a female, possibly an actress, Muse, or a female colleague (MANN 9030), sitting with crossed legs. She is robed in a red chiton with blue lining; she touches the stone with her right hand and holds a scroll in her left. She seems to be left-handed,

⁷⁷ *Vannus Iacchi* is mentioned e.g. by Virgil, *Georg.* 1,166. The Greek equivalent is λίκνον. This veiled basket usually contained a sacred phallus, and perhaps some fruit or cakes.

⁷⁸ Bragantini (*PPM IX*) confuses the locations, but the 19th century sources are quite specific about the walls in question; Avellino 1847–1848, 8–9; Falkener 1852, 54.

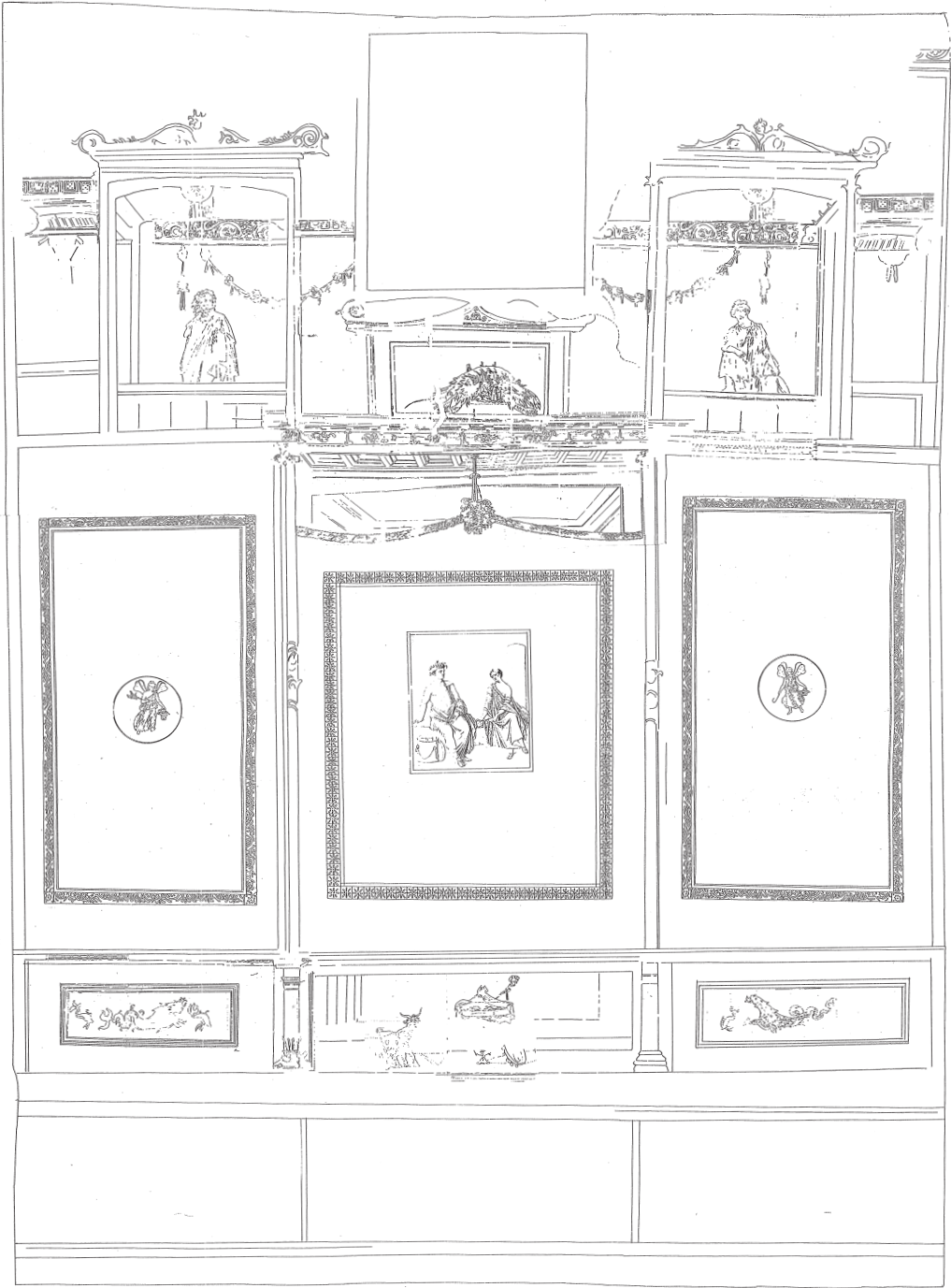


Fig. 58.

because the robe is fastened on the right shoulder, leaving the left shoulder bare. Her head is tilted, and she gazes at her companion. Both figures wear sandals. On the right, at the back, there is a short reddish column. The picture is framed with dark brown and white. The embroidery border consists of white schematic flowers of eight petals. The above-mentioned white columns and red columns with white edges in the predella are now decorated with red circle-lines, and end in small capitals; the frieze of the coffered ceiling is decorated with rosettes and two long sepals each, from the entablature hangs a bearded mask fastened with arching garlands to the side columns. Behind opens a compluvium supported with the fluted columns shown already in the predella below, making the yellow panel around the central picture a curtain-like element in front of the actual wall.

In both the side fields, in the red medallions with white lines, there are flying Psychae with light blue butterfly wings on a dark background. Both are carrying a basket of flowers in the left hand (MANN 9344 and 9345), while in the right hand one holds a sprig and the other a pedum.⁷⁹ The first one wears a light blue robe, and the latter is clothed in white. The embroideries of both side fields consist of inner red stripes with white lines, and an outer white border made of a series of half-rosettes with five petals inside arches alternating with palmettes with long lowest petals. In each corner, inside rectangles, there are rosettes with eight dot-like petals.

In the *upper zone* in the middle field beneath the window there is a framed still-life with two lobsters (*Palinurus vulgaris*) lengthwise on top of each other, with heads facing in opposite directions, on a white shelf or a windowsill, indicated by the vertical brown and blue frame on the left and a light blue opening in the background. The composition is not quite centrally positioned, but the walking legs and the pincher claws of the upper lobster are visible, as are the antennae, which continue to the lower left corner, even extending beyond the frame. The lower one is seen from the



Fig. 59.

⁷⁹ The positions of the Psychae, Avellino 1847–1848, 8–9.

abdomen, with its walking legs and pincher claws depicted. Neither tails are visible. The lobsters are painted in quite life-like colours: red, brownish, with even lighter-hued legs. The still-life is framed in a dark red band, surrounded by a wide green area with white lines, excepting the bottom, and is enclosed by a tent-like structure, now mainly red, but the original yellow colour is visible in the lower vertical supports. The beam rests on these supports, seen from below in perspective, and underpins projecting floral volutes at the corners, as well as the curvy roof, the top of which has been destroyed. In the middle there is a gorgoneion, with facial features indicated by dots.

Inside the left aedicula, seen as a balcony, stands a man robed in a bluish tunic and a red cloak. He is bearded with brown curly hair and looks pensively, turning his head slightly to the left. The other balcony view in the right aedicula portrays a female figure standing with her weight on the left foot. With her left hand she touches the opened *scrinium* on the railing. She wears a tunic and robe with similar colours as the man in the neighbouring balcony. She looks to her left, and her brown hair is tied up. These two musing figures might depict literary figures, perhaps a poet and a poetess such as Homer and Sappho.

The architectural decoration, seen in perspective, is nearly identical in both side fields. The front columns are red (some parts may have originally been yellow) and the back columns light grey. The open roofs of the aediculae are decorated with floral volute acroteria, the volutes rolling in opposite directions, inward in the left aedicula, and outward in the only remaining volute on the right. In between the roof volutes there are remains of central emblems, probably florals. In both aediculae, below the emblems, a round shield with ribbons and two garlands is hung, one of which is short and unattached, while the other is longer and extends all the way to the window opening. At the back of the aediculae there is a continuous architrave decorated with scrolls and palmettes.

There are second covered pavilions on the outer sides, also seen in perspective. The simple handrails are higher than the railings in the aediculae, the ceiling itself is shown grey, and the cornices are decorated with geometrical motifs of dotted rectangles. Roundish shields with ribbons hang from the back cornice. In the side pavilions the dominant colours are mostly greys in different shades.

Right (west) wall: There is an extra side field on the right side due to the off-centre position of the middle field. Furthermore, the width of the left side field (62 cm) does not correspond with that of the opposite (east) wall (99 cm). The typical side fields of the predella depict marine creatures, framed with triple white stripes. On the left, there are two dolphins on a red background harassed by a boar-headed sea monster swimming to the right. On the right, there are two sea monsters swimming to the left, the foremost

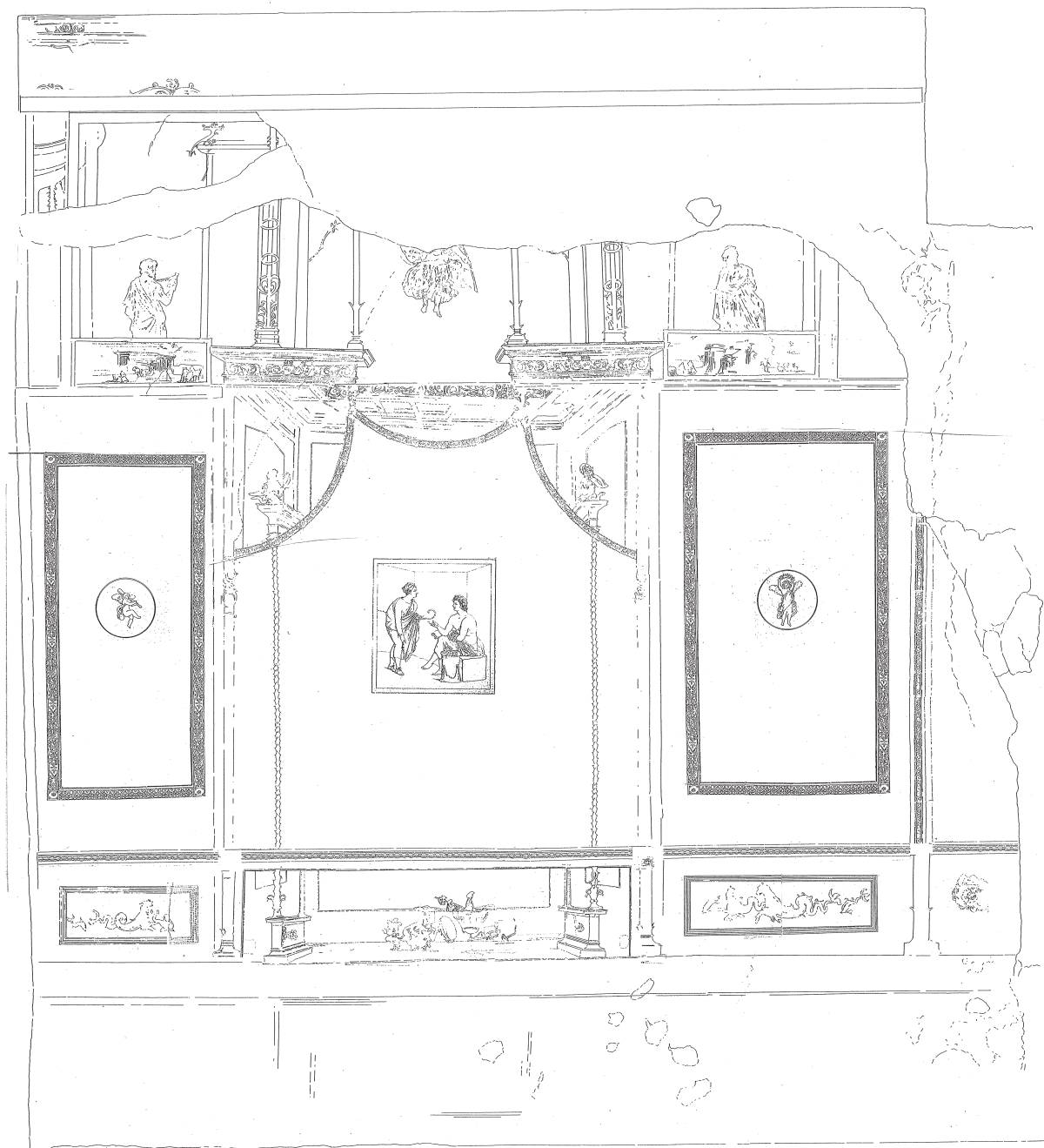


Fig. 60.

turning its head backwards, with dolphins at both ends of the field. An unframed rosette is painted in the extra side field. In the middle field a still life depicts Dionysiac votive offerings. The field is enclosed by red rectangular bases for two slender columns seen in perspective. The bases are decorated with paterae, the foremost columns are twisted and decorated with twigs, and the two columns further back are plain. Above the yellowish ground there are two shelves on which are depicted the following objects, from left to right: ivy leaves and berries tied with a ribbon, a bearded mask (Silenus), a piece of cloth falling from the uppermost shelf, a tympanum with small bells, a thyrsus leaning on a cantharus with a veiled top, and two crotales (cymbals). Similarly to the south wall, the columns separating the fields continue upwards, not however in the extra side field.

The *main zone* is divided into four fields, the fourth being the extra side field on the right. The awkwardly placed features continue here, as the embroidery border in the left side field does not reach the height of the one on the right, with the left probably being lower due to the proportions of the adjacent south wall. In the upper part of the main zone the original yellow colour has turned red just above the central panels with removed paintings.

In the middle field, the central picture (MANN 9038) portrays two figures indoors. On the right a poet with well-developed muscles is sitting with his legs crossed on a stone block, his open *scrinium* on the ground. He is barefoot and his waist is covered with a greenish cloak, leaving his torso naked. He is leaning forward with his covered left arm on his thigh, while holding in his left hand a partially opened scroll. His right arm is bent, and he points with his forefinger towards his companion. His curly-haired, wreathed head is seen in profile. He has upturned nose and full lips, he



Fig. 61.

is instructing his companion. The shading is painted with care, with white and dark brown. The figure on the left is an actor with exceptionally long limbs. He is standing, bent forward, and wears sandals, a red tunic, and a large yellow cloak covering his back; it reaches halfway down his leg and is gathered on his left forearm. His right hand touches the right knee, and in his left he holds a pedum. His head is in profile with

the mask pushed on the crown, and he gazes upwards as if memorizing his lines. The painting is framed by dark brown and white lines.

The upper part of the middle field is viewed from behind a hanging curtain, even more elaborate than the example on the south wall. Highest up in the background there is an architectural scene on a white background, rendered in light grey and highlighted in light red. It is seen in perspective, showing a cassette ceiling and an architrave decorated with floral scrolls and palmettes. The hanging curtain is fixed in four points: twice above the ceiling and twice from the side columns continuing from the predella. Vertically the curtain is fixed between the twisted columns in front and the two plain ones behind it. On top of the architrave, above these two columns, there are red sea-centaurs; the one on the left holds in his left hand a prow-stem, *acrostilium*, and an upper *rostrum* in his right. The other on the right is seen from the back, holding a long horn in his right outstretched hand.

In the side fields there are red medallions lined with white. The one on the left depicts a Cupid seen in profile, looking towards the right (MANN 9341). He holds a club, an emblem of Hercules, in both hands, his wings are turquoise, and his cloak floats behind him. The other figure on the right is depicted frontally; she is a wreathed, fair-haired Psyche lifting a floral wreath (MANN 9346), wearing a nearly transparent girdled greenish tunic. Her light blue wings are atypical, although usual for Cupids.⁸⁰ This picture is of inferior quality compared to the other medallions in this room. The side panels are enclosed within inner red stripes with white lines and white embroidery borders, differing in their vertical and horizontal parts. In the former, heart-shaped motifs contain palmettes and rosettes, and in latter a triple scale pattern with teardrops and dots inside. In each corner there are octagons with concave sides containing dot rosettes. The extra side field on the right is separated with a long vertical embroidery border with a dense wavy line.

The remaining *upper zone* is a continuation of the architectural setting of the upper middle field in the main zone. The white background has turned blue, leaving only the lower part white. The left side field is best preserved, even above the modern iron bar, while the extra field on the right is destroyed. In the middle field there is a half-preserved floating figure. She is portrayed barefoot, dancing, robed in red and blue, and holding an object. The opening is flanked by reddish candelabra columns, slender ones on the projecting edge of the pedestal decorated with floral scrolls, and more elaborate ones in the middle. Further in the background, more simple columns are depicted receding from view. The red columns in front support the roof of aediculae, only partially visible in the

⁸⁰ Helbig 1868, 167 (no. 835).

left side field. Balconies in both sides contain standing figures, as in the south wall, but instead of masonry railings there are pinakes. The one on the left is a framed landscape with a blue sky and a white colonnaded building, in front of which there are several persons in action, perhaps fighting, on the left, and a horse with its



Fig. 62.

minder in the right corner. This sketchy landscape is framed in dark brownish red. In the balcony there is a man seen from behind and from the knees up, holding an opened scroll in his right hand while reciting a text, presumably a poem. The overall colour is red, but he wears a diagonally draped bluish cloak over his torso. Behind the figure a receding column is part of an architectural feature with a hanging garland curving towards the adjacent wall, accentuated by a stout red column. On top, now below and even above the modern iron bar, there are floral scrolls decorating the roof. Uppermost there is a piece of stucco cornice with encircling dot-rosettes.

On the right side the anomalies in the measurements reappear. The right-side pedestal under the columns, and the balcony railing, are clearly higher than on the left. The pinax shows a framed landscape under a blue sky, a pastoral scene in front of several buildings, including among other objects a tholos on the left. There are two standing figures, and possibly a dog, on the left, and a goatherd with three goats on the right. Above, behind the balcony, stands a dark-haired female robed in transparent blue and red. She seems to turn her head slightly to the left.

The left (east) wall contains only the left side field, because of the space is taken by the door. An obvious change from yellow to red is seen above and in the left side of the embroidery border, extending down to the predella. The overall decoration follows that of the opposite west wall; in the predella there is a sea monster with two dolphins. In the main zone there is a standing Cupid in a medallion (MANN 9343), holding a white pedum in his left hand, looking at the rabbit held in his downwards extended right hand. His airy cloak covers his left shoulder and left arm. The skin tone is fair, with yellow shading; the wings and the cloak are bluish white. The white rabbit with a yellow back is depicted in profile, head downwards. The upper zone is mostly destroyed; only the right corner of a framed landscape remains, depicting two grazing goats, one

lying down, the other standing. The architectural structure differs slightly from that of the west wall; it is broader, with an extra fluted column on the right side painted in light grey. The curving architrave is seen both below and above the modern iron bar, and a garland is fixed to it.

On a general level the room has been painted with care with several pictorial motifs, and the challenges presented by the awkward physical measurements were met with some success. In the predellae there are five panels with sea monsters and dolphins, and two panels with Bacchic attributes in the middle fields, considered here as the main motifs. Above these two, the central panels are linked by scenes from the theatre. The elderly poet with an admiring female companion is not actively interacting with her, but the younger poet is clearly instructing the actor in front him. The three Psychae and two Cupids in the medallions do not seem to have much in common; their attributes vary between a wreath, two baskets, two peda, a rabbit, and a twig. In the upper zone, four figures stand by the balcony railings, three of whom are portrayed frontally. The two on the south wall are watching the first one on the adjacent west wall, who is portrayed from behind while reciting. All of the human figures in this room, both male and female, are connected with theatre, from seeking inspiration to listening to the final lines performed.

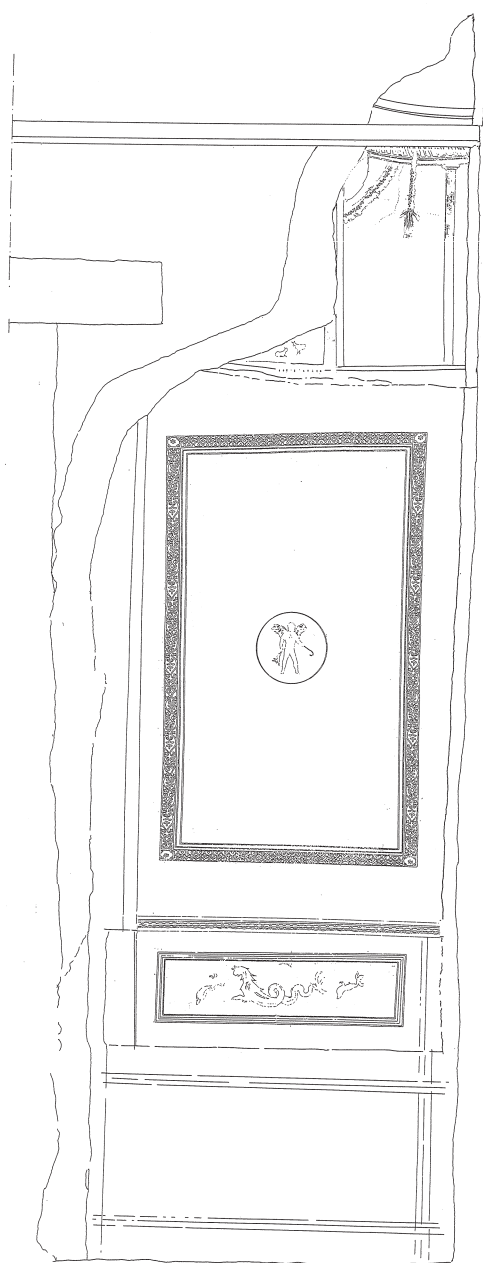


Fig. 63.

Ala 9 N–S 3.25 m, W–E 3.25 cm; 10.4 m²

This room is an ala on the north side of the atrium.

Bibliography: Panofka 1847a, 131, Panofka 1847b, 142; Avellino 1847–1848, 34; Falkener 1852, 53; Niccolini 1854, 17, pl. 1; Helbig 1868, 351 (no.1466), 355 (no. 1474), 399 (no. 1599); Reinach 1922, 357 (no. 1); Schefold 1957, 247–248; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 241–247; Romizzi 2006, 478; Tammisto – Kuivalainen 2008, 88.

Floor: Opus signinum in places. In the middle there originally was a globe surrounded with stars.⁸¹

Wall Paintings: There are wall paintings on three of the walls, two with openings to adjoining undecorated household rooms (10 and 11 leading to the kitchen area), the most uninterrupted wall being thus the left (west) wall. The wall paintings with the customary three zones, of which the upper zone is mostly destroyed, are painted in red ochre (socle), yellow ochre (main zone), and white (upper zone).

Back (north) wall: This wall consists of three zones, the door opening replacing the right part of the socle and the main zone. Due to the opening the centre point of the upper zone differs from the lower zones.

In the middle of the *socle* there is a flying eagle under a green garland hanging from a vertical embroidery border. On the left a white bucranium with volute tendrils is painted in an interval, framed with green bands and white linings. The left side field is horizontally divided by a white embroidery border with arched palmettes, and a white palmette stands in the middle, with a tiny pendant below.

In the *main zone*, the central picture depicts two figures on a white background. The one on the right stands in profile, fully robed in green, carrying a pedom in his left hand, lifting his right palm, and wearing a pale mask. The figure looks bearded, as Avellino pointed out.⁸² This is likely a comic actor, fully robed and big-bellied; the mask with its large open mouth is characteristic of comedic actors, and may give an impression of a beard, indicating a senex, a typical stock character of comedy. The pedom may also indicate old age. It is rarely depicted, but in this house it appears twice, also being carried by the actor in the opposite room 8.⁸³ He obviously tries to address

⁸¹ Avellino 1848 (*BAN*), 34.

⁸² Avellino 1848 (*BAN*), 34. His idea of a muse as the other character seems too fanciful.

⁸³ One example of a fully robed comic actor is a figurine from Taranto, S. Airò, 'Figurina fittile di attore comico', *Teatro* 2024, 288 no. 31.



Fig. 64.



Fig. 65.

the considerably taller figure in front of him, probably a female, though headless already in the 19th century. She wears a red belted chiton, and her arms are slightly stretched out. She may be a *matrona*, rather than one of the other female characters, a *meretrix*, *virgo*, or *ancilla*.

The central panel is framed by an embroidery border consisting of arched half-rosettes with simple three-petalled palmettes between segments. In each corner, inside square compartments, are schematic rosettes with four petals and dots in the corners. Above it the yellow background has partially changed to red.

In the side field on the left, a double-framed background (red above and on the right, white below and on the left) in the yellow screen-wall contains a sea monster with a bull's head. It is painted in white with dark brown contours. Above it, there is an architectural structure in an opening, a flat-roofed aedicula with slender red candelabrum-type columns in front and simple pink columns at the back, supporting an architrave decorated with scrolls. To the left of the aedicula there is a receding wall.

The *upper zone* of this north wall is the best preserved in the room. There are five compartments, each horizontally divided into two panels with an embroidery border (arched half-rosettes with simple three-petalled palmettes between segments), with the middle field consisting of one narrow and two wider panels. The main figure is an archaistic statue of a slim female divinity situated in the middle field, standing inside an aedicula with a vaulted ceiling. She is fully robed, standing on top of a simple pedestal fixed to a volute decoration on top of a lower panel. She is flanked by two floating beasts, facing her, under vaulted garlands. These brown beasts, panthers, stand on their hind legs. In the panels below them there are traces of yellow floral scrolls. These six panels of the main field are separated from the side fields with simple light blue, yellow, and light grey columns, and a yellow candelabrum forming receding wings. On the left there are two more slender columns, now barely visible. On the left there is also a framed

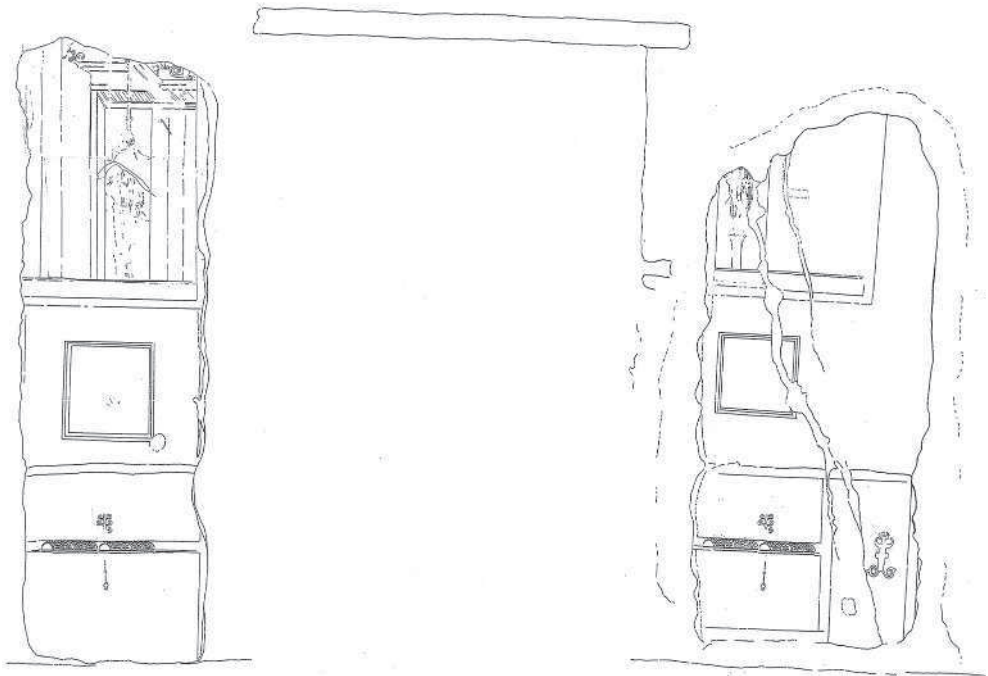


Fig. 66.



Fig. 67.

still-life with two brown baskets on a blue background, one standing upright, one on its side. The still-life is fastened to a floral ornament above the embroidery border, from which hangs a posy. The right side field is nearly identical but mostly destroyed and thus unintelligible in detail. In the upper zone the architecture, which now appears to be red, was originally yellow.

Right (east) wall: This wall is divided into two narrow sections on both sides of the doorway, as the upper zone is destroyed. The only difference with the west wall is that the caryatids in the architectural openings may carry different objects, now indeterminate.⁸⁴

Left (west) wall: This wall is the only wall with all of its panels intact, with a narrow extra side field (interval) on the left towards

the atrium and is similar to that in the ala 8. Thus the whole composition is not centrally positioned. The red *socle* (H 62 cm) is divided vertically into three panels, the broadest in the middle, and framed in green. The middle field consists of two horizontal parts with a green garland hanging from a piece of palmette embroidery. Below, there is an eagle with outstretched, fawn-coloured wings. The two narrow intervals separate the middle field from the side fields with vertical green bands with white lines. In the middle of the intervals there are slim white bucrania with voluted tendrils. The side fields are horizontally divided by a white embroidery border with arched palmettes; a white palmette is fixed in the middle, with a tiny pendant below. The furthest extra interval on the left is a little wider, and decorated with a bucranium.

The yellow *main zone* is divided into three fields, with screen-wall panels below white architectural openings, as well as the upward continuation of the extra side interval. The central painting depicts, on the left, a standing female figure in profile, wearing a red himation, covering her head and looking down at two tiny chubby persons on the right, also wearing red. They are also portrayed in profile, one partly behind the other. F. Avellino identified the topic as Medea contemplating killing her children though the

⁸⁴ Avellino 1847–1848, 35, suggests a patera and a vase.

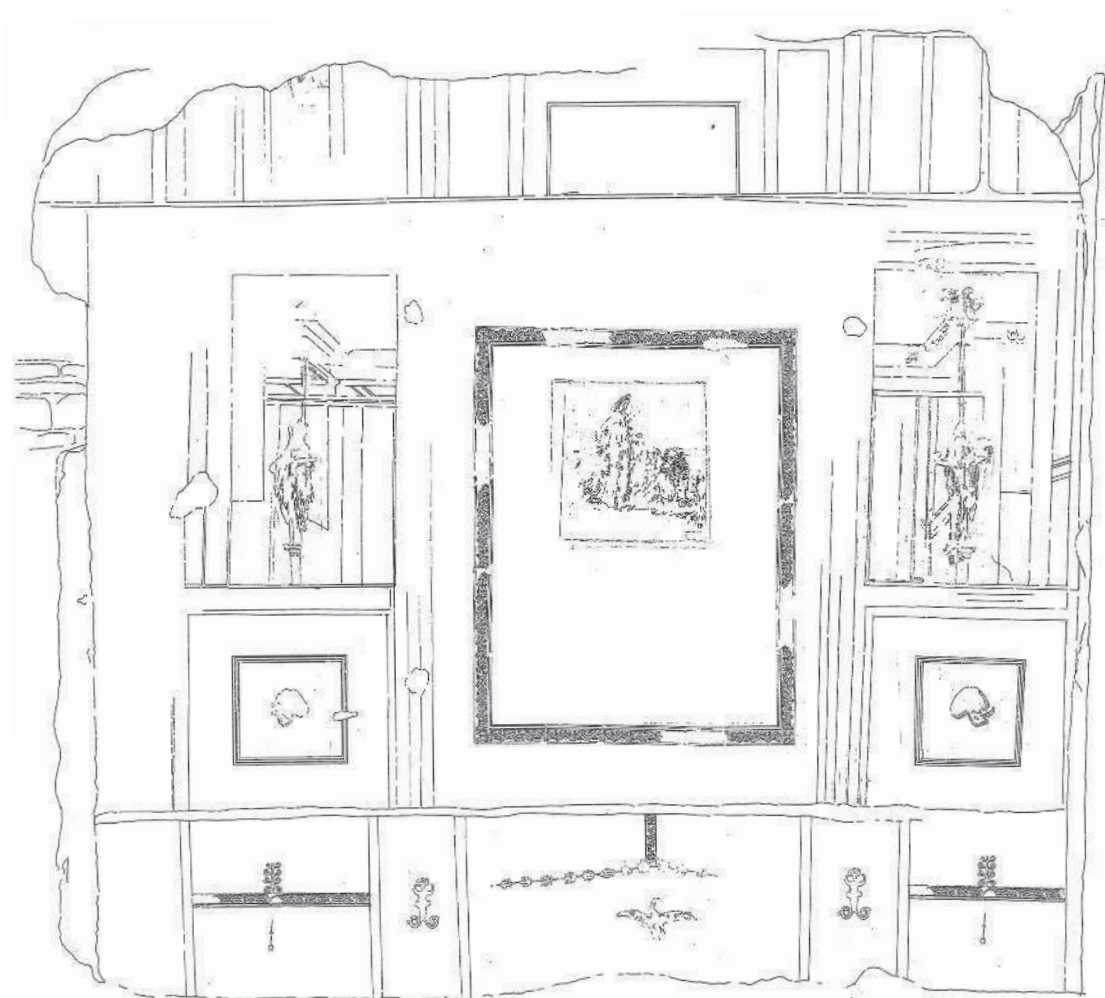


Fig. 68.

painting was faded already in the 19th century.⁸⁵ The painting is framed in red with white lines.

The central panel is framed by an embroidery border consisting of arched half-rosettes with simple three-petalled palmettes between segments. In each corner, inside square compartments, are schematic rosettes with four petals and dots in the corners. The middle field is closed by columns in red and yellow, but only their shafts remain.

In both side fields there are yellow screen-walls, inside of which is a double-

⁸⁵ Avellino 1847–1848, 34; Helbig 1868 351 (no. 1466); The topic is known from Casa dei Dioscuri (VI 9,6) MANN 8977, and Casa di Jasone (IX 5,18) MANN 114321.



Fig. 69.

framed panel, alternating in red or white. In the centre of each there is a brownish elephant's head with tusks. In the openings above there are gilded female statues (caryatids), in architectural settings in red and yellow. They carry unspecified objects,⁸⁶ the one on the right with outstretched hands, the one on the left with straight arms. Both figures stand on short columns and are affixed to slender candelabrum-type columns, supporting the projecting architrave above. On top of both, there is a bird, perhaps a Phoenix.

In the *upper zone*, separated with a red band from the main zone, some of the columns of the architectural setting have partly changed colour from yellow to red. In the middle there is a pinax framed in red, but now completely weathered. Over the side fields there are floating figures, now represented only by red or blue spots.

The decoration of this ala 9 continues the house's Bacchic theme, focusing on theatre, and even with the panthers pointing to Bacchus, and the elephants especially to the Indian aspect of his cult. Due to the lamentable state of the central paintings a more detailed assessment is not possible.

Tablinum 15

N–S 4.8–5.1 m, W–E 4.5 m; 21.8 m²

This room between the atrium (2) and the raised garden (18) has only two walls (north and south), a low podium wall (east), and a well-preserved floor.

⁸⁶ They may be offering vessels, Schefold 1957, 248.

Bibliography: Panofka 1847a, 136; Falkener 1852, 55–58; Raoul-Rochette 1852, 299; Minervini 1855, 54–55; Breton 1855, 301; Rizzo 1929, 20; Blake 1930, 99–100, pl. 16:2; Pernice 1938, 105; Schefold 1957, 249; *PPP* III, 439; Guidobaldi et al. [1994], 53 (fig. 11), 57; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 249–253; Tammisto – Kuivalainen 2008, 88–89.

Floor: The floor is decorated with a white opus tessellatum with black decorations and a colourful opus sectile in the middle. By the walls there are three black bands on all sides. The decoration proper fills most of the floor area, consisting firstly of a frame of single birds or pairs, alternating with various flowers inside vegetal scrolls, and bunches of twigs in each corner. The number of birds is 21, medium and small passerines, the larger ones probably representing thrushes or their allies, and the smaller ones mostly warblers.⁸⁷ The scroll is followed by a guilloche band inside narrow black and white bands on both sides. (p. 277–278).

Rectangular white marble slabs frame the opus sectile square in the middle. There are 6 x 6 rows of squares, with one or two further squares placed tangentially inside each other. Innermost, there is a round slab of giallo antico. Other stones used are portasanta,



Fig. 70.

⁸⁷ The identification of the birds was made by Antero Tammisto.

breccia, africano, cipollino, alabaster, pavonazzetto, and serpentino. Some of the stones are fractured, and the floor is now restored. By the wall towards the raised garden (15), not centrally positioned, there is a marble-covered plughole framed with a double-line black mosaic and white marble slabs.

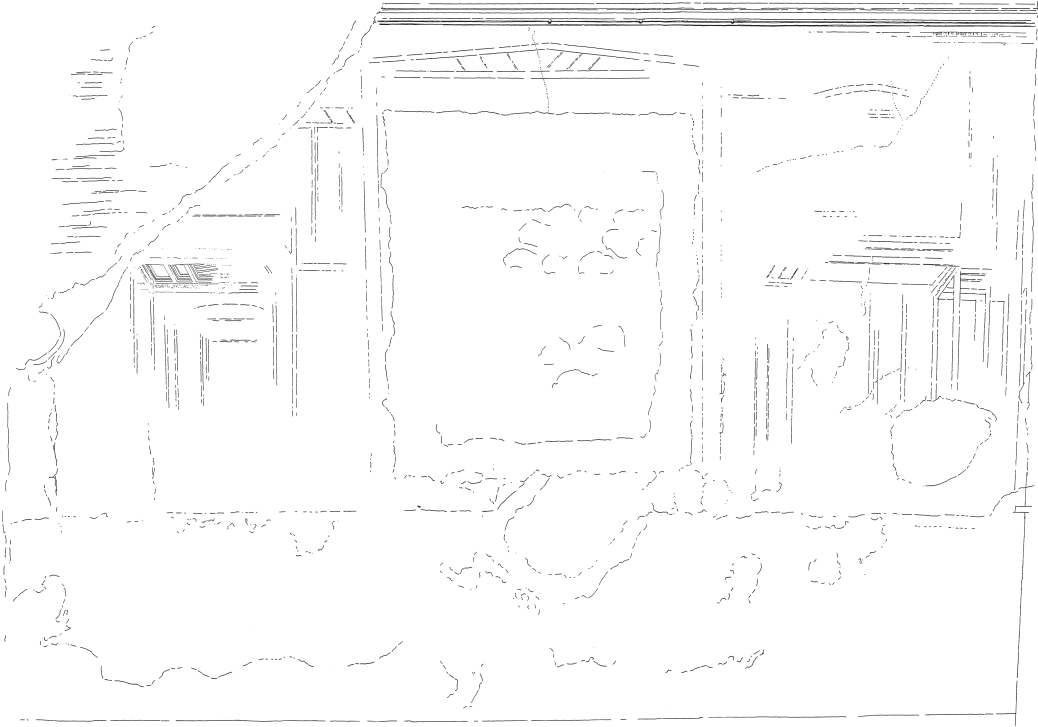


Fig. 71.

Wall Paintings: The current state of the walls is lamentable, preserving only some references to the architectural framework. No central panels were discovered during the excavation in 1847, and e.g. Falkener suggested that wooden panels had been removed before the eruption, or that paintings never even existed, the house having been under renovation. Two horizontal chasings in each recess were used for the fastening of the panels.⁸⁸

The socle of all the three walls consisted of a greenish marble imitation (cipollino) divided into five panels. The main zone background colour is now yellow partially

⁸⁸ Falkener 1852, 56–57. The shallow recesses are now slightly larger (H 150 cm, W 128 cm) than at the time of excavation, due to weathering, if not restoration; Rizzo 1919, 20 favoured that the paintings were destroyed during the eruption.



Fig. 72.

turned red, but according to the early excavators it was blackish, suggesting cinnabar on a yellow ochre ground.⁸⁹ The upper zones are destroyed. The two opposite intact walls portray almost mirror images. The decoration is best-preserved on the left (north) wall, in which, on each side field, typical two-storey aediculae are visible, now in red, but originally perhaps yellow. Traces of a pediment remain above the missing central panel. On the right (south) wall only the pediment of the upper aedicula on the right is now visible. A fragment of stucco moulding is still intact in the upper right corner of the left (north) wall. There were figures on top of the architecture, possibly Icarus and the Minotaur.⁹⁰

Without doubt the tablinum was a very representative space. The wooden panel paintings were rare, and may have been expensive, as they were evidently often carried out by famous artists.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Falkener 1852, 56.

⁹⁰ Minervini 1855, 54–55.

⁹¹ There were paintings on wooden panels e.g. in the Casa dei Vettii (VI 15, 1).

Triclinium 16N–S 5.8 m, W–E 5.8–6.3 m; 35.0 m²

This largest prestige room has been called an oecus, an ex(h)edra, and a triclinium.⁹² As Panofka reported, it was the most important room of the house: “A man destra di questo giardino evvi la stanza la più grande e in riguardo alle pitture la più importante di tutta la casa.”⁹³ There is a wide opening to the ala (8) and a narrow door opening onto the atrium (2). There is a large window replacing the right side field of the left (north) wall towards the garden (18), and two small windows in the upper zone opening into the garden (68) of the neighbouring house IX 3, 10–12.

Bibliography: Panofka 1847a, 134–136; Panofka 1847b, 26, 109–122; Avellino 1847–1848, 11, Minervini 1847–1848, 37–39; Pancaldi 1848, 12–15; Bechi 1852, 8–10; Falkener 1852, 58–65; Raoul-Rochette 1852, 298–299; Zahn 1852–1859 III, pl. 31, 41, 43, 51–53, 61, 62, 83, 84; Niccolini 1854, 11–12; Breton 1855, 322–323; Jahn 1855, 215, 222; Welcker 1861, 205–209; *PAH* II, 457, 460–461; Minervini 1865 (*MB* 15), pl. 32; Helbig 1868, 95–96 (no. 379), 127 (no. 565), 231–232 (no. 1140), 148–152 (nos. 757, 759, 760, 766, 767, 768); Helbig 1873, 84, 86, 178–179; Fiorelli 1875, 392; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 317–318; Herrmann – Bruckmann I 1904–1931, 75–86, fig. III and pl. 59–65; Ruesch 1908, 311 (no. 1317), 312 (no. 1319), 344–345 (nos. 1452, 1453, 1454); Rodenwaldt 1909, 252–254; Reinach 1922, 92 (no. 4), 93 (nos. 1–4), 191 (no. 5), 401 (no. 2); Pfuhl 1923, 739, Abb. 664; Beyen 1928, 43; Rizzo 1929, 43–44, 61, 66, pl. 72–74 and 141; Curtius 1929, 298–299; Blake 1930, 99–100; Pernice 1938, 105; Elia 1932, 44–45 (nos. 55, 56), 93 (nos. 225 – 230); Lehmann-Hartleben 1941, 43; Schefold 1952, 132–135, 149, 174, 176, pl. 41; Bruhl 1953, 148; Richardson 1955, pl. 36, 37; Schefold 1957, 249–250; Borda 1958, 237–239; Thompson 1960, 114–115, 221–222; Schefold 1962, 69, 76; Maiuri 1971, 77, 79; *PPP* III, 439–440; *Collezioni Napoli* 1986, 148–149 (no. 185), 160–163 (nos. 267, 284); Gasparri 1986, 554 *LIMC* 3:1 s.v. Dionysos/Bacchus no. 177; Moormann 1988, 213; *PPM Disegnatori*, 352, 366, 472–484; De Caro 1994, 180⁹⁴; Baldwin 1996, 52–53; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 254–280; Richardson 2000, 88–89; Coralini 2001, 117, 221–222 (nos. P.115, P.116); Dunbabin 2003, 59–60, pl. 4; Leach 2004, 240; Romizzi 2006, 478–479, no. 870–878; Hodske 2007, 163–164, (nos. 691, 692), 172–173 (no. 690); Lorenz 2008, 609; Tammisto – Kuivalainen 2008, 89–99, 205; Scapini 2016, 184; Kuivalainen 2021, 85–86, 183–184, 196–197, 242; Grimaldi 2022, 145 (no. 52); Giacco 2022, 148–149 (nos. 55–59).

⁹² Falkener 1852, 58 did not regard this room as a triclinium, with no marks of klinai in its mosaic floor, unlike in room 25, which according to him, was the only triclinium of the house.

⁹³ Panofka 1847, 133.

⁹⁴ The painting depicting Hercules and Omphale is erroneously printed as a mirror image.

Floor: *Opus tessellatum*. A black and white mosaic, which is white by the walls and the door openings, even wider there because the orientation of the room changes slightly from that of the *ala* (8). The geometric pattern starts with a narrow black band of four tesserae, followed by a wider somewhat irregular white band, and again a black band, then a white band and a narrow black band of only two tesserae. Inside this, the whole area is a carpet of intersecting wide H's framed with black, the centre of each is white. The mosaic was made after the earthquake in AD 62 and represents the same coarse workmanship as the others in the house.⁹⁵ Nearly the same pattern is seen in the atrium of the Casa del Cinghiale I (VIII 3, 8), around the impluvium and framed with castellated towers.⁹⁶

Wall Paintings: The wall is divided into a socle and a main zone, but there is no painted plaster in the upper zone, except by the window in the right (south) wall, as it probably was meant to be hidden by drapery. The height of the two completely painted zones is ca. 3 metres. The only central picture that has not been removed to Naples is that of the north wall, now almost destroyed. There have been changes in colours due to the heat of the eruption and sunlight. Most of the main zone contained a thin layer of costly cinnabar, and under it both red and yellow ochre. Now there is dark crust on the top of painted layers.⁹⁷ As the room was covered with a modern roof, the plaster surface is mostly preserved, except for the cuts of the detached central pictures and some other small areas, and occasional fractures, but the colours are faded. There is a joint between the zones, and all of the central pictures were painted separately.

Back (east) wall: The yellow ground *socle* (H ca. 76 cm) is closed at either end, and decorated below the baseline with a green marble (*cipollino*) pattern. It is divided into four sections; the widest middle field (W ca. 150 cm) contains a black panel (ca. 38 x 113 cm) with a wildlife scene of two dogs attacking a wild boar. These dogs are both tails up on the left side of their victim, all depicted on a simple terrain.⁹⁸ The intervals

⁹⁵ Blake 1930, 99–100.

⁹⁶ Blake 1930, pl. 27:1; Pernice 1938, 105.

⁹⁷ The main transformation of the cinnabar occurred after its exposure to both the pre- and post-AD 79 atmosphere. The blackening process is connected to the formation of calomel and gypsum, Pérez-Diez et al. 2021, 15871–15872, 15875.

⁹⁸ The painting by Abbate, MANN ADS 1052, and the picture published in Zahn 1854 (III), pl. 84, depict an incorrect scene, with the attacking dogs erroneously depicted on both sides, because the dogs were still visible with their tails to the left in the EPUH documentation. This scene would be the one published by Bechi in 1852 (*MB* 14, pl. 44), although, according to him, it was from the upper zone of the cubiculum 11 in his map, and the room 7 in the EPUH map. In Bechi's illustration the two dogs are on the left, a boar in the middle with a tree on the right; Bragantini confirms the location to be in the triclinium 16, Bragantini

between the middle field and the side fields are closed by white columns fluted with red. They are decorated with small, framed panels, on which were seated figures, now nearly destroyed; at least on the left side this was a robed maenad leaning on a tambourine with her left arm. Both of the side fields also contain a black panel, decorated with a colourful short floral candelabrum-type ornament: on a green terrain there are red tendrils with green leaves, and a big blue flower in its centre, smaller blue and yellow flowers on the top, all closed with acanthus scrolls with a blue flower. On the top of the socle there is a red band, and above another with a white egg-and-dart motif, repeated in all the walls of this triclinium.

The *main zone* (H ca. 220 cm) is divided into three fields separated by intervals. The separately made central picture, now MANN 8992 (191 x 151 cm), is a composition of eleven figures on a light blue background.⁹⁹ The three protagonists are placed in the centre on brown terrain nearly filling the whole space. The tallest and most important one, a drunken Hercules, is standing with his weight on his right foot in sparse female attire, holding a thyrsus with a ribbon on top with his left hand. He is wearing only white embroidered shoes and a violet, green-lined robe with golden edging over his back, left arm, and thighs. He has a heavy necklace, anklets, and a ring. His muscular torso is shown frontally, but his bearded head is in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile to his left, adorned with vine leaves,

1999 (PPM IX, 268).

⁹⁹ Helbig 1868, 231–232 (no. 1140): “In der Mitte steht die kolossale Gestalt des bärtigen Herakles, geschmückt mit Halskette, Fussspangen und einem Ringe am Goldfinger der l. Hand, gestickte Schuhe an den Füßen, ein violett-grün gefüttertes Gewand mit goldfarbigem Rande über Rücken, l. Arm und die Schenkel. Indem er die l. auf einen mit Bändern geschmückten Stab stützt, legt er matten Ausdrucks im Gesicht den r. Arm um den Nacken des neben ihm befindlichen Priap. Ueber seine l. Schulter ragt ein Eros empor, welcher mit einer Doppelflöte dem Helden in das Ohr bläst. Auf der anderen Seite schlägt ein mit grauem Chiton bekleidetes Mädchen unmittelbar neben dem r. Ohre des Herakles ein Tympanon. Priap, bärtig, weichlich orientalischen Ausdrucks, mit Ohrringeln und orangefarbigem gesticktem Kopftuche, in blauem Obergewande, langem orangefarbigem Chiton und gelben Schuhen blickt zu dem Helden empor und hält mit der R. sein Obergewand, in dessen Bausche eine Traube und verschiedene andere Früchte liegen. Ein Eros hebt mit der L. das Untergewand empor und streckt erstaunt über den Anblick, welcher sich ihm darbietet, die R. zur Seite. Daneben lehnt der Köcher des Herakles und sucht ein anderer Eros den gewaltigen Skyphos desselben von der Stelle zu bewegen. R. steht die stolze und üppige Gestalt der Omphale, die Löwenhaut über dem Kopfe, in gelblichem Chiton, welcher die l. Brust bloss lässt, einen gelben Mantel mit blauem Futter über den l. Arm und die Schenkel, geschmückt mit Sandalen, Armbändern, einem Ringe am l. Goldfinger. Ihre L. ruht auf der auf einen Stein gestützten Keule des Herakles, der l. Ellenbogen auf dem erhöht gestellten Schenkel eines bräunlichen lydischen Jünglings, welcher hinter ihr steht und neugierig Herakles betrachtet. R. von ihr stehen zwei Mädchen, von denen das eine mit rosarothem Kopftuche und weissem Schleier, epheubekrönt, theilnahmsvoll auf Herakles hinblickt. Der Kopf eines schilfbekrönten Mädchens ist neben der Tympanonschlägerin bemerkbar.“

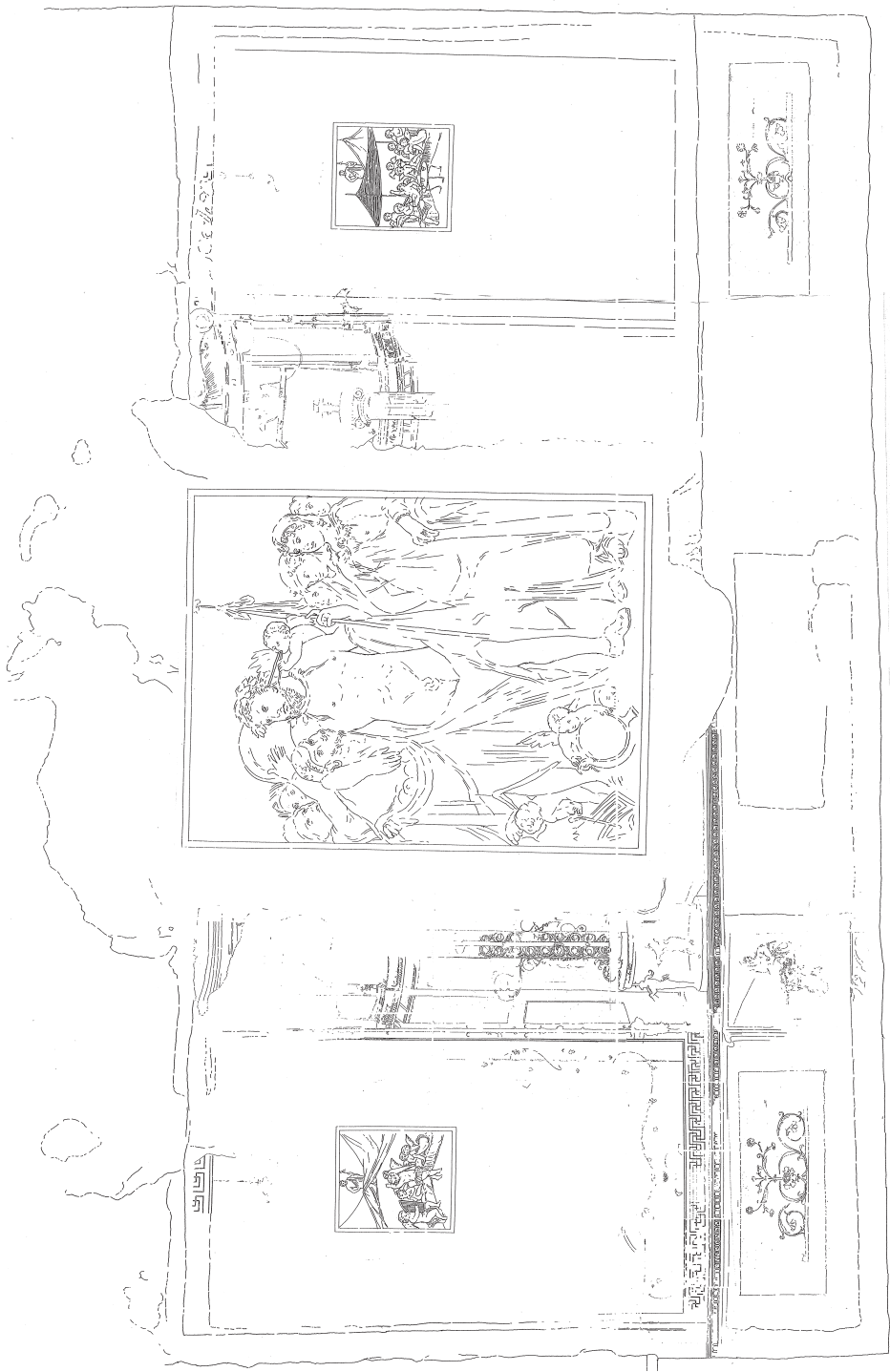


Fig. 73.

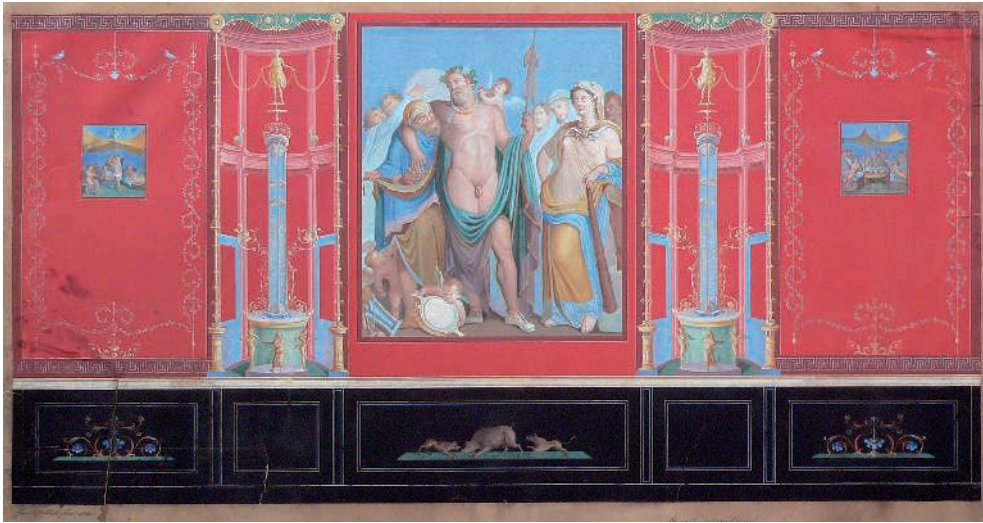


Fig. 74.

the glassy eyes wide open. His right arm is around the neck of shorter Priapus,¹⁰⁰ who is standing next to him. A Cupid with eyes wide open leans on Hercules' left shoulder and blows a small tibia into his ear.

On the right, the second protagonist is the Lydian queen Omphale, the queen whom Hercules had been forced to serve, or according to the later Roman tradition wanted to serve.¹⁰¹ She leans on a pillar to her left and holds Hercules' club with her left hand, being clearly proud while she looks at the drunken Hercules. Omphale wears sandals and a yellowish, almost transparent chiton, which leaves her left shoulder bare, and a yellow cloak with blue lining over her left arm and thighs. She is adorned with armbands and a ring, and the skin of the Nemean lion is draped over her shoulders and head, seen in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile.

On the left, the third protagonist is a bearded, oriental-looking Priapus, who also gazes at Hercules. He wears yellow shoes, a long orange chiton, a blue cloak, and earrings and an orange-coloured embroidered headscarf with a greenish edge on his head, seen in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile. He holds his upper garment with his right hand, in the folds of which lie a bunch of grapes and various other fruits.¹⁰² By his feet, on the left, there is a Cupid standing next to a small object, decorated with yellow and black concentric

¹⁰⁰ The identification has varied widely: Bonus Eventus of the Lydians (Tylos), Panofka 1847b, 110; Atys, Avellino 1847, 11–12; a slave (a eunuch), Falkener 1852, 59.

¹⁰¹ About the literary tradition of Hercules and Omphale, e.g. Tammisto – Kuivalainen 2008, 92, 94.

¹⁰² Besides grapes, there could be almonds, or apples and pomegranates, Avellino 1847, 11; Panofka 1847b, 109; Falkener 1852, 59.

rectangles on a light bluish ground, perhaps the fallen quiver of Hercules.¹⁰³ The Cupid is slightly bent down, and lifts the hem of Priapus' garment with his left hand and stretches out in amazement at what he sees. In front, a third even smaller Cupid looks into a silver vessel, perhaps trying to perform lecanomancy.¹⁰⁴ Behind the protagonists and their three tiny helpers are various members of the Bacchic entourage. On the left there are two figures. The first, a maenad dressed in a grey chiton, beats a tympanum with her raised hands next to Hercules' right ear, and the second, a darker-skinned Satyr, is known only from his pine-wreathed head. On the right there are three figures: firstly, two females between Hercules and Omphale, both *capite velato*. The one on the left is further behind Hercules' left arm and looks slightly rightwards, leaning upon his thyrsus, and the other looks downwards, with ivy leaves decorating her head, seen in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile. The third figure, on the extreme right, is a brown-skinned young man whose face in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile, is only half visible behind Omphale's head. This Lydian youth also looks curiously at Hercules.

For Hercules the situation is awkward, and according to Helbig he appears physically and morally exhausted.¹⁰⁵ The model for the painting may have been of eastern origin,¹⁰⁶ as it completely differs from the other examples of the same subject in Pompeii.¹⁰⁷ It is also the most expressive example. There is humour in the scene, as it connects the intoxication and the cross-dressing to a luxurious life under the power of Bacchus, showing a drunken Hercules being dominated by a woman, and performing his *servitium amoris*.¹⁰⁸

Both the architectural intervals (W ca. 70) and side fields (W ca. 130 cm) were painted with cinnabar over a yellow ochre ground. The inner sides of the intervals have been destroyed as a consequence of detaching the central picture. In both intervals there is a semicircular aedicula with Apollo's tripod inside. Its base is green and decorated with gilded satyrs playing tibiae on both sides, and Pan playing the lyre in the middle. The bronze tripod rises from the omphalos; it is decorated with gilded acanthus scrolls

¹⁰³ Avellino 1847, 12.

¹⁰⁴ There are various ideas about what he sees; is it the future, his own reflection, or that of Hercules. Maiuri 1971, 79, was for Hercules' face.

¹⁰⁵ Helbig 1873, 86: "bald erscheint er [Herakles] in Folge derselben physisch und moralisch ermattet. Um die Hauptfiguren herum ergeben sich bakchische Thiasoten und Erogen in muthwilligem oder lascivem Treiben."

¹⁰⁶ Rizzo 1929, 43.

¹⁰⁷ Rizzo 1929, 61–62; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM IX*), 268; Richardson 2000, 87–89, attributes the three large central pictures to the Achilles Painter, who would have painted for only few uncommonly richly decorated houses in Pompeii, perhaps coming from Naples or Rome. His distinctive features were eyes, often with pained and surprised expressions, and carefully painted hands.

¹⁰⁸ Coralini 2001, 98–99.

both inside, also outside up to half of its height. On top of the tripod there is a standing female with long boots, who holds with both hands a swinging garland attached to the slim candelabra closing the intervals; the figure is preserved only in the right interval. The background of the tripod is blue, as are the receding wings of the lower storey of the aedicular, now blackish. There are six white fluted Ionic columns without a base in the lower storey. The entablature above is red and decorated with palmettes containing five petals inside arches. Above, there were deer on both sides of the tripod, now only the one in the right side field is visible. The above-mentioned standing female figure nearly filled the space of the upper storey of the aedicular with a new set of Ionic columns. The coffered ceiling is visible above the entablature, again enriched with decoration of roundish ornaments. Above there are floral scrolls on a green background, between the round shields on top of the closing candelabra.

The side fields contained smaller central pictures in the middle of the cinnabar panels, which were framed with darker red ochre. Below and above the panel there is a meander painted in white, with the help of incised lines. Inside the panel there was a slim pole-like candelabrum entwined with a spiralling tendril on both edges, and the same tendrils also continued horizontally; the middle of the bottom edge was connected to a short floral candelabrum-type ornament with scrolls on the sides and simpler volutes with tendrils above. On the top of the panel there was a hanging ornament, also with simple volutes with tendrils, and connected to the candelabra with arcs of tendrils, with a bird sitting on the arc on each side.

In the right side field the central picture was THE BANQUET IN FRONT OF THE STATUE OF HERCULES, now MANN 9193 (45 x 41 cm):¹⁰⁹ Ten figures are depicted in a convivial gathering in front of a statue of Hercules; six of them are standing, four reclining, and three are wingless. They are grouped behind a round tripod table

¹⁰⁹ Helbig 1868, 148–149 (no. 757): “Um einen mit Trinkgefässen besetzten dreifüssigen Tisch reicht ein mit rothen Pfählen belegtes Sigma. L. vorn sitzt darauf ein epheubekränzter Eros, eine rosaroth Chlamys über dem r. Schenkel, und spielt die Doppelflöte. Weiter nach hinten zu liegen zwei andere, von welchen der eine aus einer Schale trinkt. R. im Vordergründe liegt ein vierter, epheubekrönt, eine gelbe Chlamys über den Schenkeln, und küsst eine Psyche, welche neben ihm steht mit goldfarbigem Haarband, in braunrothem Chiton mit langen Aermeln. R. und l. im Hintergründe sieht man zwei Psychen stehen, bekleidet mit langen Chiton. Die eine, zu der l. befindlichen Gruppe gehörig, hält auf der R. eine grosse flache Schale; eine andere in der r. befindlichen Gruppe faltet schmerzlich die Hände, indem sie auf das vor ihr befindliche Liebespaar hinblickt. Eine andere Psyche in hellviolettem Chiton steht hinten in der Mitte des Bildes. Ueber der Versammlung ein Baldachin mit oben gelbem, unten röthlichem Teppich. Im Hintergründe auf hoher Basis eine bärtige, bekränzte Statue, in der L. eine Keule oder ein Pedum, über den l. Arm ein Thierfell. Wo die Flügel der Psychen hinreichend erhalten sind, unterscheiden sie sich durch kleinere Dimensionen und spärlichere Befiederung deutlich von denen der Eroten. In den Stichen ist dieser Unterschied bisweilen übersehen. Dies gilt auch von den Gegenständen N. 759, 760, 766–68.“

and on a semicircular cushion on top of the sigma, draped with red.¹¹⁰ On the table with lion feet there are two ladles, one cup, two canthari, and a situla, essential elements for a convivium; the table legs are not quite in their normal places, and the vessels seem to be pushed quite in front of the table-top, as if offering a clearer view for an onlooker, in a little flash of art in plebeian tradition.¹¹¹ The front area by the table is in shadow, and thus dark grey. The first reclining figure on the left is a Cupid with a haphazardly wrapped cloak over his left thigh and an ivy wreath on his head; he leans with his

left elbow on the fluffy cushion playing tibia. Next to the tibicen is a semi-recumbent wingless and naked female, or rather an effeminate male, in imitation of cross-dressing Hercules at the court of Omphale, connecting the topic of this picture to the large central painting of Hercules; the figure rests left his hand against the cheek, and leans with left elbow on the cushion; the right arm is raised with a pointing forefinger, perhaps matching the rhythm.¹¹² One more figure, a Cupid, shares the cushion, against which he steadies himself, while drinking from a cup in both of his hands; he is shown only from the shoulders up. On the right is an amorous couple; a Cupid standing fully robed in purple with cap-like headwear, or perhaps the helmet of Mars,¹¹³ is embracing the female on his right. She is a callipyge, kissing Cupid's left cheek, while embracing him; her left wing is depicted foreshortened, her right wing curves to the right. Behind these five figures five more are standing, robed in girdled chitons and only partially



Fig. 75.

¹¹⁰ The round table was fitted within the curve of the *stibadium*, though Dunbabin regards the set as an ordinary triclinium instead of a sigma, Dunbabin 2003, 60, 256.

¹¹¹ Hackworth Petersen 2015, 223–224.

¹¹² The drunken Hercules at the court of Omphale is depicted in the same posture in e.g. the Casa del Prince di Montenegro (VII 16, 10.6), MANN 9000, and in Casa di Sirico (VII 1, 25), Coradini 2001, 99, 101, 197, 206.

¹¹³ According to Helbig the head of this figure is decorated "mit goldfarbigem Haarband", he also considers the reclining figure a male and the standing a Psyche.

visible. The first on the left is presented in profile, holding in her raised right hand a flat dish; the head of the second, depicted in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile with only the left wing visible, watches the party; the third, in front of the pedestal, is turned slightly towards her right, watching the two standing figures and snapping her left fingers; on the right side are the remaining two, the one closer ahead has crossed her hands, watching the two apparently drunk persons by the cushion, while the second has turned her head to the left and away from the party. The composition might be interpreted as a later phase of a convivium, with the actual partygoers being already looked down upon by the maidservants. All ten of the figures are covered by a canopy fastened in four points, with two poles in the middle, the third fixing point on the left covered with a piece of drapery, and the fourth on the right is not shown. Behind this scene a statue of a naked Hercules is standing on top of a high cylindrical pedestal. He is depicted in contrapposto, holding his club in his left arm, covered partly with the lion skin. He points with his right hand to the right, his wreathed head in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile.

In the middle of left side field there was a central picture, THE BANQUET IN FRONT OF THE STATUE OF BACCHUS, now MANN 9207 (45 x 41 cm):¹¹⁴ Five figures are depicted in front of the statue of Bacchus. From left to right, the first figure, presented in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile, is an almost naked Cupid sitting on a cubic stone, left foot resting on a slab of stone. His pink cloak covers his left thigh and wraps around his lower back; he is chording a lyre with his left fingers and holding a plectrum in his right. The second figure is a Psyche, reclining on a mattress and a cushion, with only her upper body visible, shown frontally; she is clapping her hands while watching the central figure, a dancing Cupid. He is balancing on his left foot; his yellowish cloak is wrapped around his hips like a loincloth, and he holds a narrow, longish amphora on his left shoulder; his right arm is raised, and he wears anklets, a bracelet, and a necklace, and seems to be snapping right fingers to the rhythm while watching the musician. On the right, an amorous couple is reclining on the white cushion; only a part of Cupid's torso, right arm, and head are visible behind the callipyge, whose left wing is seen foreshortened, right wing curving to the right. The couple seem to share

¹¹⁴ Helbig 1868, 149 (no. 759): "In der Mitte tanzt ein bekränzter Eros, geschmückt mit Hals-, Arm- und Fusspangen, ein hellviolett und gelb schillerndes Gewand um die Hüften, eine Anfora puntuta über der l. Schulter, die R. erhoben. L. sitzt ein zweiter bekränzter Eros, eine rothe Chlamys über den l. Schenkel, in der R. das Plektron und rührt mit der L. die Lyra zu dem Tanze. Hinten ruht auf roth und grün gewirktem Pfühle eine Psyche in grünlichem Chiton, welche mit der R. in die L. den Takt klatscht, weiter r. ein bekränzter Eros, einen Kantharos in der R., und eine Psyche, ein gelbes Gewand über den Schenkeln, die mit einander kosen. Soweit die Erhaltung ein Urtheil gestattet, sind sämmtliche Figuren bekränzt. Ueber der Versammlung ein gelber Vorhang. Hinten steht auf hoher Basis eine Statue des bärtigen, bekränzten Dionysos, gehüllt in ein weites, faltiges Gewand, in der L. einen Thyrsos."

a cantharus, now hardly visible. The heads of all the three male figures, at least, are decorated with ivy wreaths. The merry-makers are separated from the statue behind by a horizontally draped hanging, which seems to be fastened in the middle on the bearded statue's hip. He is standing on a high cylindrical base, depicted fully robed, wreathed, and with a thyrsus in his left hand. In this outdoor scene the semicircular cushion set on the ground was the original form of the *stibadium*, a curvy bolster for dining, which became later a sigma couch.¹¹⁵



Fig. 76.

Right (south) wall: The *socle* (H 76.5 cm) has some similarities with the back (east) wall, but the opposite left (north) wall is the real parallel for the decorations. The middle field (W ca. 175 cm) contains a black panel (41 x 131 cm) in which a lion is running to the right with its tail up, trying to catch two antelopes. The scene has plain terrain, except for a lone tree on the left behind the lion. In the intervals (on the right W ca. 75 cm, on the left ca. 65 cm) there are worshippers of Isis depicted as fully robed caryatids, painted on a yellow background. Feminine herms with attributes of Isis were also depicted in the Casa di Livia on the Palatine Hill in Rome, though in the upper zone.¹¹⁶ Here the one in the right interval is depicted nearly frontally, in a light draped robe, with her head slightly turned towards the centre, and holding a patera in her left hand and a sistrum on her right. The other, in the left interval, is turned more towards the centre, with her right arm in front of her torso and her left by her side. She also holds objects in her hands, raised to the chest. Florals with acanthus scrolls are similarly on the left and right side fields inside the black panels (right ca. 36 x 92 cm, left 37 x 90 cm). They are slightly different from those in the back (east) wall; they are not as high, in the centre there is only one big flower, and the tendrils are spread on both sides.

¹¹⁵ Dunbabin 2003, 60.

¹¹⁶ One of them has been detached and is now in Naples in the Farnese collection (MANN 9303). Moormann 1988, 232 – 233 (cat. 317/3); Sirano 2007, 153.

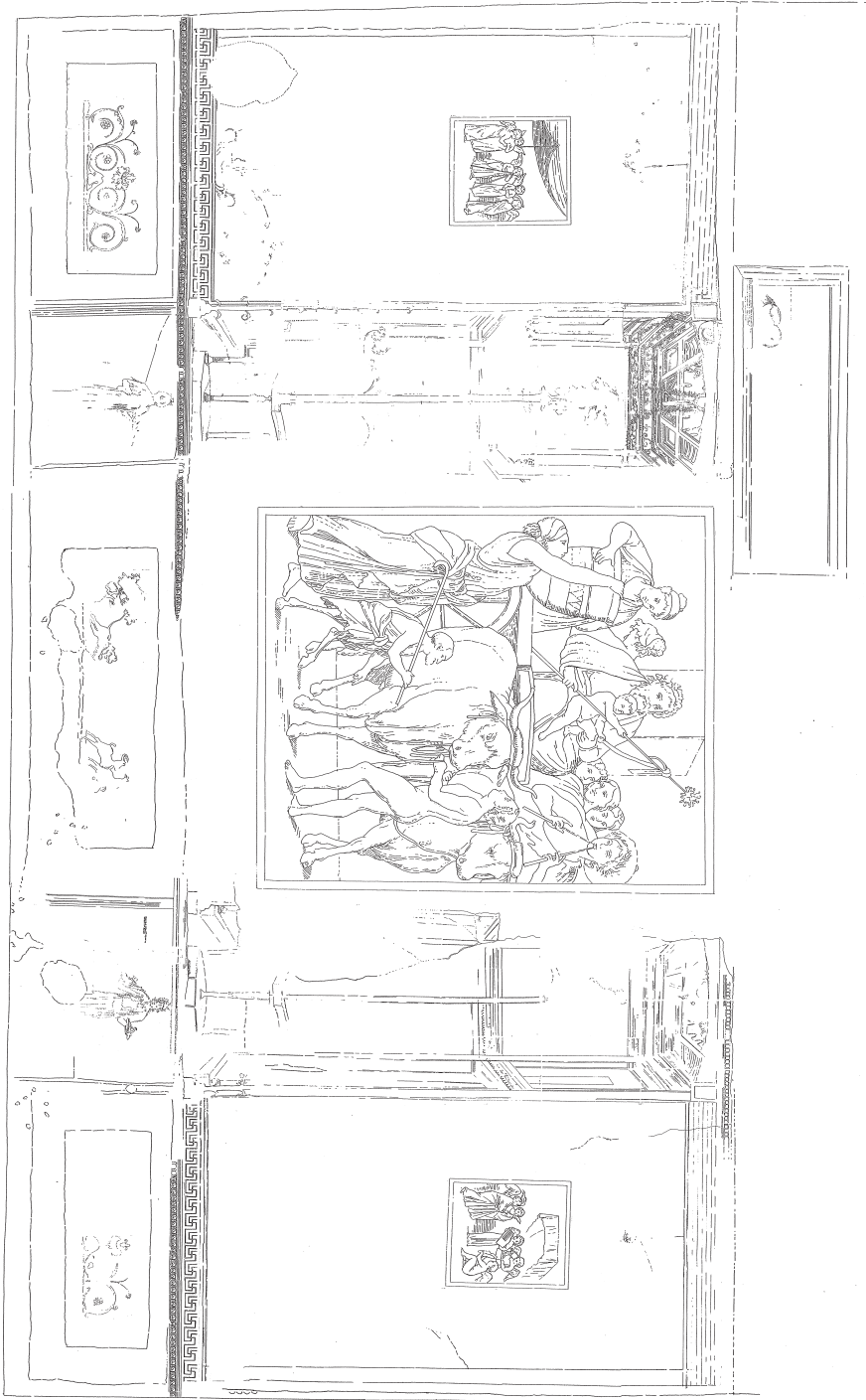


Fig. 77.



Fig. 78.

The *main zone* (H ca. 225 cm) has the same divisions. The central painting, now MANN 9285 (181 x 156 cm), depicts the triumph of infant Bacchus, a composition of eleven mythological figures and two oxen.¹¹⁷ Old Silenus sits in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile on a chariot with a naked infant Bacchus on his lap. Silenus is fully robed in red and wears a white cloak over his shoulders and an ivy wreath on his head. He holds a thyrsus, decorated with a ribbon and a bunch of leaves on top, diagonally with his right hand, and the knee of the infant Bacchus with his left. The infant Bacchus holds the thyrsus in his raised right hand, playing with the lower end of the ribbon. Two clothed female figures, probably maenads, are also on the chariot. The one on the left lifts a large jar, while

¹¹⁷ Helbig 1868, 95–96 (no. 379): “Auf einem mit zwei Stieren bespannten Wagen sitzt Silen, epheubekrönt, gehüllt in ein weisses Gewand, den Thyrsos in der R., auf dem Schoosse den Dionysosknaben, der spielend den Schaft des Thyrsos und die davon herabfallenden rothen Bänder fasst. Ein jugendlicher Satyr, zu der Gruppe emporblickend, hält die Zügel des einen Stieres. Ein mit einer Exomis bekleideter bärtiger Panisk schreitet auf ihn zu, über der r. Schulter ein Pedom, von welchem ein Körbchen herabhängt. Eine hinter dem Wagen stehende Bacchantin in gelbem Chiton und Kopftuch hebt ein grosses rundes Gefäss empor, welches von einer anderen, die auf dem Wagen steht, in Empfang genommen wird. Eine dritte Bacchantin, epheubekrönt, mit rosarothem Kopftuche, ragt, im verlorenen Profil dargestellt, über der r. Schulter des Silen hervor. R. im Hintergrunde ist über den Stieren ein pinienbekrönter Satyr mit Nebris sichtbar, welcher die Doppelflöte bläst, weiter l. drei Köpfe vermuthlich von Bacchantinnen, von welchen die eine ein Tympanon emporhält. Das Bild ist auf eine besondere Stucktafel gemalt, welche nach Vollendung der Malerei in die Wand eingelassen wurde.“

the other, behind Silenus, is looking away. In the foreground on the left stands a robed female in profile, helping to lift the jar with both of her raised hands. In front of her walks a faun depicted in profile carrying a pedom on his right shoulder. In between the oxen in the foreground stands a naked youth with brown skin, probably a satyr, seen in profile, holding the reins of the oxen. In the background on the right are more members of the thiasus. The first is a satyr wearing a nebris and a pine wreath and playing the tibia. Behind him stand three figures with only their heads visible, looking either at the chariot or towards the viewer. The oxen were animals belonging to the cult of Bacchus, who could also be depicted with their horns.¹¹⁸ Many images of the infant Bacchus show him in idyllic scenes,¹¹⁹ but this painting refers to a more realistic scene of rural festivities.¹²⁰ The triumphal chariot is exceptional in Pompeii in connection with an infant Bacchus, but not for the adult.¹²¹ Some of the figures may have been taken from a pattern book;¹²² one such figure could be the faun in front of the scene.

The intervals (right W ca. 88 cm, left W 80 cm) are closed with slender candelabra rising from a leafy calyx and decorated with pairs of little side-leaves, but only the outer ones remain due to the removal of the central picture, except the left calyx of the right interval. Both intervals contain an aedicula with receding wings, in the centre of which there is a plant candelabrum on a triangular green stand. The left interval is better preserved, and the spreading volutes of this central candelabrum in the middle of the lower storey are visible. The upper storey is not as high as the lower one, and the space is filled with a standing female figure, probably a maenad with a billowing cloak on top of the candelabrum. A richly decorated coffered ceiling has a compluvium, and garlands with ribbons hang down from its side.

Both side fields are decorated in the same way as the back (north) wall, with a meander below and above the cinnabar panels, but the florals are simpler. The best-preserved part is in the lower part of the left side field. At the bottom of the panel the tendrils spread from the centre to both sides, forming an arc towards the edges. On the top there is a hanging ornament, which is connected to the edges with arcs. All of its minor details have been lost.

In the *upper zone* there is only a small panel (45 x 130 cm, but now only the left half is preserved) in the frieze above the left interval of the main zone. It is framed with three bands, painted in dark red, brownish red, and white. In the left corner there are two roundish elements on brownish terrain, perhaps fruits, above a blue background.

¹¹⁸ In Pompeii there are only few examples, Kuivalainen 2021, 229.

¹¹⁹ Helbig 1873, 84.

¹²⁰ Elia 1932, 44.

¹²¹ In some cases, Bacchus depicted as a child can be a charioteer, Kuivalainen 2021, 201–203.

¹²² On the use of figure-books, e.g. Clarke 2010, 205, 207.

Otherwise the painting has vanished, as has the other small panel above the right interval.

In the middle of the left side field there was a picture depicting CUPIDS AND PSYCHAE PREPARING FOR A MUSICAL PERFORMANCE, perhaps as a tragic choir, now MANN 9191 (46 cm x 42 cm):¹²³ Seven winged figures are standing under a canopy and in front of a male statue. Two tall figures, both playing wind instruments, are at the centre of this compact composition. The first figure from the left, a Cupid, is in profile, robed in a yellowish chiton with a long overfold; he leans slightly forward and raises his



Fig. 79.

head, looking upwards and pointing with his forefinger at the musicians. The next two figures wear chitons, green and purple, now with short overfolds. They divide their attention differently; the second figure slightly turns towards the one on her right, while the third figure looks at the tall flautist, wreathed and handsomely robed in a light blue long, girdled chiton and a symmetrically draped himation; the flautist plays a very long tibia with her head bent slightly downwards; the *capistrum* (gr. *phorbeia*), the two straps stretched over the head to steady the instrument and help breathing, are visible. The fifth figure, a Psyche, standing further back, has tilted her head to her left, towards the two remaining figures. The other musician, in purple, seems to wait for a turn, holding a flute in the left hand, while moving the right-hand fingers as if preparing for a performance. The last figure on the right is depicted in profile, in accordance

¹²³ Helbig 1868, 151 (no. 767): "In der Mitte stellt ein bekränzter Eros in langem blauem Chiton, unter welchem die langen Aermel eines gelben Untergewandes hervorsehen, und spielt durch die Phorbeia zwei lange Flöten. Neben ihm steht eine Psyche mit vier Schmetterlingsflügeln, in langem Chiton mit Aermeln, welche, eine Flöte in der L., die R. erhebend, aufmerksam seinem Spiele lauscht. Fünf Figuren stehen ausserdem als aufmerksame Zuschauer herum, von denen, so weit jetzt ersichtlich, die am weitesten l. stehende ein Eros, die andere Psychen zu sein scheinen. Alle tragen lange Chitonen mit langen Aermeln. Ueber dem Ganzen ein gelber Vorhang. Im Hintergründe Statue einer Psyche wie auf N. 760, gegenwärtig beinah unkenntlich."

with the Cupid on the left, and makes eye contact with the tibicen, while pointing with his right hand downwards. Are these two outermost figures perhaps some kind of supervisors, or are they simply enjoying the music? Only one pole supporting the diagonally draped canopy is shown. On the cylindrical pedestal stands a naked beardless male,¹²⁴ most likely Apollo, wreathed with a laurel and carrying a branch of laurel. For the god of music, this scene of preparing for a musical performance would have been quite appropriate. That this musical performance was part of the world of theatre is shown by the long sleeves incorporated in the chitons, customarily worn by actors.¹²⁵

The central picture of the right side field depicts A CITHARODE WITH HER ENTOURAGE, previously called a lyric choir, now MANN 9206 (45 x 41 cm):¹²⁶ Four standing figures and one kneeling are portrayed in this composition. The centre figure is a cithara player, fully robed and chording her instrument with her left fingers, while holding a plectrum in her right hand. Her head is depicted in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile, and her hair is decorated with a diadem. She looks at a Cupid, presented in profile in the extreme left, and fully robed in white chiton and yellow cloak, perhaps her teacher. He appears to immerse himself in the music, with his head raised while making small movements with his finger towards the cithara player. The second figure



Fig. 80.

¹²⁴ The statue is faded, according to Helbig 1868, 151 (no. 767), it was a Psyche. What is seen from the old documentation points to a naked figure. Moormann 1988, 213 (cat. 282/7) suggests either Apollo or Hermes with a palm leaf.

¹²⁵ As seen also in the mosaic from the Casa del Poeta Tragico (VI 8, 3), MANN 9986, 54 x 55 cm.

¹²⁶ Helbig 1868, 151 (no. 766): "Psyche steht da in Kitharoedentracht, in langärmeligem, langem Chiton, eine kleine Krone auf dem Haupte, in der R. das Plektron und rührt mit der L. die Kithara. Ihr gegenüber steht ein Eros, in einen gelben Mantel gehüllt, welcher eine Anrede an sie zu halten scheint, neben ihm eine Psyche in violetterm gegürtetem Chiton, welche in der L. einen undeutlichen Gegenstand, vielleicht ein Krotalon, hält, mit vier Schmetterlingsflügeln am Rücken. R. kniet eine ähnliche Psyche, deren Handlung gegenwärtig nicht mehr deutlich zu erkennen ist; nach den vorliegenden Stichen schlägt sie die Becken. R. weiter im Hintergründe öffnet eine blaugekleidete Psyche einen Kasten, in welchem blaue Gewänder liegen. Ueber der Versammlung ein Baldachin mit gelber Decke."

from the left is a Psyche, presented frontally in a girdled purple tunic with long overfold. She holds a pointed instrument, perhaps a crotalum, in her left hand and watches the citharode. On the right side in front, another Psyche leans forward, steadying herself on her right knee, while holding small disc-shaped cymbals in her right palm. Behind her there is one more female, robed in blue, minding the stock of blue clothes partly spilling out from a box, the lid of which she holds half open while intently studying the contents. The player and the two figures on the right are covered with an awning fixed with two poles in front; the covered inner space is partly in shade.

Left (north) wall: The wall is a parallel to the opposite right (south) wall, except the large window replacing the right side field and the right interval of the main zone. The wall plaster is quite well preserved, but the colours have either changed or faded. There are small areas that have been destroyed, e.g. around the joint between the socle and the main zone, and the right upper edge of the central picture.

The *socle* (H 84 cm) has the same features as the right (south) wall. The middle field contains a scene depicting two dogs pestering a wild boar. There is a tree on the left, then a dog with his tail curving up to the right, the boar, and a tree behind. The other dog on the right has almost vanished. The intervals have worshippers of Isis as caryatids; there is a scroll of acanthus in both the right and left side fields.

The *main zone* (H 225 cm) contains the only central picture in situ, The Indian triumph of Bacchus (187 x 156 cm), an enigmatic composition of five figures depicting young Bacchus erecting a tropaeum.¹²⁷ On the left, a satyr with nebris stands with his back to the viewer, a pine wreath on his head, holding a thyrsus with flowers and a ribbon on top. Next to him stands the protagonist, a tall, fully-robed (sandals, a long reddish chiton with angular lappets round the waist, a green cloak, possibly a nebris), young, and somewhat effeminate Bacchus. He stands with his weight on his left foot, and is depicted in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile except for his chest, which is in full profile. In his outstretched right arm he holds a shield, supported from behind with his left arm. His face is calm, with eyes wide

¹²⁷ Falkener 1852, 60–61, refers to the debate after its discovery; Helbig 1868, 127 (no. 565): “Im Hintergründe steht ein beinah vollendetes Tropaion. Ihm nähert sich eine mit Weinlaub bekränzte, volle weibliche Gestalt, in weiss und roth schillerndem langem Chiton mit langen Aermeln und blauem Saume, darüber einen grünen Mantel, Sandalen an den Füßen, mit der R. einen Schild haltend. Weisse mit Blättern bestickte Bänder fallen von ihrem Gürtel über ihren Chiton. Hinter ihr steht ein pinienbekränzter, mit einem Felle bekleideter Satyrjüngling, welcher einen kolossalen Thyrsos hält. R. schreibt eine Nike in röthlichem Chiton mit einem Griffel auf einen Schild, welcher von einem weinlaubbekränzten Mädchen gehalten wird. Davor sitzt auf einem über einen Panzer gelegten Schilde ein Jüngling in rother Chlamys, mit auf den Rücken gebundenen Händen. Nach Minervini Bull. nap. (n. s.) I p. 30 ist die zuerst beschriebene Figur nicht weiblich, sondern Dionysos.“

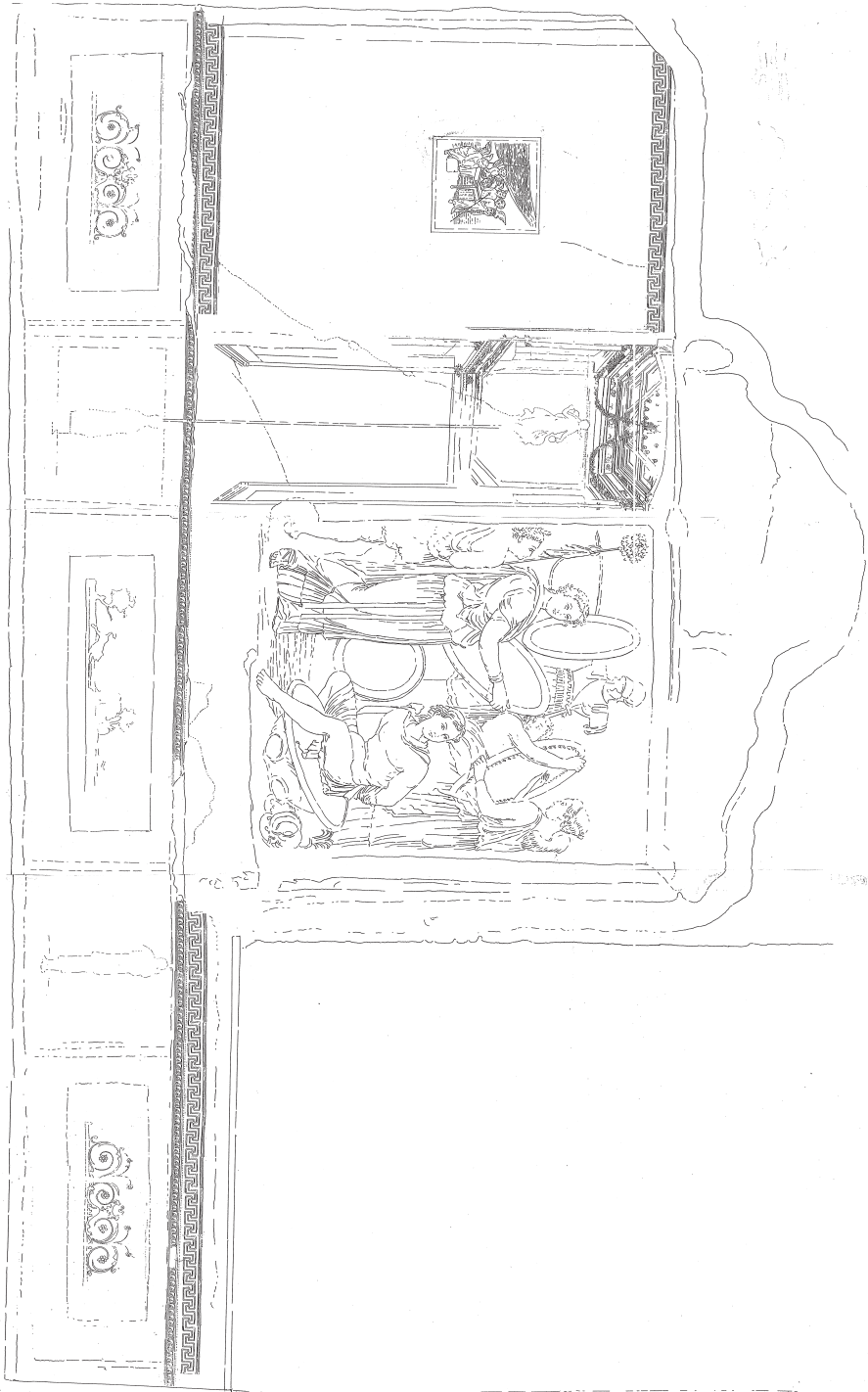


Fig. 81.



Fig. 82.

open, and on his head there is an ivy wreath. In the foreground, in the right corner there is an almost naked youth, a captive warrior, wearing a cloak loosely round his neck and sitting on a shield. His hands are tied behind his back, and he looks away from the other figures. Behind him stand two female figures. The one in the middle wears only a cloak hanging down from her waist and an ivy wreath on her head. With her upwards stretched arm she supports a shield, on which a winged female figure, Victoria, with her hair tied in a knot, writes with a stylus; she steadies the shield with her left hand. Furthest in the background is a tropaeum with a cuirass, a sword, a helmet, and a shield, with more arms on the ground. The sky above is light blue. The scene is perhaps to be linked to the Indian triumph, to a moment of calmness when the accomplishments of the divinity are being inscribed and he is examining the spoils of war.

PREPARATION FOR A THEATRICAL PERFORMANCE, now MANN 9255 (47 cm x 42 cm): ¹²⁸ Four figures are preparing for a theatrical performance under a

¹²⁸ Helbig 1868, 151–152 (no. 768): “Auf einem Tische liegen zwei unbärtige tragische Masken. L. davon sitzt ein Eros in langem gelbröthlichem Gewande und bindet seinen l. Schuh. R. neben dem Tische steht ein anderer in langem gelbem Gewande, ein Pedum in der R., eine bärtige Maske in der L. Dahinter steht ein anderer in langem grauvioltem Gewande, welcher die R. im Gespräche zu dem letzterwähnten zu erheben scheint. Die Gewänder dieser drei Figuren sind mit langen engen Aermeln versehen; alle drei tragen Schuhe. Hinter dem Tische steht eine vierte Figur, anscheinend eine Psyche, in langem blauem Gewande mit weiten Aermeln, welche sich nach der zuletzt erwähnten Gruppe umsieht. Ueber der Versammlung ein Baldachin mit buntschillernder Decke.“

canopy that is fixed with two poles in front, and higher up assumedly to the back wall. The four figures are in different postures around a quadrangular table, on top of which are two female masks.¹²⁹ The robe of the male figure on the left covers his lower body, he is sitting on a cubic stone, leaning slightly forward to tie his sandal in his raised left foot. The fully robed female figure behind the table is slightly turned to her right, extending her hands towards the male but with her head towards the two figures on her left: the male figure, the actor, on the extreme right holds a mask of an elderly bearded man in his left hand and



Fig. 83.

a long pedum in his right. He is fully robed, with a fold of his long cloak hanging down from his left shoulder. He has slightly turned his head towards the figure behind him, perhaps the poet, who is intensely looking at the actor with his right-hand fingers pointing upwards, as if stressing his words. The sitting male and the pair standing on the right seem to have long sleeves.¹³⁰ This feature could point to an eastern context of the play under preparation,¹³¹ thus also contributing to the topic of the large central picture, *The Indian Triumph*, next to it. The standing figures have lost most of their colours in their current state; the purple of the two figures behind is somewhat more discernible, while the robes of the side figures seem rather white with occasional light blue specks.

Entrance (west) wall: The wall contains only the left side field (W ca. 135 cm) due to the door openings. In the *socle* there is again a floral ornament with scrolls of acanthus, similar to the opposite back (east) wall. In the *main zone* there are only faded remains of a floral candelabrum in the lower left corner.

¹²⁹ According to Helbig "zwei unbärtige tragische Masken". By their respective headgear, they would seem to be female masks.

¹³⁰ According to Helbig the three standing figures "[...] sind mit langen engen Aermeln versehen". See p. 245.

¹³¹ The folds could scarcely be understood as bracelets.

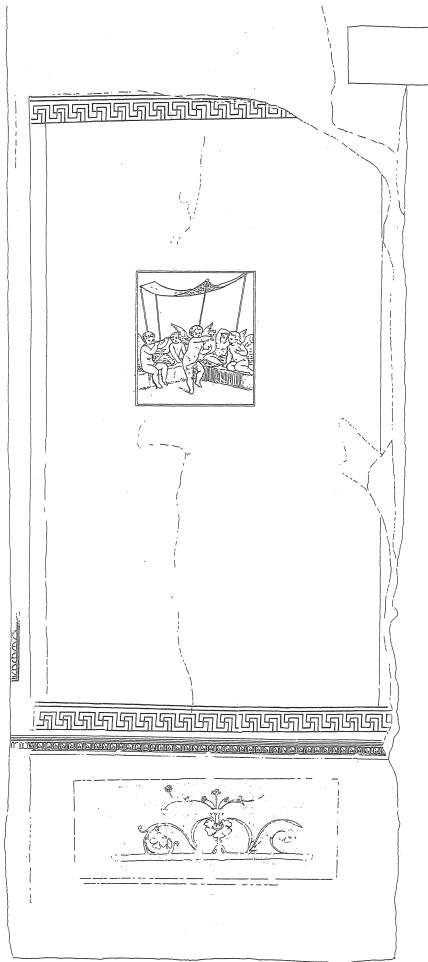


Fig. 84.



Fig. 85.

THE BANQUET IN FRONT OF THE STATUE OF PSYCHE, now MANN 9208 (45 x 41 cm):¹³² This merry scene depicts seven figures in the open air in different activities, four sitting, one standing, one dancing, and one reclining. The male figure

¹³² Helbig 1868, 150 (no. 760): "In der Mitte tanzt eine mit Armspangen geschmückte Psyche in durchsichtigem Chiton, die Becken schlagend, vier Schmetterlingsflügel am Rücken. L. sitzt ein Eros, eine hellviolette Chlamys über den Schenkeln, welcher zu dem Tanze die Queerflöte bläst, r. ein ähnlicher Eros, der die Tänzerin aufmerksam betrachtet und mit der R. in die L. den Takt schlägt. Hinten auf hellblauem Pfähle ruhen vier sehr zerstörte Figuren, nach den Stichen vier Psychen, nach Bull. nap. drei Erosen und eine Psyche, die eine mit einem Becher in der Hand. Ueber der Versammlung gelber Vorhang. Hinten auf hoher Basis eine gegenwärtig sehr zerstörte Statue, nach den Stichen eine Psyche in langem Chiton, ein Pedum in der R."

on the left plays a transverse flute, sitting on a cubic stone, steadying his left foot on a piece of stone, and turning his head to his right as if absorbed in his music, and thus away from the central figure. She is dancing, with her weight on her right foot and her left foot and right arm upraised, while clattering the *crotales* in both hands. She now seems to be naked but wears rather a transparent *chiton* that has lost its original light colours; she has four butterfly wings on her back. Behind these two figures there are three *Psychae* sitting on a long *kline* covered with a cushion, watching the dancer; the onlooker in the centre delicately holds a goblet in his left-hand fingers. On the right side there is a couple, perhaps Cupid with his immortal wife *Psyche*; seated on the right end of the long *kline*, she has lifted her right arm on top of her head and looks intently at the male. He is sitting on an upholstered seat and steadying his right foot on a small stone; he leans forward, snapping his fingers to the rhythm, and watches the dancer. His head is depicted in full profile with dark curly hair, and body in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile; a robe covers his legs, similar to that of the flautist. In the background, standing high up on a cylinder-like pedestal, is a robed statue, a *Psyche* with butterfly wings, a short *pedum* in her right hand, and holding in her left the long *baldachin*, which is fastened at the ends to the leafless branches of two slender trees. In its current state, the upper part with the statue has suffered the most.¹³³ The contours of the figures are clear; the body of the snapping Cupid is light brown with dark shading, both cupids' cloaks are pinkish, while the females' robes are turquoise. The statue with the pedestal is white, i.e. portraying marble.

The trilogy of the large central pictures with their mythological motifs was based on literary references, and is one of the best of its period in Pompeii.¹³⁴ There are connections to the East, as *Priapus* wears an oriental robe, as does a young tanned Lydian behind Queen *Omphale*,¹³⁵ and the *tropaeum* can be connected to the mythic Indian war. There has been a debate about the models for these separately-made paintings. The idea that they would be Flavian copies of Hellenistic originals, perhaps by an Asiatic school of artists from the third century BC, has been proposed by several scholars.¹³⁶ The forms of *Hercules*, *Omphale*, and one of the *Cupids* may even have been influenced by Greek sculpture.¹³⁷ Their late dating is also supported by the combination of blue and yellow, which was favoured in the Fourth Style, but here combined with red, rose, and violet, forming a light, warm coalescence.¹³⁸

¹³³ Falkener did not include the statue in his picture, Falkener 1852, 65.

¹³⁴ Jahn 1855, 215-; Helbig 1873, 113; Borda 1958, 238.

¹³⁵ Helbig 1873, 178-179.

¹³⁶ Elia 1932, 44; Maiuri 1971, 79; De Caro 1994, 180.

¹³⁷ Lippold 1951, 121-130; Moormann 1988, 213.

¹³⁸ Beyen 1928, 43; Rizzo 1929, 44.

If the ancient visitors entering the triclinium (16) were able to move their eyes from the large central pictures to the smaller side field pictures, they were offered a witty cartoon-like sequence with allusions to the myths depicted in the large paintings. On the back wall, a more restrained part of a convivium is first presented, then followed by the outcome, similar to that at the court of Omphale. On the other walls, preparations for musical and theatrical performances meant to entertain the participants of the convivium are depicted. An apprentice, rather than the master, seems to have been responsible for these six paintings, using a pattern



Fig. 86.

book: the basic composition is the same, the colour scheme of the robes is limited from light blue to yellow and purple, and postures and details are repeated, such as the outermost figures depicted in profile, hazily shown statues on high pedestals, the drunken cross-dressing Hercules, and the callipygae with their wings folded together. Lawrence Richardson has attributed them to the Panthera Painter, considering them unique, of good quality, and without, however, an obvious relationship to the large pictures.¹³⁹ Eric Moormann has discussed the similarities between these picture and the pinakes from the Casa dei Bronzi/della Parete Nera (VII 4, 59);¹⁴⁰ there the statues are the focus of the action, not depicted behind awnings, nor at a banquet. In their current state many of the finer points of these six paintings have been lost, but the state of preservation is generally good, even if there is variation in the uppermost parts, and the one on the left (north) wall has suffered the most.

The banquet scenes of the smaller central pictures imitate those of normal humans, even using cushions on the ground in the original form of the *stibadium*.¹⁴¹ The whole

¹³⁹ Richardson 2000, 168–171. And yet, here is some relationship considering the association with wine and theatre.

¹⁴⁰ Moormann 1988, 196 (cat. 247), 213 (cat. 282/7). Pictures of two of them, e.g. Reinach 1922, 94 (nos. 1–2).

¹⁴¹ Dunbabin 2003, 60, 146.

decoration of this room had references to Bacchus, Hercules, Apollo, and Isis, but the wine, banqueting, and performing prevailed, and made it a clearly a Bacchic room. The use of expensive cinnabar connects it with that of the Casa dei Vettii (VI 15, 1), both being prestige rooms opening onto a garden.

Room 17 N-S 1.9 m, W-E 4.2 m; 7.6 m²

This is a staircase with two walls, continuing as a passage through two small rooms (19 and 20) and further to the back of the house, and adjoining the House IX 3, 24.

Bibliography: Panofka 1847a, 131; Panofka 1847b, 142; Avellino 1847–1848, 7, 16 ; Bechi 1852 (*MB*) 14, pl. 44; Falkener 1852, 67–68; Niccolini 1854, 15–16; Breton 1855, 302; Helbig 1868, 32 (no. 111), 47 (no. 167), 78 (no. 302), 225 (no. 1121); Reinach 1922, 362 (no. 1), 363 (no. 9); Allroggen Bedel 1974, 151; Schefold 1957, 250; *PPP* III, 441; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 281–285).



Fig. 87.

Floor: Masonry staircase, and there are some traces of plaster, but the pavement is mostly modern. The threshold is one slab of white marble.

Wall Paintings: The wall paintings follow the typical tripartite system, though the socle is only preserved in the flat part of the floor. The upper zone, as a whole is still visible in places. The socle was probably black, now off-white, and once contained green flowers;¹⁴² the central zone is intense red, and the upper zone white. The two door posts by the entrance from room 9 follow the same colour scheme.

Right (south) wall: In the centre of the main zone there was a slender candelabrum containing leaf calyces, spikes and flat plates in different sizes. The colour is now light, with some traces of yellow and grey. The middle field is separated from both side fields

¹⁴² Falkener 1852, 68.



Fig. 88.



Fig. 89.



Fig. 90.

with three columns of varying diameters, painted in blue, yellow, and red. In the side fields the panels are framed with yellowish embroidery borders consisting of palmettes alternating with either five petals or three petals with a dot. In their corners there is square with a rhombus inside, decorated with dots. The vignette on the left still depicts a sow¹⁴³ on a white background, and according to the early reports and drawings there was also a head of Hercules on a square base, along with his club and a vessel.¹⁴⁴ On the right the outlines of a head of Juno and her own peacock are visible, the bird even with the bust's eye. In the old drawing the head, adorned with a diadem, was depicted in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile to the right. In the upper zone only some vertical parts of the architectural features remain.

Left (north) wall: The wall is a mirror image of the south wall. In the middle the candelabrum is better preserved, showing a more elaborate plate, now with one surviving tendril. In the vignettes on the left, opposite Juno, on the right was a wreathed head of Jupiter, with a patera¹⁴⁵ and an eagle as his attribute. On the right there was a head of Venus,¹⁴⁶ with her attribute a vase decorated with dolphins. Both are now scarcely visible. In the upper zone the architectural framework is better preserved than on the opposite wall, also showing horizontal structures with simple panels and no preserved decorations.

¹⁴³ A sow or a pig rather than a wild boar. Panofka 1847a, 131; Helbig 1862, 225 (no. 1121).

¹⁴⁴ Helbig 1868 (no. 1121): "Zwischen einem Schweine und einer bärtigen mit rother Binde geschmückten Heraklesmaske steht ein Skyphos und lehnt eine Keule."

¹⁴⁵ According to e.g. Helbig 1868, 32 (no. 111), the round object is a globe, which would make it an early example of a ruler's attribute, rather than the celestial sphere of Atlas. Allroggen Bedel 1974, 143, indicates a parallel from Casa della Fontana piccola (VI 8, 23–24), though its various objects, e.g. a spectre, an oak leaf wreath, a crown and vases, differ.

¹⁴⁶ Panofka 1847a, 131, names Hebe as an alternative.

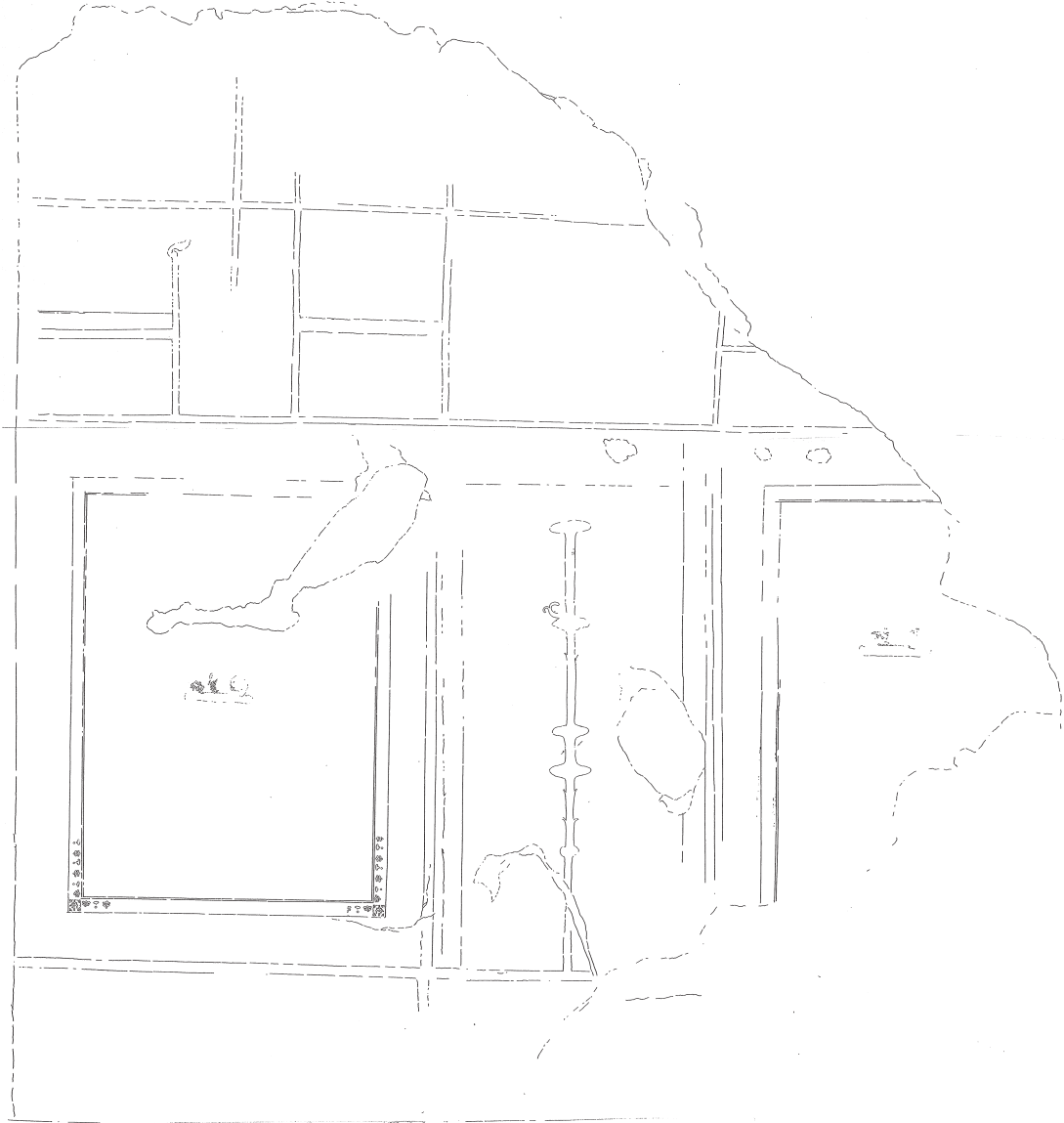


Fig. 91.

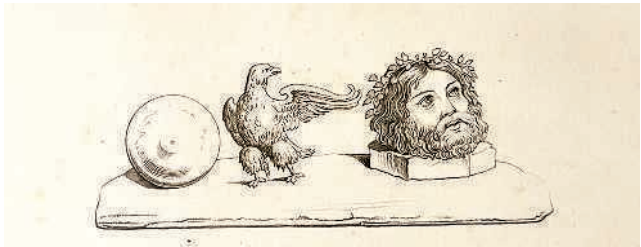


Fig. 92.

Room 18 Garden N–S 650 cm, W–E 745–800 cm; 47.6 m²

The small, raised garden is in the middle of the house, above the tablinum (15) level and with doorways to the passage (41) and triclinium (25).

Bibliography: Panofka 1847a, 133; Falkener 1852, 73–74, 78; Breton 1855, 306; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 551; Jashemski 1979, 41–42; *PPP* III, 442; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 286–289.

Floor: On the south side a passageway covered with coarse opus signinum.

Back (east) wall: At the back of the garden there is a fountain behind the circular basin with a flight of steps leading up to a statue of old Silenus.¹⁴⁷ He stands inside an almost semicircular recess (opening W 76.2 cm), the back wall of which is decorated both with a painting and a mosaic in opus tessellatum. The painting (H 44.5 cm, W 115 cm) covers the lower lateral surface; on a light blue background there is a pod of four brownish grey dolphins jumping energetically towards the left. Above the seascape the lowermost decoration is a painted red wavy band, followed by a mosaic consisting, firstly, of cockleshells, and then a blue area in-between a white wavy line and a straight white line. The half-dome above is decorated with a parasol-type (shell-headed) canopy. Below the parasol there are blue segmental arches separated from the reddish board of the parasol and lined with yellow and green. In the parasol panels, blue and white tesserae of irregular width alternate between the ribs. The colour of the tesserae varies, portraying the gradation from light to shadow. The finial is yellow. The arch-shaped front of the fountain was originally decorated with a colourful mosaic with foliage in the piers, below the band of cockleshells, following the same level as inside the niche. There were scrolls in the arch, all on a blue background. The edges of the front were outlined with cockleshells.¹⁴⁸

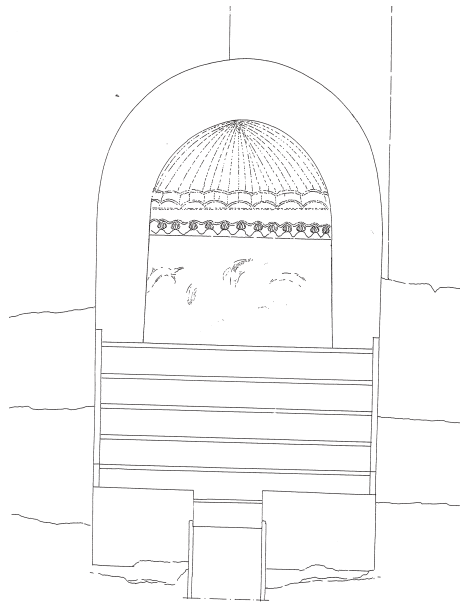


Fig. 93.

¹⁴⁷ Kuivalainen 2019, 81–82.

¹⁴⁸ An idea of the design can be acquired from earlier documentation: The front arch seems to have started



Fig. 94.

On both sides of the parapet wall, behind the fountain, there are pillars with high *socles* painted red and foliage on a white background in the upper part of pilasters. The plants are of different species. The painted decoration of the rest of the pilasters is destroyed but shown in old pictures, and now discernible only as vague incisions.

Left (north) wall: On this wall there are remnants of a garden painting, in the wall against the room 19. Currently only minimal traces of the yellow trellis and some plants on a blue background remain in the northwest corner. In the scale model there is a black *socle*, and the blue *main zone*.

In ancient Roman gardens it was usual that the

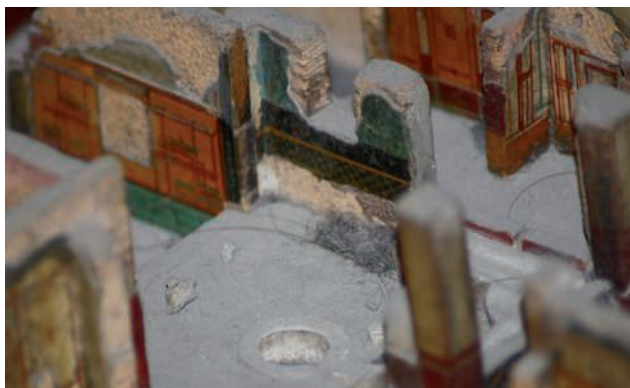


Fig. 95.

decaying already in the late 19th century.



Fig. 96.

garden paintings did not encompass all the walls of a garden; instead, only the points most visible from inside the house were richly decorated.¹⁴⁹ Here the fountain was positioned on the rear, visible from the entrance through the atrium and the tablinum. The best garden painting was on the left (north) wall, opposite the openings from the two triclinia.

Room 19 N–S 2.4 m, W–E 4.0 m; 7.1 m²

The room, perhaps a small exedra, is the mid-part of the passage (17) created by its stairs, and the smaller room (20).

Bibliography: Panofka 1847a, 131; Falkener 1852, 69, 71; Niccolini 1854, 16; Minervini 1855, Breton 1855, 303; Helbig 1868, 137 (no. 624), 287–288 (no. 1312); Schefold 1957, 250; *PPP* III, 442; Bragantini (*PPM* IX), 292–294; Romizzi 2006, 479.

Floor: Opus signinum.

Wall Paintings: There are two opposite walls with paintings (north and south) and a shorter wall (east) with a doorway. The wall paintings are divided into two zones, the

¹⁴⁹ Leach 2004, 129.



Fig. 97.

red socle and the yellow ochre main zone, in which the upper part has partially turned red. Above this room there are remains of an upper-floor room with wall paintings (below p. 303, Figs. 3–4).

Left (north) wall: This wall is the only one with a central picture. The wall paintings of both zones are divided into three fields, separated by two intervals. In the socle there are bushes with small leaves and white flowers in the middle, and in the side fields plants with long leaves. In both arched intervals there is a yellow patera portrayed in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile and white shading. The intervals are framed by white columns, thicker ones towards the middle and thinner ones on the outside, all supported by wide bases and topped with capitals.

The *main zone* is separated from the socle by a band with alternating purple and white lines. The arched intervals of the socle support the dark red screen walls, on top of which stand some of the slender columns, the rest of them standing directly on the separating band. These columns are painted, from the inside out, in green, red, orange, orange, green, and red. Above the screen wall there is a white opening in the

architectural framework. Below the vanished central painting there is horizontal red garland with green leaves, with a central patera. Only the lower frame of the central painting is visible. According to Falkener it showed “a female figure seated by the side of a column, and perhaps a child or Cupid in front, and another figure standing behind.”¹⁵⁰ In the side fields there are red embroidery borders with contiguous arches with heart-shaped leaves above and dots in the spandrels, the outermost sides replaced by green vertical bars in their respective corners. There were vignettes in both side fields, depicting an armed genius standing on a floating console.¹⁵¹

Back (east) wall: This narrow wall is divided into two fields, the third replaced by the door. In the red socle there is a wider left side field, and a narrower right field, separated from each other by a well-preserved short white column with a base and a ring above it, and a capital. The panels show plants, the right with small leaves and the left with longer leaves. In the main zone there is a vignette on the left depicting an armed genius standing on a console; now only the legs are visible. In the



Fig. 98.

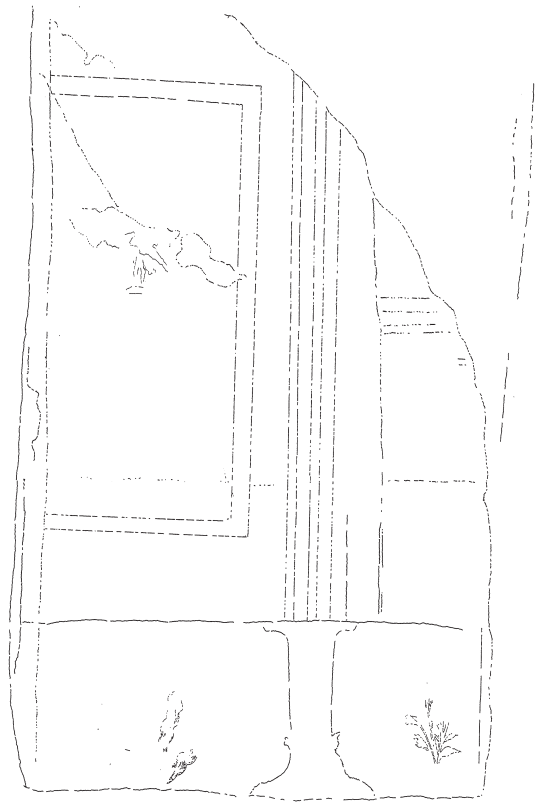


Fig. 99.

¹⁵⁰ Falkener 1852, 71. It has been suggested to depict Paris and Helen/Venus, Panofka 1847a, 131, or Phaidra with a wet nurse, Minervini 1855, 55; Helbig 1868, 288 (no. 1312).

¹⁵¹ Helbig 1868, 137 (no. 624).

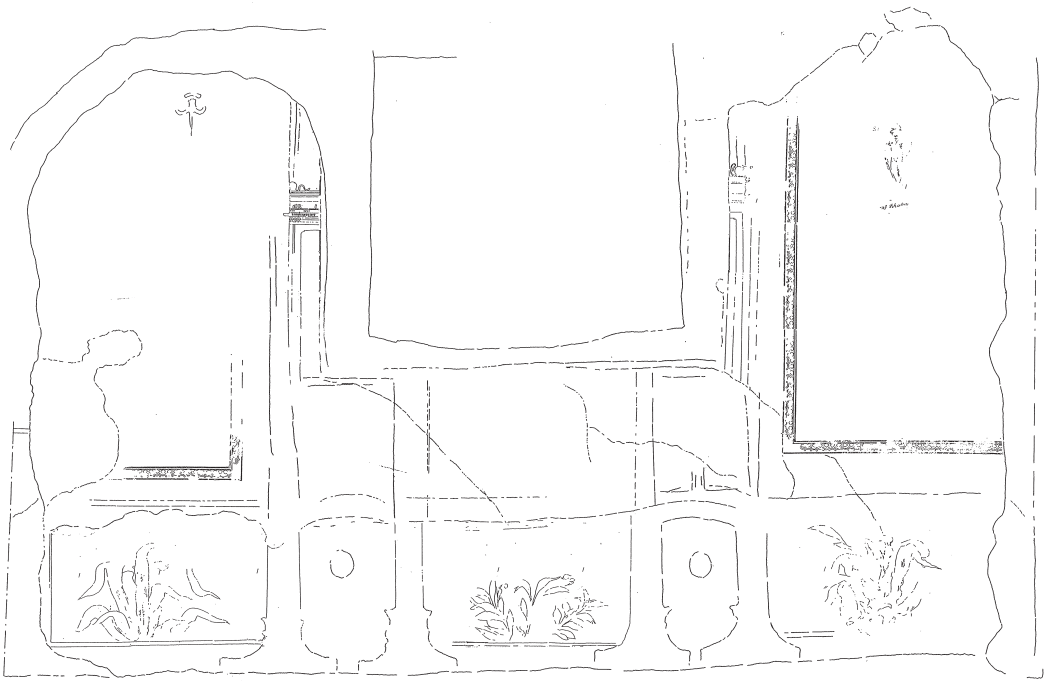


Fig. 100.

right field (as if in a middle field) there is a white opening in an architectural framework, and there once was a small landscape, already fragmented in 1847.¹⁵²

Right (south) wall: This wall is relatively well-preserved, with the same elements as in the opposite north wall with a window towards the garden 18, however replacing the central panel. Other anomalies are that the white supporting columns in the socle are of equal size, and their bases are fully visible, with more details. In all three fields there are the same kind of bushes, all growing from terrain in front of a yellow horizontal line, as well as the paterae. In the main zone the red screen walls are wider, due to the thinner inner columns in the socle, and equipped with a white frame in the panel. The architectural features are better preserved on both sides of the window, showing slender two-storey aediculae. On top of the entablature in purple and white there is a curvy ornament. The vignette on the left side field is destroyed, but on top of the missing genius there is a yellow spearhead-like object pointing downwards. In the right side field there is an armed genius as the vignette, holding a spear in his raised right hand. Below there is a modern graffito, "Schuman".¹⁵³ The embroidery borders are identical.

¹⁵² Falkener 1852, 71: "a villa on a rock, with a bridge connecting it with the mainland."

¹⁵³ Castrén 2019, 22–23, figs. 7–8.

Upper floor room above room 19

Wall Paintings: The lower part of the upper floor is visible above the modern roof.

Left (north) wall: The *socle* is painted with red ochre. The *main zone* is painted with red ochre in the middle, and yellow ochre in the side fields, divided with white in the intervals between them. (p. 303, Figs. 3–4).

Room 20 N–S 2.55 m, W–E 2.05 m; 6.9 m²

This room, perhaps another small exedra, is the last section of the passage composed of the stairs 17 and room 19, leading from the atrium 2 to the eastern rooms in the upper level. It is a small recess open to the garden, separated from it by a parapet wall, with only three walls painted, all in the same pattern. The modern roof covers now the recesses 19 and 20.

Bibliography: Panofka 1847a, 132; Panofka 1847b, 142; Falkener 1852, 72; Niccolini 1854, 16; Minervini 1855, 55; Breton 1855, 303; *PAH* II, 473; Helbig 1868, 412 (no. 1722); Overbeck – Mau 1884, 314, pl. 169; Reinach 1922, 262 (no. 12), Della Corte 1954, 133 (no. 284a); Schefold 1957, 250; *PPP* III, 442; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 295–298; Croisille 2010, 65, pl. 9:5.

Floor: Opus signinum.

Wall Paintings: The socle is yellow, the main zone is white, and the upper zone is destroyed, if it once existed.

Back (north) wall: The wall is divided into three fields with two intervals in



Fig. 101.

the socle. The *socle* may have originally been all yellow, later with drastic changes to red, especially in the middle and left side. The middle field is horizontally divided by a white embroidery border with a band below, consisting of semi-circles with palmettes and small straight-sided compartments above with more five-petalled palmettes inside. At a higher level a tragic mask, now light grey, hangs from the middle of a vaulted garland.

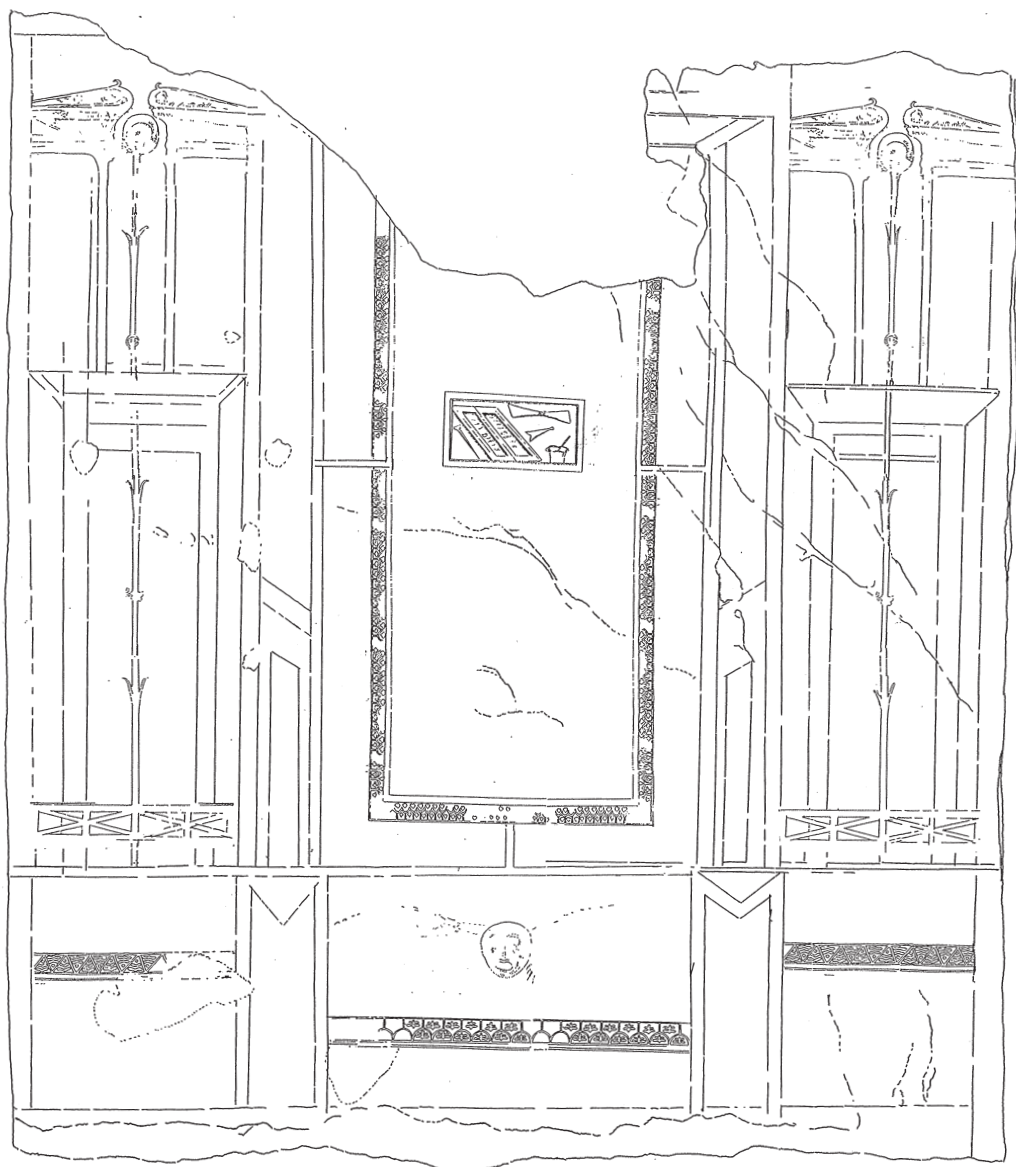


Fig. 102.

The two intervals are framed with greenish bands lined in white, forming triangles on top. The side fields are also divided horizontally by an embroidery border, but on a higher level than in the middle field. The white embroidery border with a band below consists of palmettes facing alternately up and down within intermeshing triangles. In the corners there are white vertical stripes.

A simple architectural framework painted with yellow and red columns characterizes the *main zone*. The central panel depicts a still life (MANN 9818) with writing implements, *instrumentum scriptorium*, and some words in Latin. A black stylus on the left leans diagonally onto the white lining of the frame, next to a wax diptych framed brown, also leaning, with undeciphered ten lines of text. On the right there is a brown ink bottle with a pen inside, above a dark scraper, and on top a folded and sealed letter with the text: M(arco) Lucretio Flam(ini) Martis Decurioni P(ompeis) (*CIL* IV, 879). This text has been crucial in identifying the owner of the house, the addressee on the sealed letter, one Marcus Lucretius, priest of Mars, a magistrate in Pompeii.¹⁵⁴ The central panel is framed by a red embroidery border with a red stripe within, and contiguous arcs with ivy leaves and little compartments containing more ivy leaves below. The embroidery border is fixed both horizontally and vertically to the architectural framework. Reddish columns framing the panel end in the ceiling of the central aedicula, preserved minimally in the upper right corner.

On the sides, architectural frameworks, with their perspective vanishing points exceptionally situated in the middle, form two-storey aediculae. Two yellow, sturdy columns in front of the lower storey support a strongly projecting entablature alternating in red and yellow. In each aedicula, an openwork red fence stands on a red podium with a red leafy candelabrum ending in either patera or a shield, amid two volutes of the open roof of the upper storey. Each aedicula is framed by two more sturdy columns, the inner one red and the outer bluish grey. They support the entablature of the upper storey, which is additionally supported by two slender red columns next to the candelabrum that stand on top of the first storey entablature. On top of the upper left side aedicula, one short horizontal band is visible.

Right (east) and left (west) walls: These two side walls are narrower and are painted nearly as mirror images. In the *socle* in the slightly arched middle field there is a round object, with some red and white – perhaps a suspended mask. In the side fields there are white horizontal embroidery borders with dot rosettes inside square compartments, and green and white garlands, with a four-petal decoration on top.

In the *main zone* there is a simple architectural framework in yellow and red, resembling the side fields of the back (north) wall. Its central two-storey aedicula, with three front columns in red and three yellow ones at the back, carry an entablature decorated with a frieze of encircled small palmettes; a ceiling with beams is visible below. In the outer half of the aedicula, on a podium with an openwork fence, stands a leafy candelabrum, now almost destroyed and recognised only by incised lines in the lower

¹⁵⁴ Castrén 2008, 27–28; Castrén 2019, 17–19; Varone 2019, 29–31.

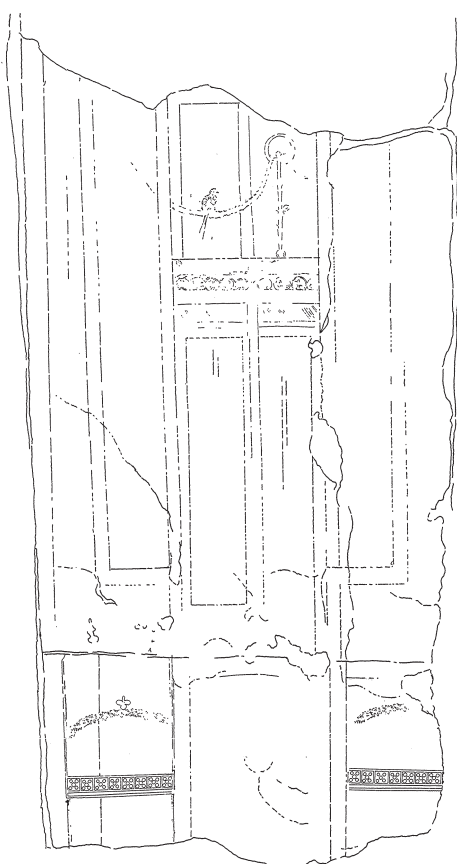


Fig. 103.

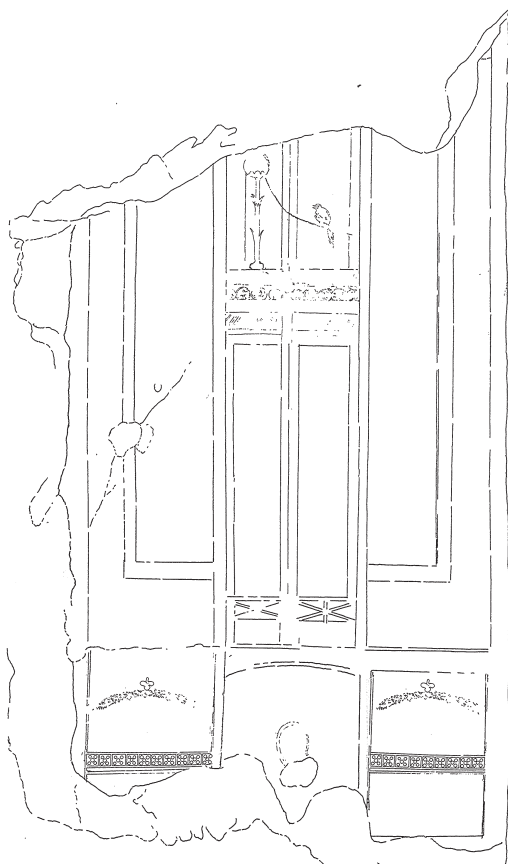


Fig. 104.

storey. Inside the upper storey of the aedicula, the candelabrum is better preserved. On top of it there is a shield or patera, onto which a green garland with tiny red flowers is fixed. The short part of the garland is hanging down, and the longer one arches towards the wall. A singing dove is resting on it, looking out of the recess towards the garden. The architectural painting is surrounded by an embroidery border with a thicker red band inside, and thinner outside, but its decoration is lost.

The colours of these two side walls are identical, except the candelabrum in the east wall is now yellow, and that on the west wall red. This may have been caused by the extreme heat. In the front (south) wall there is no figurative decoration, due to a large opening towards the garden.

Room 21N–S 6.05 m, W–E 3.45 m; S 12.1 m², N 7.5 m²

The room, an exedra with a later light partition wall, or oecus/triclinium and cubiculum, is the terminus for the axis leading from the vestibule and atrium, offering a view, even if indirect, from one end to the other. It consists of two parts, the larger space in the central axis with elegant wall paintings, and the smaller with no decoration, which was separated from the former by a lightweight partition wall with a connecting narrow doorway. Both parts had doorways to room 41; from the smaller there was a side view to the passage 17–20 and from the larger to the garden 18.

Bibliography: Panofka 1847a, 132; Panofka 1847b, 142; Falkener 1852, 81; Bechi 1852, 14; Niccolini 1854, 19; Minervini 1855, 80; Breton 1855, 304; Helbig 1868, 56 (no. 207), 78 (no. 304); Fiorelli 1875, 393; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 319; Ruesch 1908, (no. 1429); Reinach 1922, 26 (no. 7); Elia 1932, 76 (no. 152); Schefold 1957, 250; *PPP* III, 443; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 298–301; Romizzi 2006, 479.

Floor: There are two visible phases; the first was made of reddish opus signinum decorated with rows of small flowers made of four white petals and one grey tessera in the middle, now visible only under the destroyed partition wall. A band of single white tesserae some 20 cm from the wall framed this original floor of the room. Of the second phase floor,



Fig. 105.

made of grey opus signinum with crushed lava and decorated with small pieces of white marble, only parts remain; the centre, decorated with colourful pieces, is lost.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ Falkener 1852, 81.



Fig. 106.

Wall Paintings: The paintings of the room have been badly worn. They represent the customary three zones, of which the upper zone is mostly destroyed. The colours are black (socle), yellow (main zone middle), red (main zone sides), and white (upper zone).

Back (east) wall: This wall contains vague traces of green and red columns in the lighter-coloured intervals between the fields. In the main zone there was once a rectangular central painting depicting either Venus with emblems of Mars, or Narcissus, now lost (MANN, not located). At least in the right side field there was once a Bacchic head¹⁵⁶ in an



Fig. 107.

inserted medallion (D ca. 21 cm), framed with an embroidery border with triangles; now these details are visible only in the lower part of the left side field. An anomaly is the lack of a parallel Bacchic head, as there are no traces of an inserted medallion in the left side panel (though the plaster is destroyed above that level), or else the available space was confined. Of the upper zone only a few patches on the right remain.

¹⁵⁶ Panofka 1847a, 132; Falkener 1852, 81.

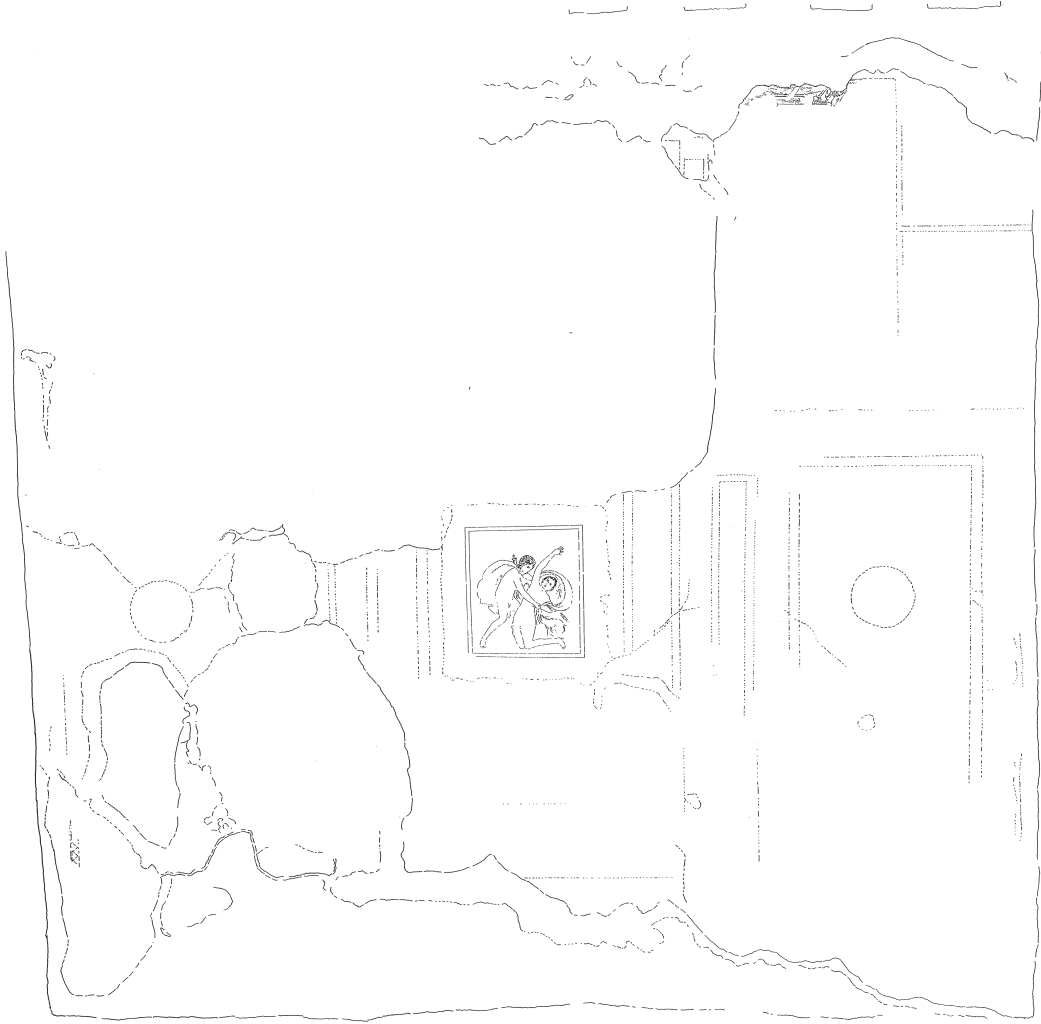


Fig. 108.

Right (south) wall: On this wall, the best preserved painting depicts a green column, now with white lines, in the right side field; additionally, three columns in the right interval and, further, traces of an aedicula with yellow columns and a red ceiling in the upper right zone. The identical embroidery with triangles is vertically visible in the left side field, now also with traces of yellow colour. The central painting of the main zone, Apollo and Daphne (MANN 9536), was removed to Naples. In a rocky landscape, Apollo, bent forward, is assaulting Daphne, who is on her knees. He grasps her left wrist with his right hand, and her shoulders with his left hand. He is looking intensively downwards, his head portrayed in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile; his curly brown hair is tied with a yellow fillet and forms a bun in the neck. He is nude, wearing only a purple billowing cloak

tied around his neck. His quiver is tied on his back with a white belt crossing his torso. Daphne leans back, her left arm raised up in a rejecting gesture; her face is portrayed frontally, her small mouth is open, and she looks aside in horror with her wide-open eyes. Her yellow cloak is billowing above her head, with its curly brown hair. The barely visible green tree in the background alludes to the inevitable outcome, her turning into a laurel tree. The artist was not at his best. The body proportions are not strictly right; Daphne's measurements seem to be on a larger scale than Apollo's, and he seems to be slightly pot-bellied, but with skinny legs. He is tanned, she is naturally lighter, and both figures are shaded. The painting is framed in dark brown, edged in white, and also includes a part of the yellow ochre wall plaster. On both side fields there were Bacchic heads in medallions.¹⁵⁷

Left (north) wall: This wall contains only plaster, with no decoration.

Room 22

N-S 2.2–2.35 m, W-E 3.2–3.55 m; 7.8 m²

The small room, a cubiculum, is in the east side of the house, with a modest view towards the garden (18).

Bibliography: Bechi 1852, 14; Falkener 1860, 80–81; Niccolini 1854, 19; Breton 1855, 304; Minervini 1855, 80; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 319; Fiorelli 1875, 393; *PPP* III, 443; *Bragantini* (*PPM* IX), 302–303.

Floor: *Opus signinum* decorated with pieces of coloured marbles inside irregular ovals made of white tesserae.

Wall Paintings: The decoration of both the east and south walls is destroyed; the design of the painting is only visible



Fig. 109.

on the north wall, in which there is also a large area with completely fallen plaster in the right side field. Some painted plaster remains on both doorposts. The walls are painted

¹⁵⁷ Panofka 1847a, 132.

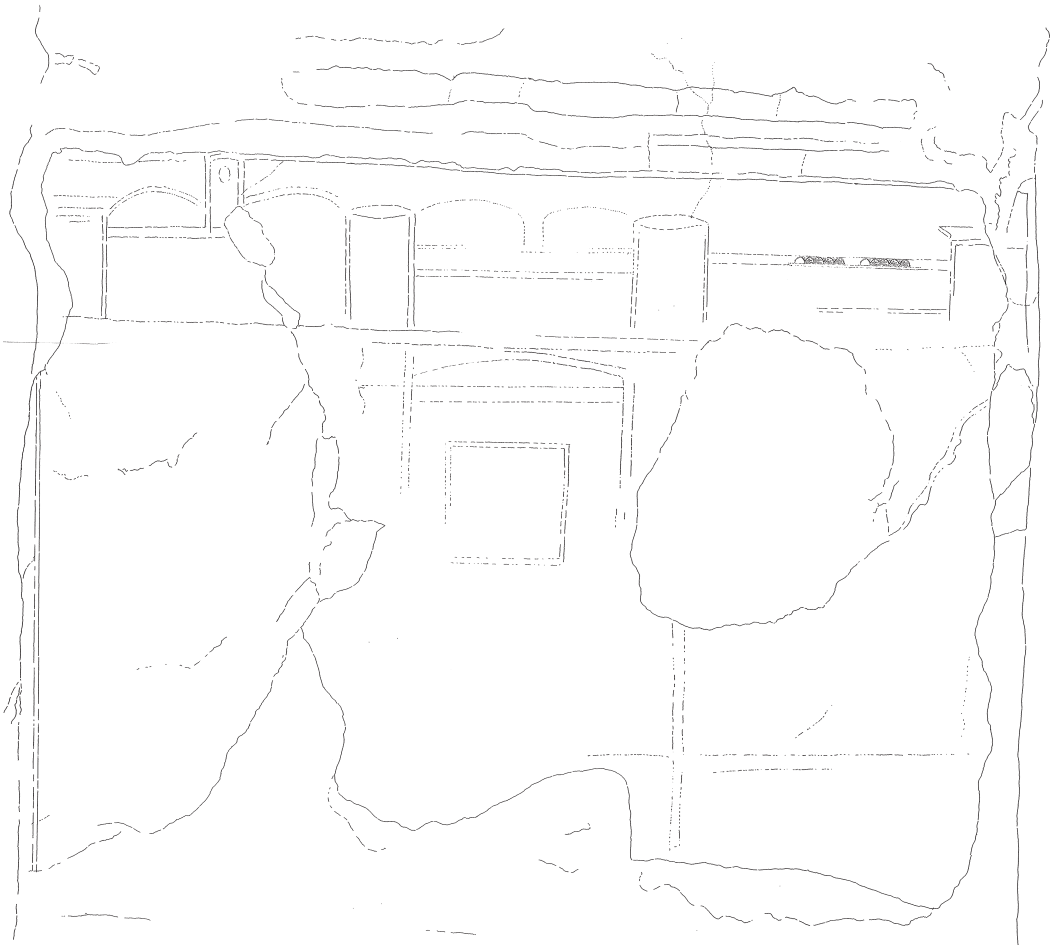


Fig. 110.

with the customary three zone scheme; the colour of the *socle* is no longer visible,¹⁵⁸ the main zone is yellow, and the upper zone is white. The colours have faded, and the yellow area is now mostly pinkish, as are the outlines of the architectural framework.

Left (north) wall: The height of the *socle* cannot be determined, but may have been quite low, as the yellow colour of the *main zone* starts already at a height of 15–20 cm from the floor level. The main zone is divided by two intervals into three yellow fields, the middle one being slightly narrower. The panels were framed by white embroidery borders; the central picture (ca. 45 x 45) is known only by its painted frames; nothing is known about its subject. On top of the picture there was a segmental pediment, or a garland. Similarly, the Cupids in vignettes in the left and right side fields are destroyed. Both corners were

¹⁵⁸ In the scale model it is black and quite low.



Fig. 111.

painted in green. In the *upper zone* there is a simple architectural framework divided into three fields by two aediculae with rounded yellow tops, probably shell canopies.¹⁵⁹ A horizontal embroidery border, containing palmettes with five petals inside arches, unites the aediculae. More curvy elements are portrayed by double festoons in each field. In the left side field a narrower pavilion is preserved above the embroidery and in between the double festoon. Old photographs show human figures inside the aediculae, now visible as hazy shadows on a white background.¹⁶⁰ Above there are remnants of a stucco moulding on the right, possibly Ionian kymation.

Room 25

N–S 6.4 m, W–E 4.1 m; 26.2 m²

This room, a triclinium aestivum, opens onto garden (18) in the north, offering an unobstructed view.

Bibliography: Panofka 1847a, 133; Panofka 1847b, 143; Bechi 1852, 13; Falkener 1852, 78–80; Niccolini 1854, 17–18; Zahn 1854, pl. 35, 72; Minervini 1855, 65–66; *PAH* II, 466; Helbig 1868,

¹⁵⁹ Cf. room 15 in the Casa del Menandro, Ling 2005, 220 and 389.

¹⁶⁰ *PPM* IX, figs. 245–246.

146 (no. 737b)¹⁶¹,
158–159 (no. 801),
357 (no. 1477), 445
(no. 1936); Reinach
1922, 76 (no. 3); Elia
1932, 93 (no. 231);
Schefold 1957, 250;
Bragantini (*PPM* IX),
304–307; Tammisto
– Kuivalainen 2008,
100–101.



Fig. 112.

Floor: The poorly preserved opus tessellatum is largely white, with sparingly used black decorations. Black is also used for the double band framing of the pavement. The centre is missing, preserving only the frame composed of an outer black band, followed by alternating sharp-angled triangles, then a chequerboard band, followed innermost by black floral scrolls and palmettes in the corners. There are no traces of the possible innermost opus sectile.

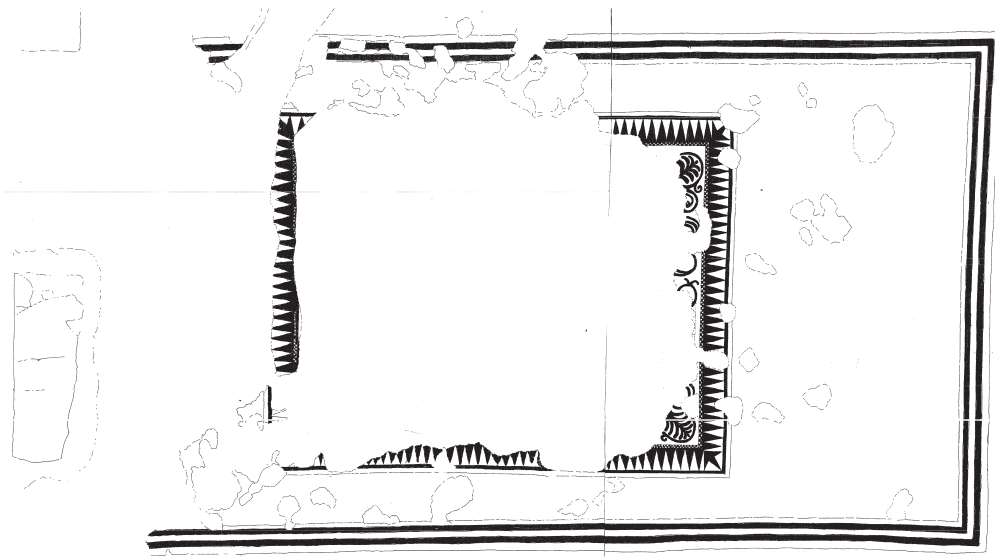


Fig. 113.

¹⁶¹ “Hängt sich einen Köcher um, kein Schwert, wie Bull. nap. (n. s.) IV p. 65 fälschlich angiebt.”

Wall Paintings: There are minimal remains of Third Style wall paintings on the three walls, on a white background in all zones. The plaster has fallen down for the most part from the south and east walls. Above the socle, probably in the predella, there were originally panels, removed after the excavation to Naples, and their locations on the respective walls are not securely known.

Back (south) wall: The *socle* is framed all around with a red band, being highest by the floor (H ca. 7–9 cm), narrower on the edges and on top, and best preserved on this wall. There are two wide side fields with an interval in the middle. The side fields are divided horizontally into three; the lowest red band is separated from the second by an incised base line. The white horizontal panel is separated from the upper one by a band with red, blue, yellow, and red lines. The upper white panel is decorated with slanting yellow lines held together with a horizontal baton. Above, there is a yellow horizontal band below the upper red one. Six slender columns in the interval are now visible as darkish shadows.

In the *main zone* of the right side field there is a rectangular cut for a panel, removed to Naples.

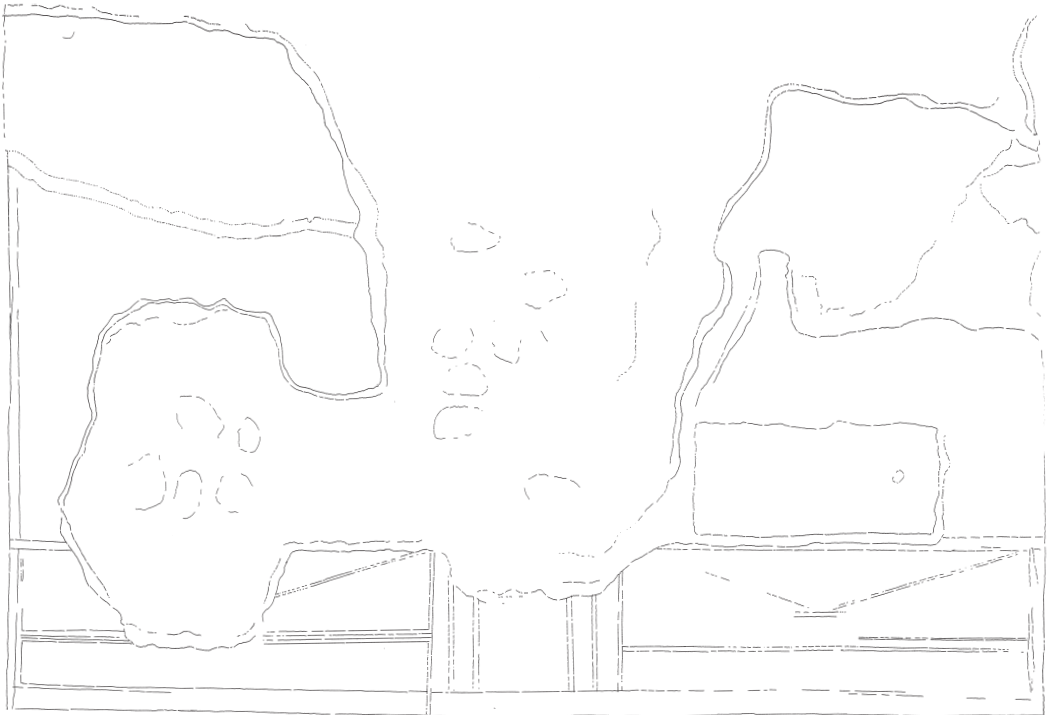


Fig. 114.

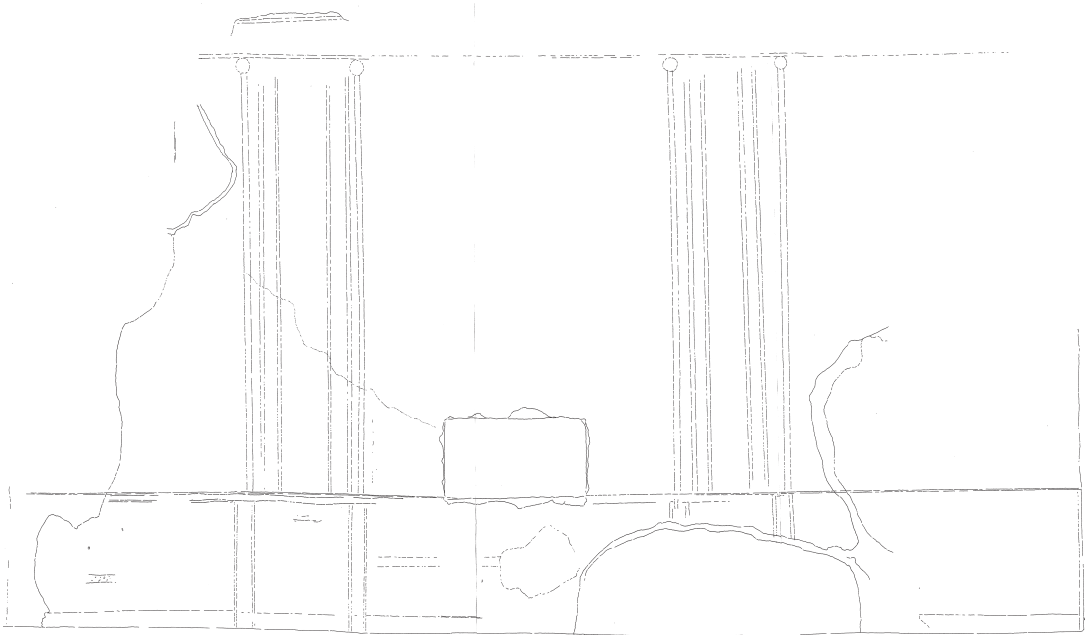


Fig. 115.

Right (west) wall: This is the longest and best-preserved wall in the room 25. It is divided into five areas, with three fields separated by two intervals. With its red outlines, the *socle* is similar to the south wall, but instead of slanting yellow lines there is a snippet of a green horizontal band, an unidentifiable embroidery border, in the left side field. Furthermore, there are only four slender columns in both intervals. In the middle field the horizontal band, on a higher level, is depicted with blue spots, perhaps from a garland below.

The *main zone* is destroyed, except for the six slender columns in the intervals. They stand on top of a horizontal band consisting of yellow and red lines, differing slightly from the positions of the columns in the socle. The only colour remaining is red on the leftmost column. In the capitals of all four outermost columns there are circular decorations with small round marks in the middle, perhaps small shields or globes. According to the earlier documentation and in scale model there were floating



Fig. 116.

figures in three fields (Bacchants and genii?) and garlands, and candelabra on the sides.¹⁶² In the middle there is a rectangular cut (42 x 81 cm) from a panel removed to Naples.

Left (east) wall: In the east wall there is a door opening onto the passage (41) leading to the staircase (24). It is shorter than the opposite wall, and in its decorative design more comparable to the adjoining south wall. The colour of the red band of the socle by the floor is visible, in the middle of the socle there are vertical divisions forming an interval, and the yellow band between the socle and the main zone is visible on the right. The main zone is mostly destroyed, except on the right side.

According to Falkener, Cupids gathering grapes, children at play, and wild beasts were depicted on the walls, although he does not further specify the exact locations. Two of these central panels are now in Naples, i.e. three Cupids harvesting grapes, conserved in three fragments (MANN 9198, 9338, 9340 45 x 48 cm, 32 x 31 cm, 32 x 30 cm), and playing children (MANN 9103 30 x 63 cm). Considering the measurements of the preserved paintings, the latter, playing children, must come from the west wall, and the three Cupids from the south wall, with only one cut on the right, but with more space on the left side with a destroyed plaster surface (p. 250–251).

The six playing children are depicted on a rectangular slab under a hanging double garland of ivy, crossed by a horizontal line overlaid by a zigzag pattern, resembling modern barbed wire. The one on the left is seen in perspective; he is moving forward with his weight on his right foot, stretching out his right arm and holding a cord, if not a crook, in his hand; he wears a violet chiton, and his black hair is cut short and curly. The second is seen frontally, with his head in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile; his weight is on his right foot, he holds a stick in his right hand and points with his left at the other children on the right. He is robed in a light blue chiton leaving his right shoulder bare, and his brown hair is short and curly. The third child is depicted frontally with his weight on his left foot; he holds in both hands a cord attached to a short pole, and he wears a yellowish green chiton exposing his right shoulder. His face is destroyed, but his short fair hair is still visible. These three boys seem to form a team. The fourth boy is moving forward to the centre and looks down towards the cord; he has lifted his right hand, preparing to strike with his stick. He wears a light grey chiton, leaving his right shoulder bare; his head is depicted in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile, his facial features are marked, and his hair is light brown.

¹⁶² Minervini 1855, 65: "Le pareti offrono dipinte in fondo bianco graziose architetture grottesche, con ornati di Grifi, di cigni, di aquile sul globo, ed altrettali. Varie figure sono isolate nel campo; vedi un'Amore alato volante e tenendo una spada nel suo fodero; una Nunfa seminuda coronata di fogli con la doppia tibia; altro alato Amorino con patera ed altro simbolo ora perduto per essere caduto l'intonico; finalmente altre Ninfe con abiti svolazzanti e con simboli incerti." – This wall in the scale model has some dimensional errors, as the painting does not fill the available space.

The third central panel, depicting wild beasts, is destroyed, and may have been on the east wall, as there is no plaster and consequently no cut.

Room 41 [18] N–S 11.1 m, W–E 1.55–4.4 m; 24.1 m²

This passage behind the garden (18) connects the rooms in the upper level of the house, leading from the tablinum (33) and the former hortus (27) of the house 24 in the north to the basement steps (24) in the south end. On the west wall there are two pilasters, one behind the fountain and the other in the corner towards room 20, and a low wall in between them separating the passage from the garden (18). Opposite, on the east wall, there are several openings splitting the wall into four piers, and one more pier on the north side in the corner of room 20.



Fig. 117.

Bibliography: Panofka 1847a, 132; Panofka 1847b, 144; Bechi 1852, 13; Falkener 1852, 73, 78; Niccolini 1854, 12, 17; Breton 1855, 303; Minervini 1855, 80; Overbeck – Mau 1884, 318; Schefold 1957, 250; Croisille 1965, 38 (no. 41); Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 290, De Caro 2001, 92–93 (no. 89); Borriello 2007, 174.

Floor: Opus signinum with crushed lava.

Wall Paintings: There are three types of painted decoration in this passage. On the right (west) side the two pilasters are decorated on both faces, towards the passage and towards the garden. The wall painting is bipartite, with a red background below and white above. In the upper red parts nearer the passage, there were still-lives, now in Naples. That on the angular pilaster is circular (MANN 8642, D 38 cm), depicting four green figs on the angle of a cupboard, with a plucked small bird, possibly a quail,¹⁶³ nearly falling

¹⁶³ Falkener saw the figs as green glass vessels and the bird as a stone bottle. The cut throat of the bird indeed resembles a bottle with a rounded lip, but the skinny legs and small wings clearly indicate a bird, Falkener 1852, 72–73; Most scholars identify the bird as a chicken (un pollo spiumato), e.g. De Caro 2001, 93.

over the edge; both are tied with a small garland of violet and yellow flowers, and below, on the shady side of the cupboard, there is a bunch of light grey grapes.¹⁶⁴ Behind the objects the background is light blue; the medallion is enclosed by a darker blue band and a white astragal. The still-life on the other pilaster (MANN s.n., inv. San Giorgio 1677/1678, 26 cm x 39 cm) portrays a view with opened doors to various comestibles on a shelf.¹⁶⁵ The painting has fractures on the surface, and the inside of the cupboard is poorly preserved. The light brown doors are shown, and the frames of the cupboard lined in white (p. 253).

In the upper white parts of these two pilasters are remains of a modest architectural framework, consisting of a central candelabra, discerned only by incisions, and red embroidery borders with palmettes with five petals and teardrops inside triangles, visible only in the upper part of the pilaster with the angle. On the north face of this northern pilaster (towards room 27) a roughly painted large cantharus, now destroyed, was observed in the 1840s. The edges of the pilasters were red. Furthermore, the famous graffito LABYRINTHVS. HIC HABITAT MINOTAVRVS (*CIL* IV 2331) belongs to the west side of this angular pilaster. Its original place is now indicated by an empty space in the plaster below the modern lintel.

On the low parapet wall between the two pilasters, there are traces of a garden painting, preserved in two fragments in the right (north) side. The landscape is portrayed in perspective; in front there are two lattice fences of yellow, different trellis-works – the lower larger and the upper denser – and behind them a badly preserved third wall with garden plants above. In the painting there originally was a view over a pond, a palaestra with wrestlers, white birds, as well as a large mask;¹⁶⁶ all of these are now destroyed. To viewers in the room 21 this garden painting offered a glimpse of an artificial evergreen garden continuing in the real one towards west.

On the east wall of the passage 41, two of the four piers (the outermost doorposts of room 21) still contain painted plaster, suggesting a tripartite scheme. The *socle* is yellow ochre and can be discerned only on the left (north) pier. In the red main zone there were rectangular paintings, at least one depicting a sea monster, but now only traces of white frames (H 18.5 cm) remain on two of the piers. Below the paintings there are horizontal incised lines left by the original light-coloured embroidery borders. There may have been a vertical band next to the door to room 21, as shown by a line in the

¹⁶⁴ De Caro 2001, 93, regards them yellowish, and emphasizes the quadruple division of the image around the angle of the cupboard.

¹⁶⁵ According to Falkener there are a lemon and other comestibles, and two fruits or shells suspended from a nail. Falkener 1852, 73. The spiny object on the left upper corner remains mysterious, perhaps a sea urchin.

¹⁶⁶ Falkener 1852, 73, identified the birds as ostriches; they are more likely herons (*Egretta* sp.), as identified by Antero Tammisto.

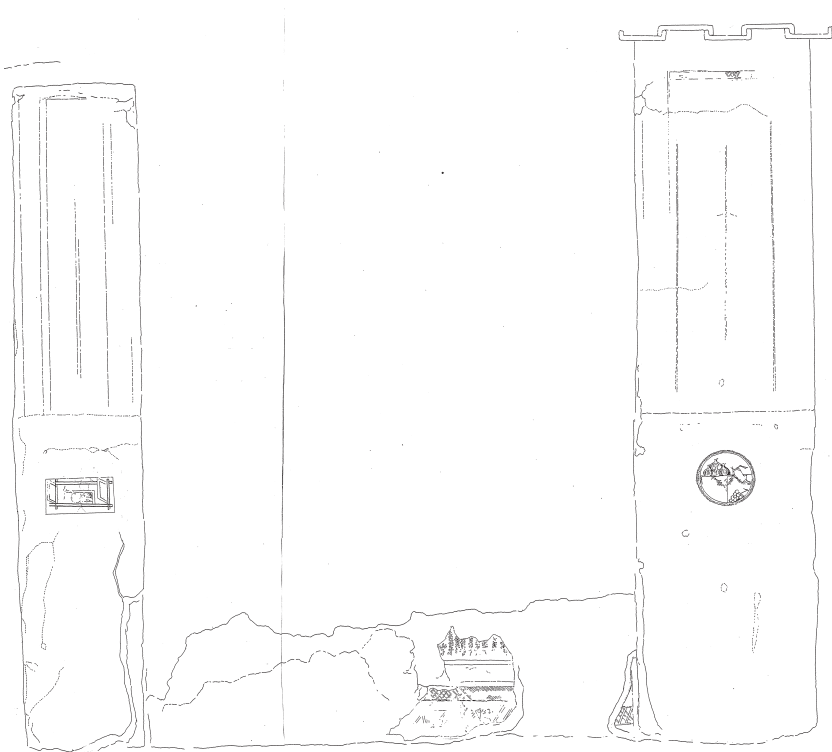


Fig. 118.



Fig. 119.

best-preserved pier. In the upper zone there were architectural features on a white background, separated from the main zone by a yellow band.

On the north side, in the corner of room 20, the pier contains the same kind of decoration. In the yellow socle a white embroidery border with a dice-pattern of five dots, as well as divisions of panels were discerned.

As to the other rooms of this L-shaped house, they originally belonged to the small house IX 3, 24 on the north side of the insula IX 3. This former household consisted of six rooms and a former garden. There are fauces, an atrium, a tablinum, and three cubicula, which were described as being of inferior quality and probably awaiting refurbishment.¹⁶⁷ The paintings are poorly preserved, if at all, but the 1861-miniature model can give us vague ideas.

Room 28

N-S 2.4 m, W-E 1.5 cm; 3.6 m²

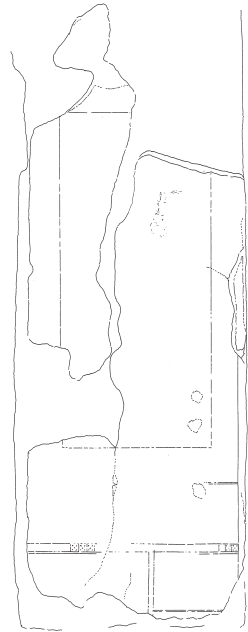


Fig. 120.

The entrance corridor, fauces, is from the small alley Vicolo di Lucrezio.

Bibliography: Bechi 1852, 16; Niccolini 1854, 18; Minervini 1855: 66; Fiorelli 1875, 394; *PPP* III, 443–444.

Floor: *Opus signinum*.

Wall Paintings: Both walls (east and west) have a bipartite decoration separated with a band sloping towards the alley. According to the earlier publications the high socle was black, the upper zone allegedly white.¹⁶⁸ Now only incisions of the sloping band are visible, as well as the differences in the plaster. In the upper zone there originally were horizontal small panels framed with red.¹⁶⁹



Fig. 121.

¹⁶⁷ Falkener 1852, 82–83.

¹⁶⁸ Minervini 1855, 66: “La porta esterna è adorna di due pilastri rivestiti di stucco rosso. L’androne poi ha zoccolo nero e varie riquadrature dipinte su fondo bianco.”

¹⁶⁹ The colours are visible in the scale model in MANN.

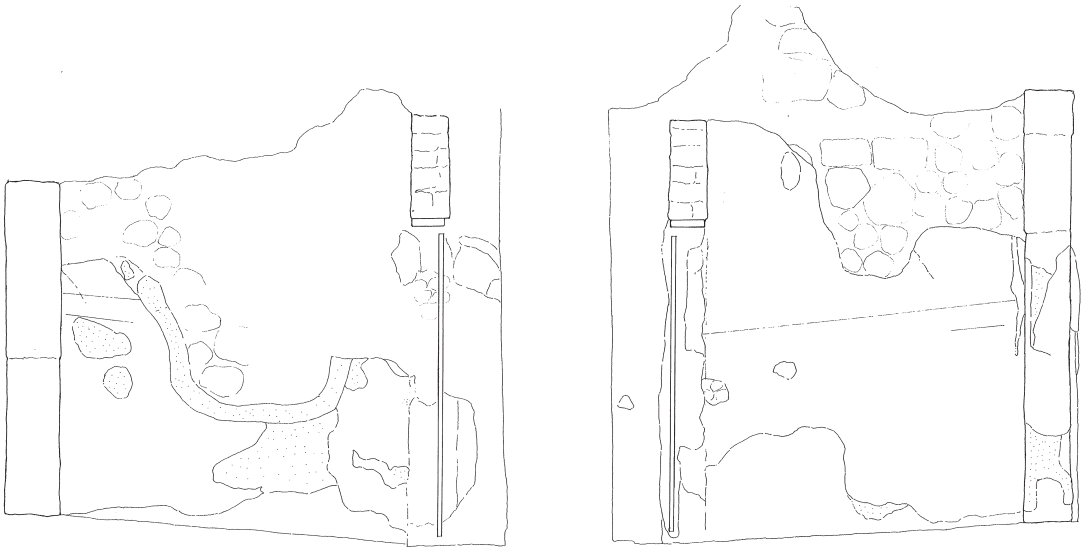


Fig. 122.

Room 29N-S 5.35 m, W-E 8.5 cm; 45.5 m²

The original atrium was painted in a red-black scheme with yellow embroidery borders in the main zone panels. The decorative elements are mostly destroyed, but some details remain in places. The left (east) wall was the only unbroken wall; the right (west) wall containing two bench-like recessed structures.¹⁷⁰ Both the north and south walls were broken into parts by several doorways.

Bibliography: Bechi 1852, 15–6; Falkener 1852, 83–84; Breton 1855, 304; Minervini 1855, 66; Niccolini 1854, 18; *PAH* II, 474; Fiorelli 1875, 394; *PPP* III, 443; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 309–310.

Floor: Opus signinum with crushed lava.



Fig. 123.

¹⁷⁰ Bases for cupboards have been suggested, Niccolini 1854, 18.

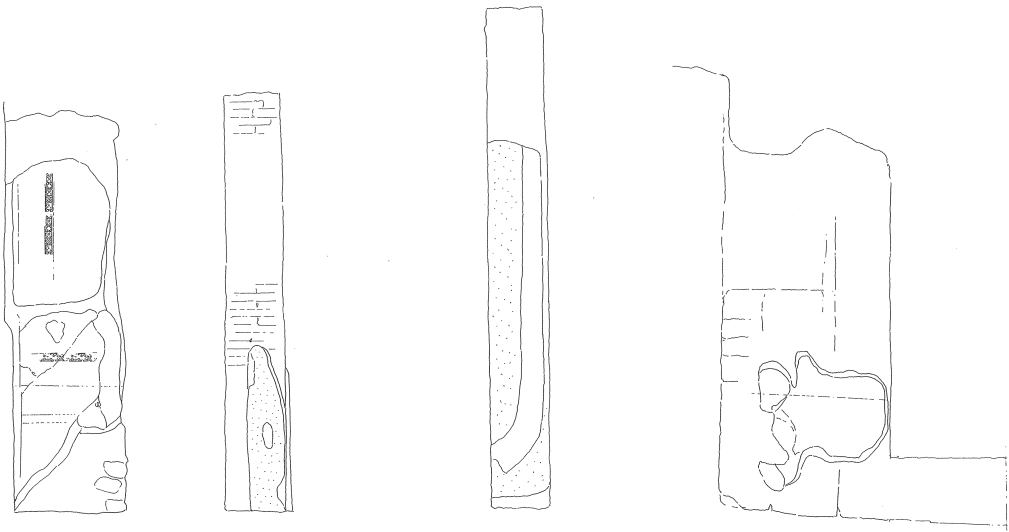


Fig. 124.

Wall Paintings: The black *socle* was divided horizontally with a band with arches, and also vertically into several fields with yellow frames. The *main zone* was divided into several fields, the red colour being visible in the side fields,¹⁷¹ in which there are traces of embroidery borders, e.g., a vertical band extreme on the left of the south wall, with four dots inside lozenges alternating with flowers with four petals. In the black central panel of the east wall there originally was a picture with five human beings,¹⁷² suitably for the most representative wall of the atrium. The colour scheme continues towards the tablinum (33).

Room 30

N-S 2.2–2.6 m, W-E 2.7 m; 6.0 m²

This room is a cubiculum opening onto the atrium (29), with a small window in the upper zone towards the alley in the north. The decoration was divided into three, both horizontally and vertically, in the usual manner.

Bibliography: Bechi 1852, 16; Falkener 1852, 83–84; Niccolini 1854, 18; Minervini 1855, 66; *PAH* II, 470; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 310–311.

¹⁷¹ Minervini 1855, 66: “[–] è decorato di grottesche nelle pareti dipinte in compartimenti rossi e neri.”

¹⁷² Recognised by five pairs of legs, Niccolini 1854, 18; Minervini 1855, 66.

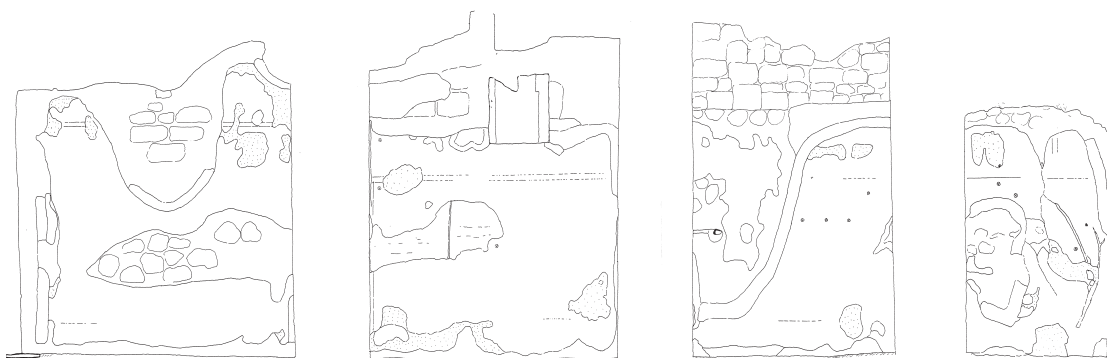


Fig. 125.

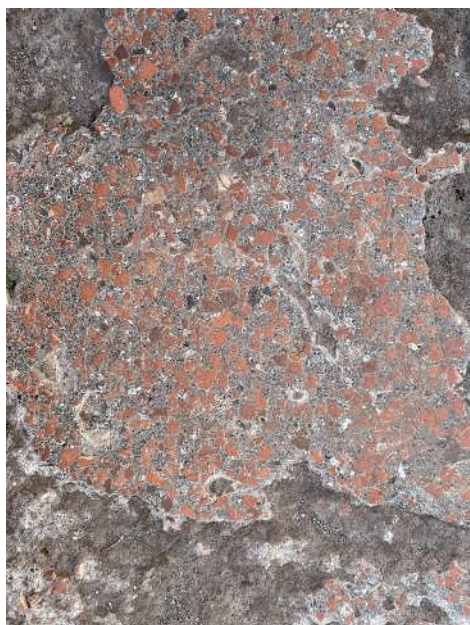


Fig. 126.

Floor: Opus signinum with tiny fragments of crushed tile.



Fig. 127.

Wall Paintings: There are occasional patches of yellow and black background colours. Some dividing lines can be discerned, but nothing remains of the decorative elements of the main zone: busts inside medallions and two flying Cupids, and a central painting on a yellow ochre background divided with candelabra. In the *upper zone* there were animals above a stucco frieze (two deers and two panthers) on a white background.¹⁷³

¹⁷³ Niccolini 1854, 18; Minervini 1855, 66: "In una zona gialla, distinta da candelabri in vari compartimenti,

Room 31 N-S 2.65–3.15 m,
W-E 3.15 m; 8.6 m²

This spacious cubiculum on the right side of the fauces (28) opened onto the atrium (29).

Bibliography: Bechi 1852, 16; Niccolini 1854, 18; Breton 1855, 304; Minervini 1855, 66.

Floor: Opus signinum.

Wall Paintings: Nothing remains of the original decoration, such as the black background of the *socle*, or the white background, with some red or green lines, of the *main zone*.¹⁷⁴ The only notable feature is a rectangular recess in the north wall (towards the atrium) with a pinkish ochre background.



Fig. 128.

Room 32 N-S 2.9 m, W-E 2.1–2.25 m;
6.1 m²

On the east side of the tablinum (33) there is a smaller cubiculum, with a door opening onto the atrium (29).

Floor: Opus signinum made of crushed lava with marble inserts.

Wall Paintings: Even though the wall decoration is nearly lost, it is the best preserved in this part of the house. The walls are bipartite, with a high yellow *socle*,

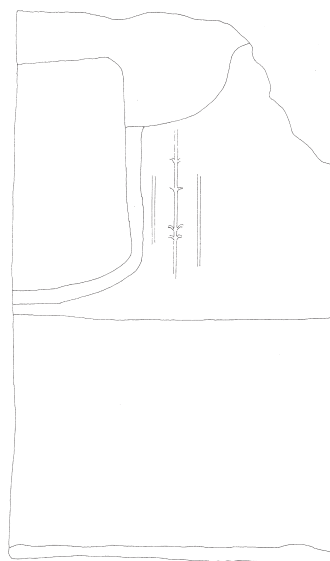


Fig. 129.

appajono in sei dischi sei differenti teste appena visibili, due Amorini volanti, ed un quadretto interamente perduto. Nella zona superiore bianca sono effigari al vivo alcuni animali, fra' quali due cervi e due pantere.”

¹⁷⁴ *ibid.*

a yellow low recess in the east wall, and a white *upper zone*. In the upper zone there are some dividing lines in red, and even a candelabrum with vertical lines in the back (south) wall, and a vertical division in the upper zone of the door (north) wall.

Room 33 N–S 3.28 m, W–E
3.35 m; 11.2 m²

This room, a tablinum, opens towards the south onto the original small garden of House IX 3, 24, now rooms 26 and 27, and with a diagonal view towards the garden (18). On opposite side it is open towards the north, onto the atrium (29). The east and west walls are identically painted; the decoration has now faded, and only the basic design of the



Fig. 130.



Fig. 131.

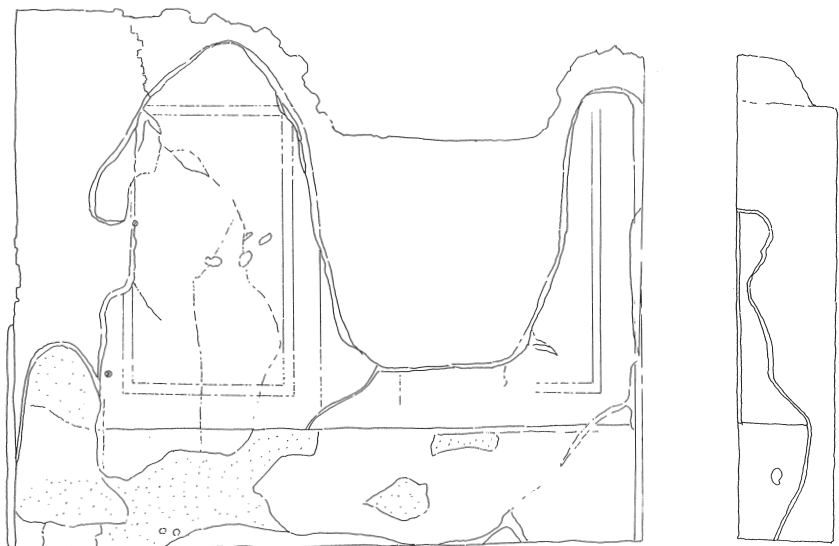


Fig. 132.

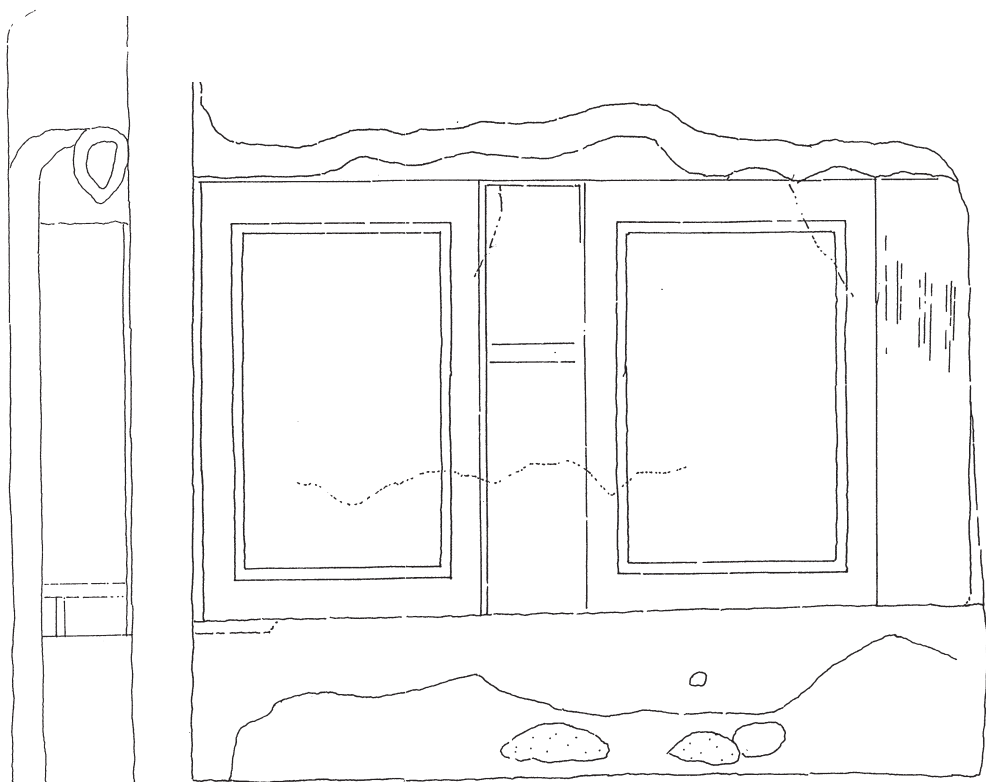


Fig. 133.

decoration is discernible. The *socle* is black¹⁷⁵ and the panels of the *main zone* are red ochre, probably with yellow intervals in the middle and black edges.

Floor: Opus signinum with crushed lava.

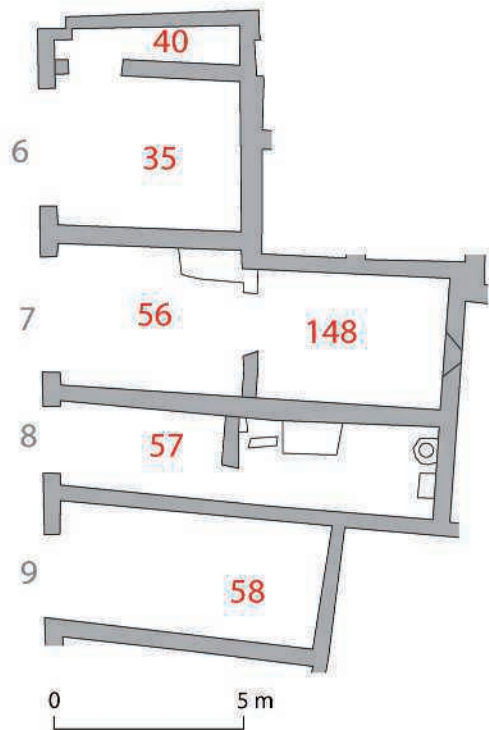
Wall Paintings: The *main zone* is divided into two side fields with a yellow interval, and are closed at either end by two more intervals, forming edges in the south wall on both sides of the opening. The embroidery borders frame the panels of the side fields. According to Niccolini there were floating Cupids in the three remaining panels, the first carrying fruits, the second a vase and a thyrsus, and the third a lyre.¹⁷⁶ There are some divisions in the intervals, perhaps candelabra. The minimal traces of the *upper zone* have lost their colours, but the overall impression is light.

¹⁷⁵ The black colour is according to the model in MANN.

¹⁷⁶ Niccolini 1854, 18. The number three shows that the other panel of the east wall was already destroyed at that time.

House IX 3, 7 N-S 375–
400 cm, W-E 485 cm; 18.9 m²

Originally this small taberna consisted of two rooms and an upper floor. The wall separating the adjoining rooms 56 and 148 [both 1 in *PPM* IX] is now destroyed, so the space appears to be one room. There is a staircase on the northern side. The earlier backroom is narrower than the shop or a workshop by the street, as the outer wall south of rooms 4 and 5 of the House of Marcus Lucretius continues further south than the wall of the neighbouring taberna IX 3, 6.



Bibliography: Panofka 1847b, 144; Panofka 1847c, 127; Pancaldi 1848, 34–35, 51; Minervini 1861, 89–92; Cavedoni 1862, 159–160; Minervini 1862, 163–164; Helbig 1868, 25 (no. 78); Brizio 1870, 46; Zangemeister 1871, 53 (*CIL* IV 882); Jordan 1872, 35–36; Fiorelli 1875, 394; Herrmann – Bruckmann II, pl. 241; Ruesch 1911, 321, (no. 1352); Reinach 159 (no. 8); Elia 1932, 62 (no. 104); Boyce 1937, 84 (no. 415); Schefold 1957, 251; Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 53, 75, 79–80, 148 (no. 59), pl. 17; Della Corte 1965, 191; *PPP* III, 444; Tran Tam Tinh et al. 1988 (*LIMC* IV) s.v. Harpocrates, 436 (no. 304); Fröhlich 1991, 294 (no. L101); Eschebach 1993, 414–415; *PPM Disegnatori* 1995, 367 (no. 183); Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 314–315, 335; Venditto 2006, 184–185 (no. III.50); Ynnilä 2012 II (cat.), 107, 134–135; Koponen 2021, 196–198.

Floor: Opus signinum, undecorated.

Wall Paintings: The wall paintings are mostly destroyed, and large parts of the plaster have fallen even since the documentation campaign of 1977–1980. The back (east) wall is the best-preserved part, in which the *socle* (H ca. 165 cm) contains ca. 75 percent of its reddish plaster. The right (south) wall contains only tiny patches of plaster. On the left (north) wall there is surviving plaster inside and to the left of the rectangular recess, probably a lararium, and above the stone steps to the original first landing in the corner,

after which the space narrows.

In the scale model, the left (north) wall has a red high *socle* and white *main zone*.

The well-known Fourth Style lararium painting representing Isis-Fortuna, MANN 8836 (72 x 79 cm), painted after the earthquake of AD 62, was originally discovered here.¹ It consists of three



Fig. 1.

human figures on a greenish brown terrain, against a white background decorated with greenish blue flowers with four petals with dots between them. On the left there is a smaller youth seen in profile, riding a galloping horse towards the right. He sits astride the horse on a grey blanket lined with blue and holds the reins with his right hand and a double-headed axe (bipennis) in his left. He wears a grey tunic, and a red cloak is wrapped around his shoulders and floats behind his back. His dark hair is adorned with a spiked crown and blue nimbus enclosing it. He has been identified as the god Horus, Lunus, Men, or even *σημασία* and Sol/Helios.²

¹ Pancaldi 1848, 34–35: "Ma che la Casa [IX 3, 5.24] fosse anche dedicata alla alata tirrenica Cerere *Tiche* of *Fortuna*, ne fornisce prova la *Pittura sacra* a fresco d'una nicchia quadrata trovata dietro il muro del gran Quadro della *Iacchica Pompa* corrispondente in una camera adjacente del *Peribolo* (49), un tempo forse prima del terremoto del 63, come pure, in comunicazione mediante anche la porta otturata per situarvi nell' Atrio l'altare distinto forse innalzato all' Araldo *Antemocrito* e com' era in Atene; nella quale Pittura, che mostra una *Bacca* mitrata a cavallo colla bipenne, a sinistra della alata immagine di *Tiche* o *Fortuna*, a dritta vedesi un garzonetto offerente un arula portatile di oblazioni (*liba*), e sopra d'essa leggesi l'iscrizione P. IIO TVS · VOTVM · SOL · LIBES · MERITO". – The endnote (49) explained that "Peribolim erano dette le necessarie adiacenze di un Sacrario", which he considered the House of Marcus Lucretius. Pancaldi's map (fig. 2) shows taberna IX 3, 7 named as D, but only with the southern wall of the House of Marcus Lucretius.

² Panofka 1847c, 128: "il ragazzo a cavallo che spiego per *Horus*, corrisponde al *Phosphorus* dei Greci e fa le veci di dio protettore all'abitante pompeiano Photulus."; Minervini 1861, 91: "il dio Mese o Men, al quale tutti quei simboli si attagliano. [...] . Il dio Mese o Luno ha solare intelligenza."; Cavedoni 1862, 159–160: "Suppongo pertanto, che l'autore del voto corresse qualche grave pericolo nella sua peregrinazione orientale, sia per mare, o sia per le contrade arenose dell'Egitto, e ne attribuisse lo scampo a qualche ostento celeste, *σημασία*; e perciò rappresentasse la *Σημασία* da lato alla *Fortuna*." – For the owner of the small workshop, the idea of travelling to Egypt may have been a step too far. Pancaldi's "una Bacca" does not seem to be a correct identification, Pancaldi 1848, 34.

In the centre stands a taller female figure with blue wings on her shoulders. She stands with her weight on her left foot and rests her right raised foot on a blue globe, which also supports a small rudder. She wears sandals, and a light tunic with pink vertical stripes, and a yellow mantle lined with a swirling red band - or a garland³ - over her left shoulder. She holds a sistrum in her right raised hand and a cornucopia in her left. Her upper body and head are depicted frontally, and she has long brown curly hair and a crescent moon on top of her head. She can be identified as Isis-Fortuna, a rare winged type in Pompeii, inspired by several deities.⁴



Fig. 2.

On the right stands a short nude boy in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile, facing towards the centre. He has small blue wings, and he holds a decorated torch taller than he is with both hands. He has a sharp nose, and his hair is dark and curly. He has been identified as, e.g., Hesperus or Phosphorus (Evening or Morning Star), or only a servant of the goddess.⁵ The painting is framed with garlands in alternating red, yellow, and blue from above and on both sides. Above the top garland was the painted inscription, of which only some letters remain.

The dedicator, P(h)ilocalus, was a typical worshipper of Isis, of the same humble origin as the majority of the inhabitants of the town, and wanted to rival the richer followers of the Egyptian goddess. His Isis was united with Fortuna, the most common syncretistic deity of the Roman world, and known from several depictions in Pompeii. Fortuna's attributes were the rudder, the cornucopia, and the globe (or a wheel), and for Isis they were, e.g., the lotus, the modius, the crescent, and the sistrum.⁶ This painting was most probably located between the recess and the stairs. It was typical to have

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³ Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 75, regards it as a garland of flowers, though simple, but mentioned by Apul. *met.* 11, 3–4.

⁴ Panofka 1847c, 127: "Dea Pantea"; About the identification, e.g. Koponen 2021, 199–200.

⁵ E.g. Panofka 1847c, 128: "un putto alato con una lunga fiaccola, probabilmente *Espero*"; Cavedoni 1862, 160: "anzi che Espero o Fosforo, sia più probilmente un *famulus* della dea."; Minervini 1862, 163: "Un *famulus* della dea, a mio avviso, non doveva offrirsi nè alato nè nudo; particolarità che si addicono ad una divinità: ed a me parve che potessero convenire ad una divinità della luce, come Fosforo, a cui certamente ben si adatta la face, che tiene con ambe le mani."; Helbig 1868, 26, does not identify him at all: "R. steht ein geflügelter Knabe, welcher mit beiden Händen eine Fackel hält."

⁶ Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 53, 79–80.



Fig. 3.

lararium paintings in these kinds of commercial spaces, and Isis-Fortuna, Hesperus, and Harpokrates appeared in several paintings, though the riding Helios-Harpokrates was a new innovation.⁷ The cult of Isis-Fortuna was clearly favoured in the western half of insula IX 3. This taberna may have belonged to a stone carver⁸ who wanted to fulfil his votum by embellishing his shop with an ingenious painting, one which has caused debates among later scholars as well, both about the identification of the syncretistic figures and its location. The smaller figures next to the Isis-Fortuna were mythological figures, and Helios-Harpokrates and Hesperus would have been a good combination.

⁷ Fröhlich 1991, 132–134, 156, 160, 349.

⁸ Eschebach 1993, 414–415. – *PAH* II, 501–502 is a little confusing though.



House IX 3, 10–12

This house is one of the three bakeries in the insula, on its southwest corner, with three entrances, one from the Via Stabiana (10) and two from the Vicolo di Tesmo (11 and 12). There are eight rooms and a garden on a higher level, and an upper floor, as shown by the holes for the supporting beams in the east wall of room (63). The mill and the oven are in room 61, with two lararium paintings. The only other room with wall paintings is the triclinium 67.

Room 61 [(12) a, b, d]N–S 690–925 cm, W–E 525–870 cm; 68.2 m²

This large space was the milling space with the oven of the bakery. The entrance is from the Via degli Augustali, and there are doorways to the shop (59), to the stable (65), to the kneading room (63) and to the rooms at the back of the house (64, 66, 67, 68).

Bibliography: Niccolini 1862, 74; Brizio 1870, 45–46; Trendelenburg 1871, 206–207; Jordan 1872, 19–20, 26–28, 32–35; Fiorelli 1873, 51, 105 (nos. 15–16), 109 (no. 48); Fiorelli 1875, 394–395; Sogliano 1879, 10 (nos. 9–10), (no. 41); Boyce 1937, 83 (nos. 409, 410), pl. 26:1, 20; Schefold 1957, 250; Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 51, 79, 107–108; 147 (no. 58), pl. 14:1; *PPP* III, 444–445; Fröhlich 1991, 56, 65, 107, 132–134, 177, 295 (L102, L103), pl. 45; Sampaolo 1999 (*PPM* IX), 319–322.

Floor: Large volcanic basalt paving slabs around the millstones, otherwise various materials, e.g. opus signinum with no decorative elements.

Wall Paintings: Wall plaster remains only in few places. There has been a bipartite scheme with a high red *socle* (ca. 120 cm) and a white *main zone*. On the entrance (south) wall a lararium painting covered the central part, only little of it remains. The plaster surface on the pillar in the middle of the room has been almost destroyed. In the scale model there is grey plaster on most of the walls.

The lararium painting is on the right-hand side, immediately when entering the bakery from the street. Hardly anything is preserved of the original wide painting on two zones, with the lararium in the upper one. We do have two drawings and several descriptions, starting from 1870, the first one being by E. Brizio in *Giornale degli Scavi*.¹ The arched niche is the only place where



Fig. 1.

¹ Brizio 1870, 45: “[–] evvi incavata una piccola nicchia con entro dipinti fogliami e fiori: i due lati poi della

any painting has been partially preserved, depicting plants with red flowers, possibly oleander. A detailed description is given, e.g. by George K. Boyce:

"[--] an arched niche (h. 0.45, w. 0.38, d. 0.25, h. above the floor 1.60), adorned inside with painted plants having green and brown leaves and red flowers. On the white ground of the wall surrounding the niche are painted these figures: On the r. is Luna, a wreath of leaves upon her head, the upper part of her body nude, the lower part wrapped in a yellowish robe; she is seated upon the back of a running horse which she guides by the reins held in her r.; with both hands she holds a lighted torch. On the l. of the niche stands Isis-Fortuna (0.42), having large green wings; upon her head is the crescent moon with a lotus flower in the center and, above it, a star; she is nude except for a violet robe around the lower part of her body; her r. elbow she rests upon a pillar upon which lies a sistrum; her r. foot she places upon a blue globe; in r. she holds a cornucopia, in l. a rudder. Beside her is Amor, flying, having green wings and holding with both hands a lighted torch. Across the top of the painting runs a festoon of leaves with bunches of grapes. In a zone below the niche are two large, bearded and crested serpents confronted at an altar furnished with egg and pine cone." The painting represents the Fourth style, being thus from the last phase of the room.²

On the west side of the room there is a quadrangular pillar of opus vittatum mixtum, opposite both the entrance door and the oven, to support the upper floor of the building. It was decorated with paintings on three sides, excepting the side towards the wall, all now completely destroyed. A detailed description is quoted again from G. K. Boyce: "[--] a rectangular pillar coated with white stucco to the height of about



Fig. 2.

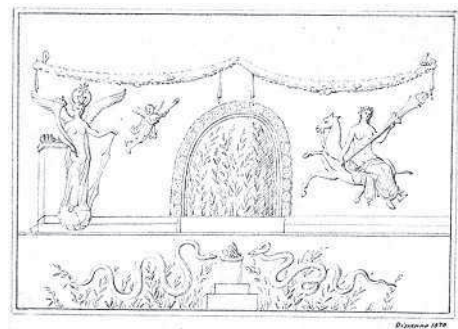


Fig. 3.

nicchia sono fiancheggiati da figure."

² Schefold 1962, 200, dates all lararia depicting Isis-Fortuna of this insula AD 63–79; Fröhlich 1991, 107.

two meters; upon three sides of it are painted the following figures: Upon the principal face, the Genius (0.45), represented with portrait features, wearing the white toga, a fold of which is drawn over his head, and yellow boots, and holding in l. a cornucopia, with his r. pours a libation from a patera upon a cylindrical altar with offerings, around which a huge serpent is coiled. The tail of the serpent continues over on the l. side of the pillar, where a large tree is represented. A second tree stands on the l. side of the altar on the principal face of the pillar. Upon the third face the figure of the Genius appears again, clad in white toga and standing upon the stern of a ship which has its sails spread; he holds cornucopia in l. as usual, but with the r. guides the rudder of the ship. Sogliano calls attention to the unusually brown tinge of the flesh of both these figures of the Genius.”

The scale differs, as the figures of the genii are of different height and even the ship is astonishingly small. The main subject is towards the oven, depicting a genius in the act of libation in a sacred grove, while he is portrayed smaller in his sailing boat. Instead of two genii, Thomas Fröhlich considered the one in the boat a goddess due to the long



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

hair.³ The red paint of the socle is visible on the left (west) wall [d], but in the small kitchen 64 [f] the walls seem to be whitish.⁴

Room 63 [g] N-S 545 cm, W-E 305–355 cm; 16,1 m²

This room was the space for kneading dough (*panificium*), opening only to the large milling and baking space (61).

Bibliography: Fiorelli 1873, 51–52; *PPP* III, 445; Sampaolo 1999, 324.

Floor: Opus signinum made of crushed lava.

Wall Paintings: There is a bipartite scheme with a red *socle* (H 55–65 cm) and a white *main zone*. In the scale model the red socle and lighter upper zone are visible.

Room 66 [h] N-S 290 cm,
W-E 260 cm; 7.2 m²

This is a small passage in the middle of the building leading to the northern part on a higher level (triclinium 67, garden 68).

Bibliography: Fiorelli 1873, 52; Mau 1882, 442.

Floor: Opus signinum.

Wall Paintings: Only some reddish wall plaster remains, but according to Mau there had been simple decorations representing the Third Style. The red *socle* was high, and between it and the *main zone* there was a yellow band. In the scale model the main zone is greyish.



Fig. 6.

³ Fröhlich 1991, 295.

⁴ Sampaolo 1999 (*PPM* IX), 323.

Room 67 [k]N–S 335–385 cm, W–E 450 cm; 15.5 m²

This room to the north of room 63 is a space generally considered a triclinium, or some other representative room, with a view through two windows (west and north wall) towards the small garden 68. The entrance is through the small room 66.

Bibliography: Niccolini 1862, 74; *PAH* II, 502–503; Fiorelli 1873, 52; Fiorelli 1875, 395; Mau 1882, 442; PPP III, 445; Jashemski 1993, 234; Sampaolo 1999 (*PPM* IX), 325.

Floor: Opus signinum made of crushed lava and decorated with small pieces of white stone.

Wall Paintings: The painted decoration is now mainly limited to background colours, the plaster having been preserved haphazardly. The scheme consists of the typical three zones, with a stucco frieze and a lunette for the barrel vault, vaguely visible on the east side. There is a clear joint between the socle and the main zone, and between the main zone and the upper zone.

The red *socle* (H 55 cm) is the best-preserved part of all the walls. In the north and west wall it seems to be divided into two horizontal halves, the lower of which is mostly destroyed, perhaps as a result of an incised line marking the division, even if the remaining parts below are also red. The division between the socle and the central zone is marked by a horizontal band, consisting of a white, a green, and a red stripe.



Fig. 7.

In the *main zone*, on the white (now partially turned blackish) background, there are some red spots, indicating now vanished vertical elements, visible on the north wall. In the upper zone of the east wall there are also some vertical elements in the middle. Shallow stucco moulding separates the upper zone and the lunette.

The adjoining rooms behind the bakery may have been a private apartment, not a dining room for customers, as in the bakery IX 3, 19–20, as one had to enter it through the manufacturing area. The painted decoration representing the Third Style was only modest in quality.⁵

This large bakery had a separate shop, a stable, a mill, and the baking area decorated with two Fourth Style lararium paintings showing the owners syncretistic beliefs. Behind these busy working spaces there was a vaulted triclinium with earlier wall paintings representing the Third Style, giving perhaps some prestige to the room opening onto the garden.

⁵ Mau 1882, 442: “[–] einfache Decoration: weinrother Sockel, hoch 0,55, begrenzt durch einen oben von einer rothen, unter von einer weissen Linie eingefassten grünen Streifen (0,003); darüber sorgfältig geglättete weisse Wandfläche, oben durch ein nur vertical gegliedertes Stuckgesims nach Art des dritten Stils abgeschlossen. Dieselbe Decoration in roherer Ausführung und mit höherem Sockel (1,28) findet sich im Vorzimmer *b*.”

House IX 3, 13

This house was probably the *caupona* of Fabius Celer, a tavern and a large living space behind.¹ It was originally a small *domus*, as is indicated by the atrium (70). There are five rooms, a lightwell, and an upper floor.

Room 69 [a] N–S 420 cm, W–E 530 cm;
21.9 m²

The tavern opens onto the *Via degli Augustali*, and on the back (north) wall there is a doorway and a window to room 70.

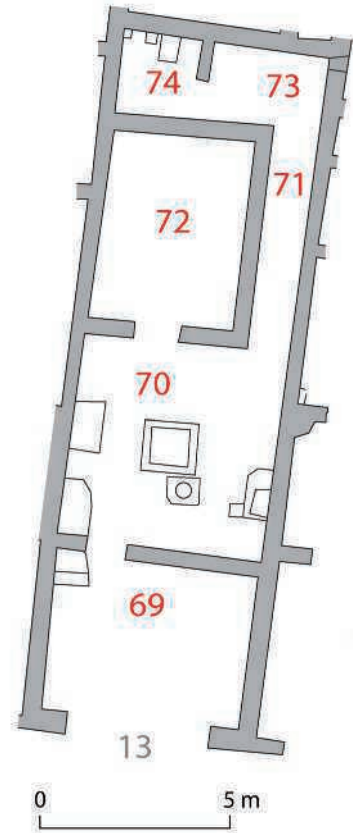
Bibliography: Fiorelli 1873, 52, 106 (no. 24); Fiorelli 1875, 395; Sogliano 1879, 11 (no. 16), 138 (no. 668); Boyce 1937, 83–84 (no. 411); Schefold 1957, 250–251.

Floor: No remains of the original pavement, except the threshold made of large trachyte slabs.

Wall Paintings: The plaster surface is poorly preserved, and no decorative scheme can be seen. On the left (west) wall, under the diagonal line of the staircase, there were some figurative elements in red, a garland on top and three human figures below. This was a *lararium* painting (80 x 120 cm) on a white background, depicting a genius with his characteristic cornucopia and *patera*, and a *lar* on both sides holding a *rhyton* and a *situla*. There were also a caricature of a male head and two fighting gladiators; the combatants were painted red on white, and roughly sketched. In the scale model the walls are greyish.

Room 70 [b] N–S 550 cm, W–E 540 cm; 29.7 m²

This room was the former atrium, with an impluvium, but was used as the backroom, or more likely a kitchen of the tavern, as there were two hearths.² It opens onto the tavern (69), the room behind (72), and the corridor (71) leading to the back of the house.



¹ Eschebach 1993, 416.

² Niccolini 1862, 74; Fiorelli 1873, 52; Fiorelli 1875, 395.

Bibliography: Mau 1882, 442; Schefold 1957, 251.

Floor: In the middle of the room around the impluvium there are remains of a reddish opus signinum made of crushed lava.

Wall Paintings: There were remains of wall paintings of the Third Style containing meagre ivy garlands. According to Mau they resembled those in House VI 7, 1, with white panels, both upright and horizontal, framed with red bands.³ In the scale model this feature is visible on the back (north) wall.



Fig. 1.

Room 72 [d]

N–S 505 cm, W–E 380 cm; 19.1 m²

The room opens only onto the former atrium (70), is likely to have been a representative space, perhaps the triclinium of the original domus, and later used by the clients of the caupona.

Bibliography: Niccolini 1862, 74; Fiorelli 1873, 52; Fiorelli 1875, 395. (With no information about the wall paintings.)

³ Mau 1882, 419, 442.

Floor: In earlier phases of the house an opus signinum pavement, but later only simple mortar.

Wall Paintings: There is a bipartite scheme with a high red socle (H 135–155 cm) and white main zone, still visible on the right (east) and left (west) walls.

The Third Style decoration of this caupona apparently belongs to the period before the commercial use of the old domus. The lararium painting was typical, but depictions of gladiators were not frequent in Pompeian household shrines.⁴



Fig. 2.

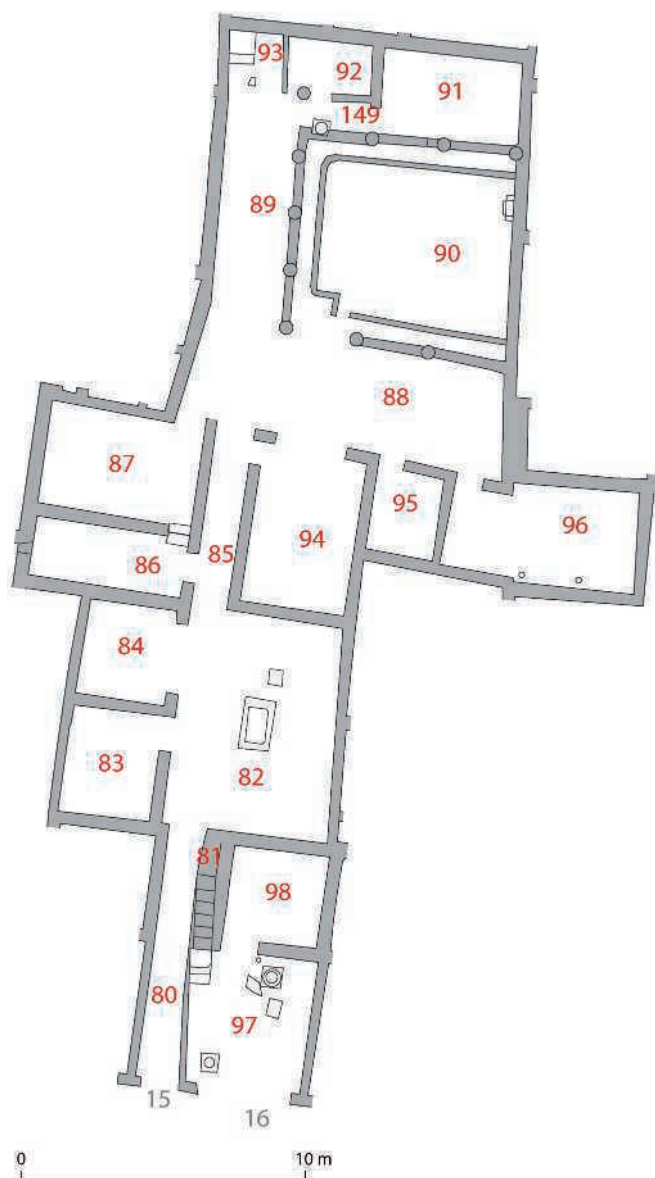


Fig. 3.

⁴ Gladiators or their weapons were depicted, e.g., in their barracks and in the amphitheatre; they appear elsewhere in private houses, such as in the peristyle of I, 3, 3, and in the taberna I 4, 27. Helbig 1868, 372–375 (nos. 1512–1516); Sogliano 1879, 138 (nos. 665–667).

House IX 3, 15

House IX 3, 15 is in the middle of the insula, with an entrance from the Via degli Augustali. The house contains 13 rooms, a peristyle garden, and stairs indicating a second floor. It is the second largest domus of the whole insula, but the entrance is relatively well hidden between the two neighbouring tabernae. Its plan is unconventional, with some asymmetric features. It is known as *Domus Philocali*, named according to a now-removed painting, MANN 8836, of disputed place of discovery in this insula.¹ There were elements of First and Third Style paintings, but Second Style decoration prevails, dating mostly to the first century BC. Mau regarded these paintings as depicting the same simple elements, with only the socle and cornice decorated, as in the *Casa del Labirinto* VI 11, 10.²



¹ Eschebach 1993, 416; Fiorelli 1875, 396, does not use this name, and the painting is not from this house, see p. 255–256.

² Mau 1882, 237.

On the pier between the entrances of the neighbouring taberna IX 3, 14 and the entrance IX 3, 15, there was a painting of Mercurius and Minerva (54 x 70 cm), now destroyed but known from earlier descriptions.³ In that painting, a colourfully robed Mercurius dashes to the right with a purse in his left hand, and an armed Minerva stands on the right. In the façade there are remains of grey plaster on the left doorpost.

Room 80 [a]

N–S 940 cm, W–E 155–190 cm; 11.2 m²

The entrance is through a very long and narrow corridor, forming a south-north axis, which culminates further back in a kitchen-latrine beyond the peristyle. On the right-hand side of this corridor there is an arched recess, and next to it a small latrine under the stairs leading upstairs.

Bibliography: Mau 1882, 282; Schefold 1957, 251; *PPP* III, 445; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 329.

Floor: Crushed white marble set in white plaster. Also the pavement in front of the house is the same.

Wall Paintings: Some remains of yellow wall plaster inside the recess below the staircase are still visible. Mau observed a yellow Second Style *socle* with a red band on top.⁴



Fig. 1.

Room 82 [c]

N–S 760 cm, W–E 540–585 cm; 42.8 m²

The long corridor (80) leads to the spacious atrium (82) with an impluvium, opening onto two rooms (83, 84) on the west side, and to a door leading to another corridor (85) in the north. The axial element is asymmetrical, as all the doors are on the west side, and the impluvium is more to the right, even if in the centre of the atrium.

³ Niccolini 1862, 74; Trendelenburg 1871, 209; Fiorelli 1875, 396; Sogliano 1879, 9 (no. 1); Fröhlich 1991, 331 (no. F62).

⁴ Mau 1882, 282.

Bibliography: Mau 1882, 129, 282; Schefold 1957, 251; *PPP* III, 445; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 330.

Floor: Opus signinum.

Wall Paintings: There were very simple Second Style paintings in the atrium, consisting of a yellow *socle*, white *main zone*, and a purple band,⁵ in accordance with the fauces (80). Faded plaster surfaces are partially visible on the back (north) wall and the left (east) outer wall, towards the neighbouring houses IX 3, 17 and IX 3, 19–20. The two other walls preserve very small spots of plaster. In the scale model of Pompeii, some grey or white colour can be seen on all the walls.



Fig. 2.

Room 84 [e] N–S 345 cm, W–E 310 cm; 10.6 m²

This room, on the west side of the atrium (82) and north of the cubiculum (83), may have been used as a tablinum due to its wide opening,⁶ if not as an ala.

⁵ Mau 1882, 129.

⁶ Niccolini 1862, 74; Fiorelli 1875, 396.

Bibliography: *PPP* III, 445; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 331.

Floor: *Opus signinum* made of tiny pieces of bricks, and with white irregular marble (Carrara) fragments sparsely set inside a centrally positioned quadrangular frame, starting from the threshold.



Fig. 3.

Wall Paintings: Plaster is sporadically preserved on the back (west), right (north) wall and in both doorposts. It was still strongly attached in 2009 on the upper half of the north wall but had fallen off by 2011. There are some faint traces of the high yellow *socle* (H ca. 105 cm), separated by a joint from the white *main zone*, now turned grey or black in places. In the scale model it is divided into three fields with red bands. The top consists of horizontal imitation marble plates outlined with red lines.

Room 85 [f] N–S 650–700 cm, W–E 125 cm; 8.6 m²

Another long and narrow corridor unites the atrium (82) with the peristyle garden (90). It gives access to cubiculum (86) on the left and triclinium (94) on the right. It now offers an unimpeded view towards the summit of Mount Vesuvius, although it would have been obstructed during antiquity by the upper floor.

Bibliography: Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 330.

Floor: No proper floor was found.

Wall Paintings: Some traces of white or pinkish plaster are preserved in the lower corners on both sides. In the scale model the east, south and west walls are greyish.

Room 86 [g] N–S 210 cm, W–E 540 cm; 10.6 m²

The small room on the left side of the corridor (85) is a narrow cubiculum with an alcove on its left (south) wall. The best-preserved Second Style wall paintings of this house are located here. This room was one of the possible locations of the painting depicting

Isis-Fortuna (MANN 8836).⁷ Due to the narrow size of the room and relatively well-preserved walls, without any signs of cutting out a central panel, the painting would have been a less than ideal fit for this room, and more suitable for any lararium with the right measurements, or a façade. There is a window in the upper zone of the back (west) wall to room (73), a light well in the neighbouring house IX 3, 13. There is also a door in the north-east corner opening to the neighbouring room (87) over a trachyte block step.

Bibliography: Mau 1882, 282; Schefold 1957, 251; *PPP* III, 445–446; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 332–333; Heinrich 2002, 47.

Floor: Opus signinum.

Wall Paintings: All the walls were decorated with similar Second Style design,⁸ preserved in best cases up to the middle main zone (H ca. 200 cm): a yellow *socle* (H 90 cm), a wide dark red band (H 15–18 cm) above, lined with black. On the right (north) wall, in the white *main zone*, there are now traces of two panels (W 105 cm) of the original five, framed with red and black; the divisions between them were made with incised lines. In the scale model the main zone is separated from the white *upper zone* with two red horizontal lines.



Fig. 4.

Room 87 [h]

N–S 360 cm, W–E 550 cm; 18.9 m²

This larger room opens from its east side both onto the cubiculum (86) in the south and onto the peristyle 90 in the north. It may have been a reception room, an oecus.⁹

⁷ Zangemeister 1871, 53 (*CIL* IV 882). See p. 255.

⁸ Mau 1882, 282: “gelber Sockel, violetter Gurt zwischen zwei schwarzen Linien; weisser Grund, durch schwarze Linien in breitere und schmalere Rechtecke getheilt, in denen der Fugenschnitt durch rothe Linien bezeichnet ist. Oben durch einen wie im ersten Stil vortretenden violetten Gurt abgeschlossen.”

⁹ Niccolini 1862, 74.

Bibliography: Mau 1882, 282; Schefold 1957, 251; *PPP* III, 446; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 334–336.

Floor: Opus signinum.

Wall Paintings: The preserved plaster is now greyish or pinkish, visible on three walls excepting the east wall, and in poor condition already in the 19th century. On the north wall some features of the Second Style are visible: the faded red of the *main zone*, and below it a grey band, if not part of the whole *socle* originally black, but now destroyed (H 85 cm). There are two vertical string courses separating the panels.

This room was another candidate for the location of the Isis-Fortuna painting (MANN 8836). Depending on the wall, the plaster is preserved mostly up to ca. 130 cm, but in the west corner of the south wall up to ca. 200 cm. In the west wall there are narrow diagonal patches of plaster higher up in the middle of the wall, which would have been an ideal central panel, but eliminates this as a place for the Isis-Fortuna painting due not even a small stretch of a rectangular cut being discernible.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.

Room 90 [k, i]¹⁰ Portico N–S 385 + 875 cm, W–E 1110 cm; 60.9 m² and Garden N–S 740 cm, W–E 750 cm; 50.9 m²

The peristyle portico and the garden form the northern side of House IX 3, 15, together with the kitchen-lavatory (92, 93). The possible triclinium behind (91)¹¹ was enclosed later by walling up the intercolumniation of the northeast side, creating a L-shaped portico instead of the original three-sided one. Large areas of the walls are still covered with plaster of undefined colour, mostly greyish or reddish.

Bibliography: Mau 1882, 344, 442; Schefold 1957, 251; *PPP* III, 446; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 337–339.

¹⁰ In the documentation by EPUH the portico [i] is 88 and 89, and the garden [k] 90.

¹¹ The entrance to this possible triclinium [l] was next to the kitchen, and the space was functionally decorated with a bipartite design: a high socle (160 cm) of reddish opus signinum, and a white main zone.

Floor: Mostly opus signinum, but in the southern portico there are pieces of white marble set in white plaster.

Wall Paintings: The plaster surface has almost completely disappeared or at least lost its decorative Third Style features, e.g. the east wall of the southern portico contained ca. 45 percent of plaster in a photo taken during the campaign of 1977–1980, and now only ca. 25 percent.

Right (east) wall: The east wall without columns represented the Third Style; the supposedly symmetrical design of the wall painting was broken by the lararium inserted to the left of the centre point.¹² It was an aedicula (W 85 cm; DPT 30 cm; H 70 cm), with a rectangular recess underneath and a sacred space comprised of a deep semi-circular recess above. The interior was painted white and decorated throughout with red pomegranates;¹³ now the plaster has fallen in places: The exterior is covered with white stucco, the tympanum was partially blue, and the edges were highlighted with red stripes.¹⁴ The wall itself is greyish, except in the southern portico the remains of the *socle* are black and the *main zone* is red.



Fig. 8.

Left (west) wall: There are remains of red plaster in the *socle*, otherwise the decoration representing the Third Style has been destroyed.

Room 94 [o]

N–S 545–565 cm, W–E 385–410 cm; 20,2 m²

This large room was a reception space, probably a triclinium¹⁵ due to the recess for a

¹² Mau 1882, 344.

¹³ The pomegranates have been previously identified as red flowers or irregular spots, e.g. Boyce 1937, 84; *Pompeii in Pictures* IX 3, 18, room 12.

¹⁴ Boyce 1937, 84, 414, pl. 34, 1.

¹⁵ Niccolini 1862, 74, and Fiorelli 1875, 396: exedra; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 328.

kline in the south end of the left (west) wall. There are now two openings, a narrow door to the long corridor (85), and a wider opening towards the peristyle (90). There used to be a third door opening in the back (south) wall to the atrium (82), which was closed and not included in the existing wall decoration. This section was covered with rougher plaster and left unpainted.¹⁶

Bibliography: Mau 1882, 282; Schefold 1957, 251; *PPP* III, 446–447; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 340–341.

Floor: *Opus signinum* decorated with pieces of marble and mosaic tesserae. In the centre of the floor, there is a circle (D ca. 135 cm) and a rosette with six petals inside, all made of white marble pieces, and a larger centrepiece. The southern half of the circle is better preserved.



Fig. 9.

Wall Paintings: On the back (south) wall there are indications of a tripartite design, with joints between the sections clearly discernible. The red *socle* (H 85 cm) was separated from the *main* zone by a wide yellow band (H ca. 12 cm) and a narrower dark band (H ca. 8 cm) above. The surface of the closed door now appears darker than the rest of the wall.

In the right (west) wall the design is the same as shown by the colours of the plaster in the south corner, which preserves the surface plaster to the height of the upper zone (H ca. 300 cm).¹⁷ Inside the recess in the left (east) wall the colours are relatively well preserved in two different parts split by modern restorations and areas without any plaster, exposing various pieces of bricks. The colour changes from red to purple and is apparent in the lower back wall and in the right (south) wall of the *socle* of the separately made recess. Otherwise, the plaster surface of the east wall is preserved in the middle of

¹⁶ According to Mau the plaster differed on each of the closed doors, Mau 1882, 282.

¹⁷ In the scale model, the main zone on the west wall is white with divisions into at least two panels in red. The upper edge is marked with a wider red band.



Fig. 10.

the *main zone*, in the northeast corner, and the pier. The decoration represents the same simple Second Style as in the other rooms of this house, but leaving the closed door undecorated certainly diminished the representativeness of the space, which offered a wide view towards the garden and its entrance.

Room 95 [p] N–S 290–345 cm, W–E 240 cm; 6.9 m²

There is irregularly preserved plaster in the smaller room on the south side of the peristyle, east of the larger triclinium (94). There is a doorway in the northwest corner, and a round window, an oculus (D ca. 25 cm), splayed inwards, in the middle of the north wall. There was another door opening in the east wall to the neighbouring larger room (96), which was later blocked and plastered separately. This room was a cubiculum, as is shown by a very low and narrow alcove in the east wall. There are remains of both the First and the Second Style paintings.

Bibliography: Mau 1882, 282–283; Schefold 1957, 251; *PPP* III, 447; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 341–344.

Floor: Opus signinum. In the centre there are flowers with four petals, made of white tesserae, and one black in the middle.

Wall Paintings: The First Style is indicated by two moulded beams, visible on three walls excepting the south. The lower one (H ca. 20 cm) is ca. 200 cm above the floor level, and the higher (H ca. 10 cm) is yellow and ca. 280–290 cm above floor level. Between the beams the string mark was painted wine red, and the isodomic course in violet, green, and yellow.¹⁸ The lower beam was left to separate the upper zone from the Second Style main zone and socle.¹⁹

In the back (south) wall the *socle* (H ca. 70 cm) was painted red but is now split by modern repairs. On top of the socle was a whitish band (H ca. 10 cm). The black *main zone* was divided into two wide fields (W 90 cm) in the middle, and into two narrower ones (W ca. 35 cm) on the sides, by yellow horizontal and vertical bands. The right (west) side wall was divided into three wider fields (W ca. 70 cm) in the middle and two narrower fields (W ca. 35 cm) on the sides. The plaster in the middle and on the right edge is not preserved. In the left (east) wall the blocked door is not included in the existing wall decoration. It is covered with darker reddish plaster. Also, the minimal alcove is later, and the division of fields is visible only in the middle of the main zone.

This is an interesting room thriftily utilizing decorations of two styles and containing a rare oculus for ventilation. Unfortunately, the partly undecorated wall in this room diminished the charm of the space.



Fig. 11.

¹⁸ Mau 1882, 282–283: “Die Wand wird oben abgeschlossen durch einen epistylartigen vorspringenden Gurt. Weiter unten war noch ein ähnliches vorspringendes Zwischenglied angebracht; zwischen beiden zwei Reihen liegender Rechtecke, wechselnd violett, grün und gelb, alle mit einem zweiten, weinrothen Rande.“

¹⁹ The relief stucco bands were blue in the scale model.

The house IX 3, 15 is irregular in its form, and in order to allow light and ventilation there were small upper windows. It contained the only proper peristyle garden of the whole insula. The modestly preserved paintings display almost exclusively the basic colours of the socles and main zones, in some with field divisions. According to Mau, it was simple and old-fashioned: “in denen kein anderes Motiv als das der Incrustation mit Gesims und Sockel vorkommt. Sie sind insofern noch alterthümlicher, als hier in einem Zimmer in den liegenden Rechtecken oberhalb des Gesimses die bekannten drei Farben des ersten Stils regelmässig wechseln; jedes dieser Rechtecke hat freilich ausser dem gleichfarbigen noch einen rothen Rand.”²⁰ Many decorative parts were painted in the first century BC. The renovation seems to have been ongoing, but the new parts had not yet been fitted into the conservative design, only replaced when needed.

²⁰ Mau 1882, 237.



House IX 3, 19–20

The nearly L-shaped house, located in the southeast corner of the insula, is composed of a large bakery (113, 115, 116, 119)¹, a possible shop-room of the bakery (108), a group of decorated representational spaces or triclinia (109, 110, 112), several undecorated rooms (114, 117–121, 124)², as well as a decorated garden (123) with a lararium and a

¹ Fiorelli indicated rooms in IX 3, 19 with letters a–d, and in the bakery IX 3, 20 itself with letters a–l.

² Some of these had a simple coloured plaster, e.g. the preparatory room of the bakery 119 [d] with a high socle of opus signinum and a white upper zone, or in the room 121 [h], a space for washing grain with a rough opus signinum floor with tiles, had only greyish plaster on its walls. Monteix 2010, 281–282.

stairway leading to the upper floor, which probably housed the residential area. There are two entrances to the house, one from the Via degli Augustali leading to the room (108), and another from the Vicolo di Tesmo leading directly to the open milling space of the bakery (113) with a masonry bench outside. The house is named after a graffito in the stairway stating *Hic domus Papiriu Sabinium*.³ There is a painted electoral inscription on the exterior wall between IX 3, 20 and IX 3, 21, to the right of the bakery door: A(ulum) Vettium Caprasium // Felicem aed(ilem) v(iis) a(edibus) sacr(is) p(ublicis) p(rocurandis) vicini rogant.⁴

Room 108 [a] N–S 5 m, W–E 5–5.5 m; 25.8 m²

This was probably the shop-room through which a corridor (111) led to the milling space (113) and further to the bakery (115, 116, 119). It opens onto two triclinia (109, 110), and there was a staircase to the upper floor.

Bibliography: Fiorelli 1873, 53; Fiorelli 1875, 397; Sampaolo 1999 (*PPM IX*), 348.⁵

Floor: An earlier floor as a threshold to the small triclinium (110) in opus signinum with a geometrical pattern survives under a later pavement. It is made with rows of black, white, grey and green tesserae forming five large rectangles with smaller concentric rectangles inside and an additional line on the short sides, as well as a flower with five or six petals in the middle.



Fig. 1.

Wall Paintings: The left (west) wall preserves a ca. 2 m² fragment of plaster painted with red ochre in the socle between the doorway to room 109 and the right corner of the wall.

³ *CIL IV* 5065; Della Corte 1954, 160–161.

⁴ *CIL IV* 3687.

⁵ There is no information on the pavement under the later floor, nor on the wall paintings.



Fig. 2.

Room 109 [c]N–S 470 cm, W–E 440 cm; 20.5 m²

This is the second largest of the three triclinia with an entrance through the shop-room (108) and a window to the other large triclinium (112). The decoration's state of preservation is relatively good due to the protection provided by the roof. On the back (west) wall ca. 80% of the original plaster surface remains; on the right (north) wall ca. 60%, on the left (south) wall ca. 75%, and on the door (east) wall ca. 50%. The upper zone is poorly preserved in all except the back (west) wall. Of the colours used, the yellow ochre has turned red in parts of the main zone and all of the upper zone, as a consequence of being exposed to the hot gasses of the AD 79 eruption, and the black has worn out almost completely.⁶ The large window between rooms 109 and 112 could be contemporary with the decoration, since it fits in the central panel of the main zone rather symmetrically on both sides. The room has been covered with a modern concrete roof.

⁶ P. 284. – The plaster is comprised of two coats of preparatory plaster and one coat of finishing stucco. There is a visible joint between the finishing stucco layers of the socle and the main zone, and the main zone and the upper zone.

Bibliography: Fiorelli 1875, 397–398; *PPP* III, 447–448; *PPM* IX, 348–351; Lorenz 2008, 610.

Floor: Rough *opus signinum*.

Wall Paintings: There is a typical tripartite design: the socle is purple, the main zone with alternating red, yellow and black panels, and the upper zone is white. The central panels of the main zone enclose traces of frames, but the central pictures, if there were any, were made on the same red background and were probably modest, leaving no traces in the plaster, and are not marked in the scale model. In the middle of each side panel there is a circle incised in the plaster with a compass, used to place a figurative detail, which is only preserved in two cases showing an antelope and probably a peacock pecking at a fruit basket or a fruit. A *cyma reversa* stucco moulding runs above the upper zone next to the ceiling. At least two types of modern plaster have been used to patch and fill some minor fractures and to consolidate the edges of the remaining plaster surface next to collapsed areas.

Back (west) wall: The *socle* (H 70 cm) has a dark purple background and is divided by white bands into five panels, corresponding to the panels of the main zone and four narrow compartments matched to the vertical structures between the panels in the main zone. The socle is spattered densely with at least yellow and white paint.

The *main zone* is divided into five panels by clusters of white bands. The central panel is dark red (W 110 cm, H 150 cm). The side panels framing the central panel are yellow (W 75 cm, H 140 cm), but the yellow ochre of the paint has turned red in most of the upper part of the panels. The side panels closest to the corners are black (W 75 cm, H 140 cm), but the colour has worn out almost entirely.

The outer frames of the central panel seem to have been formed of an aedicula-type structure with a low gable pediment, the outlines of which are followed by the borderline between the stucco coats of the main zone and the upper zone, rising slightly higher than the rest of the main zone. The vertical structure/cluster of bands supporting the pediment preserve traces of green and yellow paint. The central panel encloses a rectangular frame (W 78 cm, H 110 cm) formed by embroidery borders (W 5 cm) with a palmettes inside triangle pattern. The outlines of the frame are incised in the plaster. Inside the frames are traces of a further rectangle, incised in the plaster (W 63 cm, H not preserved, H from the floor ca. 130 cm). This would have been the frame of the central picture, of which there are no traces on the red background. The representation of the decoration in the MANN scale model shows no central picture distinguishable from the red background of the panel.

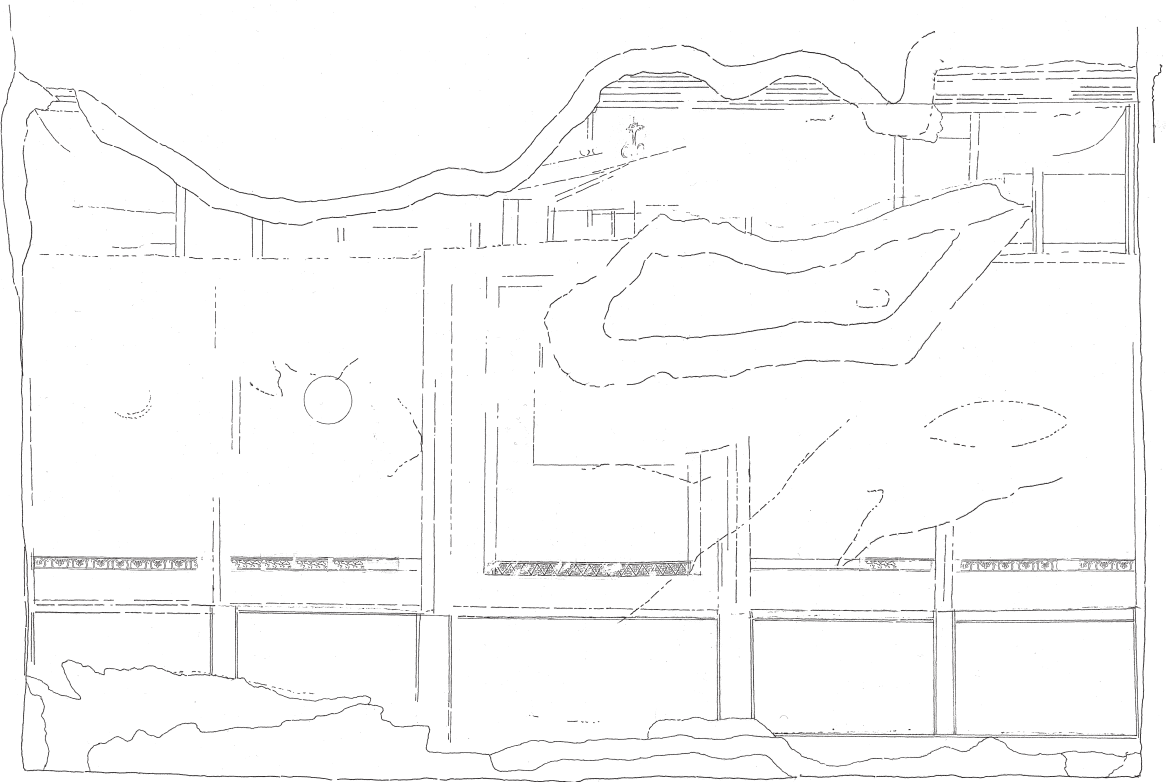


Fig. 3.

In the yellow side panels, a horizontal embroidery border runs across the lower third of the panels at a height of ca. 83 cm from the floor (approximately on the same level as the foot of the embroidery border-frame in the central panel). Its pattern is unclear, but it was probably made with white paint. In the panel to the left there is a circle incised in the plaster with a compass (D ca. 20 cm) at a height of ca. 144 cm from the floor. No traces remain of the encircled figure. The vertical dividing structures between the yellow side panels and the black side panels were composed of white bands on dark purple and yellow.

In the black side panels a horizontal embroidery border runs across the lower third of the panels at a height of ca. 83 cm from the floor, like in the yellow panels. Its pattern, upside-down fleurs-de-lis inside brackets, is preserved in the rightmost panel and was painted with yellow. In the leftmost panel there is a circle incised in the plaster with a compass (D ca. 20 cm) at a height of ca. 143 cm from the floor. No traces remain of the encircled figure, or whatever decoration the circle was meant to guide. There are dark yellow vertical borders without any preserved pattern between the panels and the corners of the room.

The *upper zone* of the wall is preserved up to the height of ca. 270 cm from the floor, where there is a cyma reversa stucco moulding (H ca. 16 cm, projection ca. 4,5 cm) with traces of white and red (possibly originally yellow) paint. The background of the upper zone is painted white. There are incised lines in the plaster, giving some idea of the painted structures that would have crowned the panels of the main zone. According to the scale model, which concurs with the rest in all essentials, the vertical dividing elements between the yellow and black side panels would have been crowned in the upper zone by rectangular compartments, like simple aediculae, with garland-like bands hanging from their eaves. The pediment of the aedicula of the central panel of the main zone would have probably been crowned with more aedicula-like structures. The capitals of two red candelabra are preserved next to the stucco moulding above the central panel, positioned symmetrically on both sides of the central axis of the wall ca. 20 cm from each other.

Right (north) wall: The *socle* (H 70 cm) has a dark purple background and is divided by white bands into five panels, corresponding to the panels of the main zone, and four narrow compartments, corresponding to the vertical structures between the panels in the main zone. The socle is spattered densely with at least yellow and white paint.

The *main zone* is divided into five panels by clusters of white bands. The central panel is dark red (W. 115 cm, H. not preserved). The side panels framing the central panel are yellow (W 70 cm, H not preserved), but the yellow ochre of the paint has turned red in the panel to the right and in the upper part of the panel to the left. The side panels closest to the corners are black (W 70 cm, H 140 cm), but the colour has worn out almost entirely.

The vertical cluster of bands between the central panel and the yellow panels preserve traces of green and yellow paint. The central panel encloses what is preserved of a rectangular frame (W 80 cm) formed by embroidery borders (W 5 cm) with a palmettes inside-triangles pattern. The outlines of this frame are incised in the plaster. An incised vertical line inside this frame would have marked the foot of a central picture (H from the floor 122 cm), of which there are no traces. On its place there is, at a height of ca. 145 cm from the floor, a window (W 80 cm, H ca. 130 cm by a modern beam) to the neighbouring room 112. The window is placed roughly on the central axis of the wall.

In the yellow side panels a horizontal embroidery border with palmettes, painted with white paint, runs across the lower third of the panels at a height of 74–84 cm from the floor (approximately on the same level as the bottom side of the embroidery-border-frame in the central panel). Both panels preserve a circle incised in the plaster with a compass (D ca. 20 cm) at a height of 136–140 cm from the floor. Inside the circle in the

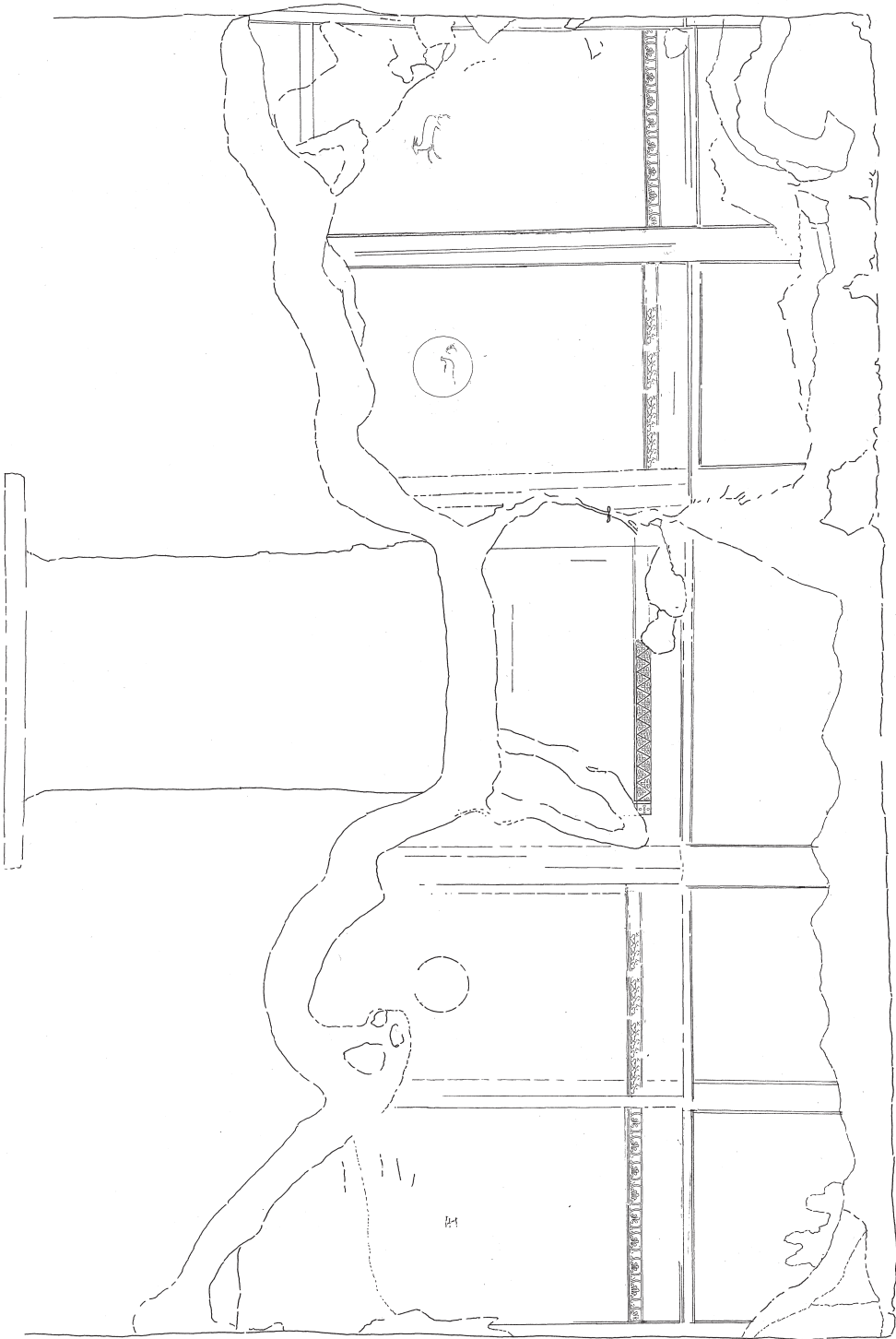


Fig. 4.

panel to the right there is a peacock painted with purple, blue, and beige, pecking at a basket of fruit, or a large piece of fruit. The background of the circle seems to have been painted white. The vertical dividing structures between the yellow side panels and the black side panels were composed of white bands on dark purple and yellow.



Fig. 5.

In the black side panels a horizontal embroidery border runs across the lower third of the panels at a height of 174–184 cm from the floor – like the yellow panels. Its pattern, upside-down fleurs-de-lis inside brackets, was painted with yellow. Neither of the panels present compass-incised circles for the central figures, but the figures themselves have left incisions on both panels. The figure on the one to the left is illegible, but the one to the right shows clear outlines of an antelope (ca. 20 cm x 10 cm) at a height of ca. 145 cm from the floor. Above the figure, at a height of ca. 187 cm from the floor, there are vertical incisions, probably marking an embroidery border running across the upper part of the panel.

Nothing is preserved of the *upper zone*.

Left (south) wall: The *socle* (H ca. 70 cm) has a dark purple background and is divided by white bands into five panels, corresponding to the panels of the main zone, and four narrow compartments, corresponding to the vertical structures between the panels in the main zone. The socle is spattered densely with yellow, white, black, and green paint.

The *main zone* is divided into five panels by clusters of white bands. The central panel is dark red (W 120 cm, H 150 cm). The side panels framing the central panel are yellow (W 70 cm, H 145 cm), but the yellow ochre of the paint has turned red in the panel to the left and in the upper part of the panel to the right. The side panels closest to the corners are black (W 70–75 cm, H 145 cm), but the colour has worn out almost entirely.

There are incisions in the plaster marking the dividing structures between the panels. The framing aedicula, if there was one, had a flat roof, not a pediment like on the back (west) wall. Its outlines are traced by the borderline between the stucco coats of

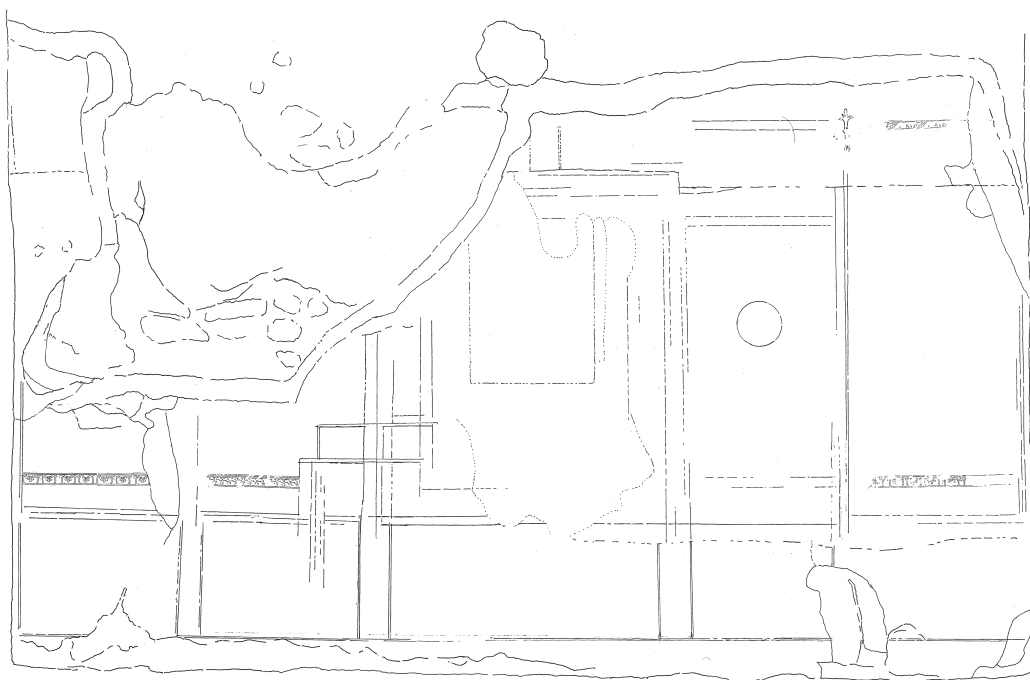


Fig. 6.

the main zone and the upper zone, rising slightly higher than the rest of the main zone. Inside the central panel there would have probably been a rectangular frame formed by embroidery borders with a palmettes inside-triangles pattern, like on the neighbouring walls. There are rather clear incisions framing the possible central picture (W 45 cm, H 71 cm, H from the floor ca. 125 cm), but there are no traces inside them on the red background.

In the yellow side panels a horizontal embroidery border with palmettes, painted with white paint, runs across the lower third of the panels at a height of 80–85 cm from the floor (clearly preserved only in the panel to the left). In the panel to the right there is a circle incised in the plaster with a compass (D ca. 20 cm) at a height of ca. 145 cm from the floor, marking the spot for a figure painting, of which nothing remains. Above the circle, at a height of ca. 195 cm from the floor, there are vertical incisions, probably marking an embroidery border running across the upper part of the panel.

In the black side panels a horizontal embroidery border runs across the lower third of the panels at a height of ca. 80–85 cm from the floor, like in the yellow panels. Its pattern, upside-down fleurs-de-lis inside brackets, was painted with yellow (clearly preserved only in the panel to the left). There are no traces of a compass-incised circle in the entirely preserved panel to the right.

The *upper zone* of the wall is preserved up to a height of ca. 260 cm from the floor. The background of the upper zone is painted white. There are traces of vertical embroidery borders with an arched palmette-pattern above the right-hand side panels of the main zone. A candelabrum continues the vertical structure, dividing the yellow side panel from the black side panel in the main zone. These are all painted with red.

Entrance (east) wall: The *socle* (H ca. 70 cm) has a dark purple background. The socle to the left from the doorway seems to have been divided into three panels, corresponding to the panels of the main zone and two narrow compartments, which correspond to the vertical structures between the panels in the main zone. The socle to the right from the doorway is spattered densely with at least yellow and white paint.

The *main zone* probably mirrored the back (west) wall, but the central panel was disturbed by the doorway. The main zone to the left of the doorway is divided into three panels by incisions left by clusters of bands. Some dark red is preserved around the incisions. The leftmost side panel next to the corner preserves some black. There is a dark yellow vertical border without any preserved pattern between the panel and the corner of the room. Incisions left by a horizontal embroidery border run across the lower third of the panels at a height of 80 cm from the floor. Most of the main zone and the upper zone to the left from the doorway is destroyed.



Fig. 7.

The main zone to the right of the doorway preserves some traces of black. A horizontal embroidery border runs across the lower third of the panels at a height of 80 cm from the floor – as to the left of the doorway. Its pattern, upside-down fleurs-de-lis inside brackets, was painted with yellow, which turned red towards the doorway. There is a dark yellow vertical border without any preserved pattern between the panel and the corner of the room.

The *upper zone* is preserved up to a height of ca. 245 cm from the floor, next to the right corner of the wall. There are traces of a horizontal band at a height of ca. 235 cm from the floor.

Room 110 [b]N–S 4.85 m, W–E 3.3–3.5 m; 16.5 m²

This room is the smallest of the three triclinia. Next to nothing is preserved of its original decoration. According to Fiorelli, the room would have been decorated with “due figure di Baccanti, una col tirso in mano ed un paniere sul capo, l'altra portando nella dr. il tirso, e nella sin. un paniere su cui è un vaso; vi è pure un busto di Diana di fronte, con faretra sull' omero”.⁷ This bust of Diana was a medallion (D 26 cm).⁸ Schefold reports “2 Mänaden” and “4 Schwebende” as disappeared, and mentions a “Vespasianische Pflanzensockel”.⁹ According to Sampaolo the Bacchantes would have been placed as vignettes inside the panels of the decoration.¹⁰ No traces of these six floating figures and of the medallion are left.

Bibliography: Niccolini 1862, 75; Fiorelli 1873, 120 (nos. 143–144)¹¹, and appendix, 20; Fiorelli 1875, 397; Sogliano 1879, 28 (no. 111), 47–48 (nos. 219–220), 156 (nos. 801–802), 160 (nos. 835–836)¹²; Schefold 1957, 251; Sampaolo 1999 (*PPM* IX), 348.

Floor: *Opus signinum*. In front of the entrance to the room, on the side of room 108, sparsely placed white and black tesserae form five uneven units of concentric rectangles, as described above. There are two marble slabs with holes for the hinges in the doorway. Two bands of sparsely placed white tesserae run around the room (distance from the wall ca. 8 cm, distance between the bands ca. 12 cm).

Wall Paintings: The decoration of this room seems to have presented a tripartite Fourth Style scheme. The socle was red and the main zone mainly white with red and yellow dividing bands. According to the scale model, the upper zone continued the panelling of the socle and the main zone. The decoration's state of preservation is poor. On the back (north) wall ca. 5%, on the right (east) wall ca. 90%, and on the left (west) wall ca. 10 % of the original plaster surface remains, but the paintings are almost completely worn,

⁷ Fiorelli 1875, 397.

⁸ Fiorelli 1873, Appendix, 20 (note 77b); Sogliano 1879, 28 (no. 111).

⁹ Schefold 1957, 251, located the bust of Diana erroneously.

¹⁰ *PPM* IX, 348.

¹¹ No. 143: “[Baccante coronata di edera], col tirso nella sin., e con la dr. sostenendo sul capo un paniere”, and no. 144: “con grappolo di uva nella sin. e con la dr. reggendo il lembo del velo gonfiato ad arco”.

¹² The first two floating figures, numbers 219 and 220 were listed as “Donne stanti o volanti con attributi bacchici”, and the four others only as “Figure muliebri”, perhaps because they were not so well-preserved. According to Sogliano the height of these floating figures was 33–35 cm, and further, that there is a drawing by N. La Volpe depicting the first floating figure with a thyrsus and a bread basket. Unfortunately, such drawing is not to be found in MANN or DAIR.



Fig. 8.

leaving only preparatory incisions and a few traces of colour. No original plaster surface remains on the entrance (south) wall. Regarding the composition of plaster, there is a visible joint between the finishing stucco layers of the socle and the main zone. The finishing stucco of the socle is dark red, made of many finely crushed terracotta. Some modern interventions can be detected. Modern plaster has been used to consolidate the edges of the remaining plaster surface next to the collapsed areas. There is a larger patch of probably modern plaster in the main zone of the west wall near the left corner.

Back (north) wall: Only a ca 0.5 m² fragment of the original plaster surface is preserved next to the left corner of the room. It presents a slice of the joint between the finishing stucco coats of the socle and the main zone.

Right (east) wall: The *socle* (H ca. 62 cm) is dark red, mostly because of the crushed terracotta used in the finishing stucco coat, but also because of the red background colour. There are traces of white bands dividing the socle into four panels (W ca. 85–95 cm) with narrow compartments (W ca. 25–30 cm) in between.

The *main zone* had a white background divided into four panels with narrower vertical compartments in between. The division, some preparatory incisions of which

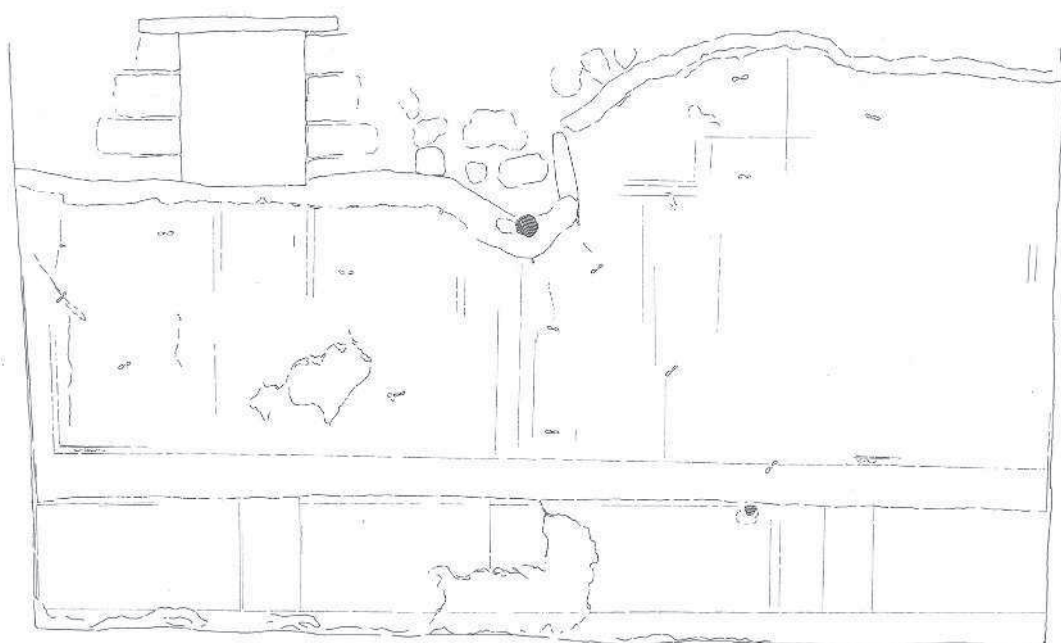


Fig. 9.

can still be seen, was made with red and yellow bands, as demonstrated by preserved fragments of paint. From these traces, and the copy of the decoration in the scale model, it is difficult to see whether the panels were of a regular width or not. The panels enclosed yellow frames, composed of embroidery borders. A horizontal fragment of one is barely visible close to the right corner of the wall. It is aligned with a continuous horizontal incision running across the wall at a height of ca. 85 cm, indicating the position of the lower side of the frames. In the leftmost panel, the lower left corner of the embroidery border frame is barely visible next to the left corner of the wall. There are dark red vertical bands in the corners of the wall.



Fig. 10.

The upper zone is preserved up to the height of ca. 280 cm from the floor. It shows some horizontal and vertical incisions, probably belonging to the bands that divided the zone. According to the scale model, this division continued the panelling of the main zone.

Left (west) wall: Only a couple of fragments of the *socle* are preserved next to the left corner of the wall. They are dark red, because of the crushed terracotta in the plaster and traces of paint, which is best preserved in the fragment by the corner. The scale model shows four panels with narrow vertical compartments in between.

Three pieces of the painted surface of the main zone are preserved. They show traces of red and yellow bands or borders dividing the panels, painted on a white background. The upper right corner of the frame of embroidery borders of the rightmost panel is barely visible next to the right corner of the wall. The height of the upper side of the frame from the floor is 210 cm. The wall under the destroyed decoration shows a blocked doorway (W 80 cm, H ca. 170 cm, distance from the right corner ca. 107 cm).



Fig. 11.

Triclinium 112 [e]N–S 4.85–5.1 m, W–E 4.5–4.9 m; 22.5 m²

This large triclinium is the most elaborately decorated room of this compound. It represents Late Third style.¹³ There are two windows, one towards the bakery (113), and the other, larger, towards the adjoining triclinium (109). The room has been covered with a modern concrete roof.

Bibliography: Niccolini 1862, 75; Trendelenburg 1871, 208; Fiorelli 1873, 53, 112 (no. 68); Gaedechens 1873 (*GdS*), 129–134, pl. 7; Overbeck 1873–1878, 579–580; Fiorelli 1875, 398; Sogliano 1879, 26 (no. 99), 178 (no. 538); Mau 1882, 442–423; Reinach 1922, 50 (no. 4); Schefold 1957, 251; Schefold 1962, 97; *PPP* III, 448; Bragantini 1995 (*PPM Disegnatori*), 844–845; Sampaolo 1999 (*PPM* IX), 348–349, 351–359; Romizzi 2006, 479–480 (nos. 882–883); Hodske 2007, 160 (no. 697), 257 (no. 696); Lorenz 2008, 610; Kuivalainen 2021, 152.

Floor: Greyish, undecorated plaster.

Wall paintings: All four walls were richly decorated, the back (west) wall being the best preserved, even 90% of the plaster surface preserved, but with fractures and faded colours. The left (south) wall contains only less than 20 % of its painted surface. The walls also have a predella between the red socle and the main zone, with alternating black and yellow panels. There are two central pictures on opposite walls (west and east), the advent of Triptolemus, the patron of agriculture, and Dionysus approaching the sleeping Ariadne, with windows taking the same space on the two other walls. The upper zone consists of architectural frameworks on a blue background, largely surviving only on the west wall. There were later interventions even during the antiquity, e.g. the lower left side of the right (north) wall has been replaced with a larger black area, instead of the original red socle with plants.

Back (west) wall: The back (west) wall preserves some paintings up to the ceiling. There are four zones divided alternately into three (predella and upper zone) or five (main zone) fields. The red *socle* (H ca. 50 cm) is decorated with green tufts of plants and is separated from the predella by a white band. In the middle of the black predella (H ca. 61 cm) there is a π -shaped yellow feature, divided in two by a line. Small crotales, or bells stacked on top of each other, hang from the centre of the panel. In the centre, diagonal twigs with small blue flowers and leaves are also fastened, now scarcely visible.

¹³ Phase IIb of the Third Style, ca. AD 30–40, with later interventions; Schefold 1957, 3; Sampaolo 1999, 351.

The black panels of both side fields have a small disc diagonally criss-crossed by tiny garlands at their centre, which is however remaining only on the right side.

In the *main zone*, the central picture is a large, separately painted image (135 x 105 cm) on a white background, depicting the advent of Triptolemus in a rocky landscape. This is a composition of six persons. On the left, Demeter (Ceres) is sitting on her throne, leaning slightly back and lifting her right hand pensively to her temple. In her left hand she holds a long torch resting on her shoulder. She is robed in red. Her daughter Persephone (Proserpina) stands behind her, also observing the main protagonist, while holding a sieve in her left hand. She is robed in violet. In front, in the right corner, a wreathed Gaia (Tellus) reclines with her naked back towards the viewer, escorted by two small companions representing seasons, as originally there would have been space for all four.¹⁴ She holds a yellow cornucopia in her left hand and lifts her right hand, admonishing the youngsters to pay attention. Her violet and green cloak is wrapped around her left arm and lower body; the skin is very light, creating a contrast with the suntanned Triptolemus. His tall figure (H 72 cm) rises above all the other figures. He stands, legs apart, next to his bronze chariot (as indicated by traces of green), drawn by darkish winged serpents slithering in the air on both sides of the chariot and shaped into wheels. He wears a light blue cloak tied over his right shoulder, supporting with his left arm a sleeve filled with grain. He scatters even more grain from his upraised right hand. His head, with short curly hair, is portrayed in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile; he is looking at the grain in the sleeve of his cloak.¹⁵ The black edges of the middle field are enclosed with long white columns continuing to the entablature of the architectural framework in the upper zone.

Both of the inner side fields contain yellow panels with wide black frames, the tops of which are draped and edged with white ornamental borders. There is a horizontal embroidery border with small palmettes across both side fields. Between these inner and the outermost side fields there are wide yellow columns with a vertical decoration (seen in the east wall) in the middle, which support a red beam with a slightly curving underside. Above there is another horizontal embroidery border with circles. The outermost side fields are characterized by two narrow and long openings painted blue, with angular tops, cut in the middle with a yellow barrier-like feature, a somewhat odd structure. The extreme yellow margins with arching tops are seen in perspective, framed with green.

¹⁴ All four seasons appear in a mosaic from Sentinum, from the early 3rd century, and now in Munich (Glyptothek W504).

¹⁵ A good parallel for Triptolemus is a Roman marble sarcophagus at the Louvre from ca. 160 (AGRR 5Ma 3571). In Pompeii there was one fragmentary painting in the Casa di Trittolemo (VII 7,5), of which a drawing by N. La Volpe (MANN ADS 702) exists, but of different type. Fiorelli 1875, 245; Sogliano 1879, 26 (no. 98); Hodske 2007, 257 (no. 502).

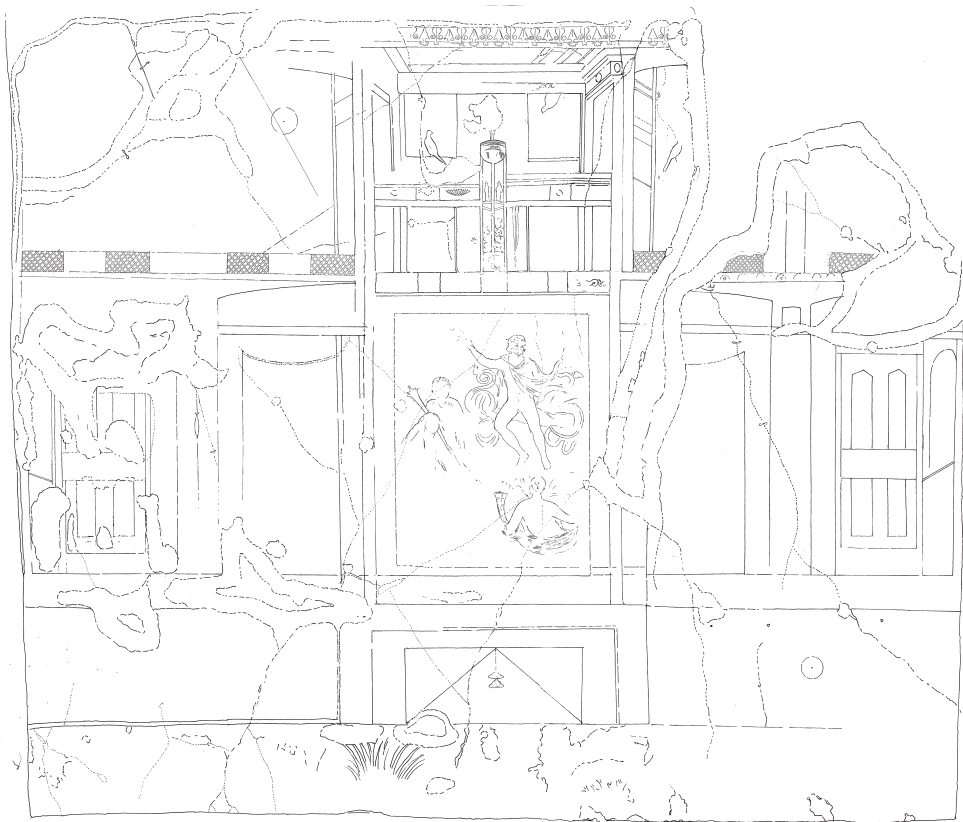


Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.

The *upper zone* is painted in two levels, with the middle field starting on a lower level than the side fields. In the middle field the architectural framework is more complex than that of the main zone, portraying here an aedicula in perspective. The lowest element in the middle field is a series of small panels alternating in red and green, once decorated with sea monsters, but now only one remains on the right. From the centre of these panels rises a white tripod that allegedly once supported a sphinx.¹⁶ The tripod is fixed to a beam, constructed with yellow and red panels, that connects the side walls of the aedicula and was decorated with shells and gorgoneia. All of the three walls of the aedicula open onto the light blue background through windows, four in the reddish-brown back wall and two on both sides, and additionally through a compluvium in the middle of the yellow beams of the ceiling. The upper front of the aedicula consists of two beams, the lower red one decorated with dotted semicircles alternating with two petals, and the upper yellow one decorated with red arrowheads alternating with an Ω -pattern. In the upper windows of the back wall there are two white birds: the one on the left sitting on a windowsill, and the other on the right peeking down from the upper frame. The wings of the aedicula support the entablature decorated with round ornaments, possibly small paterae.

A low yellow trellis-fence marks out the lowest parts of the side fields. The slim wings of the central aedicula recede on a blue background. Here on the right a sitting bird seems to hang in the air, its supporting garland having worn away. Both side panels are poorly preserved. The only details visible are a white column on top of the yellow column of the main zone in the right side, and a circle made with a compass just to the left of the wing of the central aedicula on the left side.

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Right (north) wall: The red *socle* with plant motifs continues on this wall. The π -shaped feature in the predella is cut to two due to the window in the middle, facing towards the bakery. Both side fields have black panels, in the centre of which a small disc (or



Fig. 14.

¹⁶ Gaedechens 1873 (*GdS*), 133–134; Schefold 1957, 251.

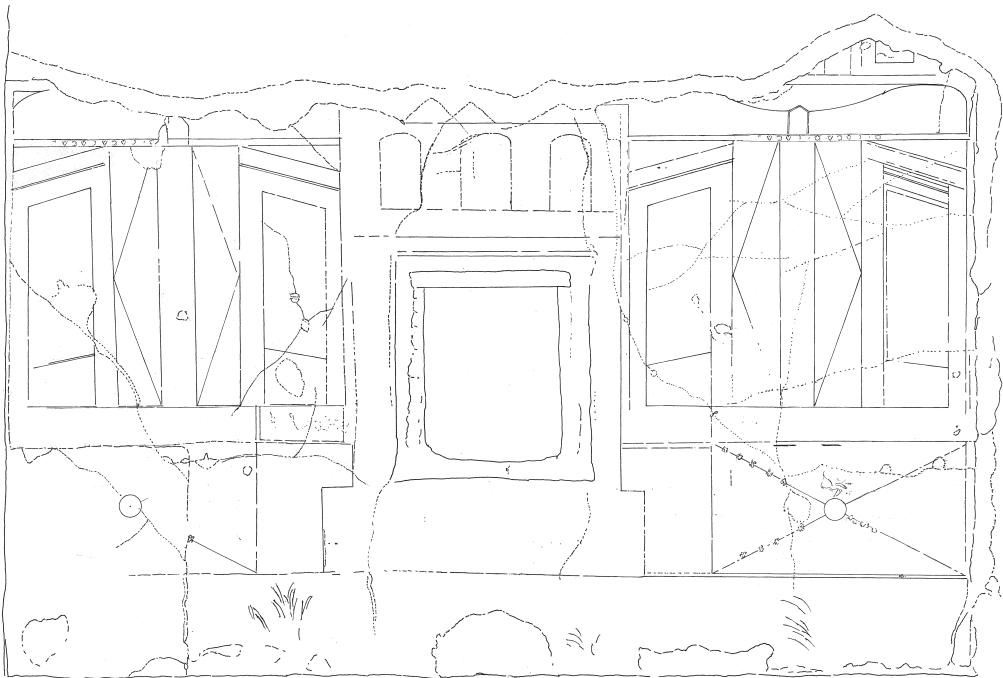


Fig. 15.



Fig. 16.

a patera), made with a compass, is diagonally criss-crossed by tiny garlands with blue flowers and green leaves, as in both the west and east walls. In the *main zone* there are three fields, the middle one with the window thickly framed with black, now turned off-white. On top of the window and a yellow beam, there are three arched openings painted blue against a black background. These were separated from the upper zone by a red line. In both side fields there is an aedicula with somewhat muddled perspective, giving an impression of half-closed doors facing towards the viewer. In the middle there is a yellow thick-set column with lozenge-shaped green garlands attached to it. The yellow side wings have low parapet walls, behind them light blue openings to the outdoors, and above the yellow and red architrave the light blue sky. Above these, there is a horizontal embroidery border with small palmettes.

In the *upper zone* of the side fields, starting from a lower level than in the middle field, there is a centrally positioned small red panel with a triangular top, supporting a yellow volute that stretches over the whole side field. Uppermost, on a blue beam, there are framed panels in different colours: dark red, blue, and yellow, some with decorative ornaments. There are colour changes in places.

Left (south) wall: The best-preserved part is the red socle with its green plant motifs, and part of the left predella containing a disc. In the extreme left of the *main zone*, an image

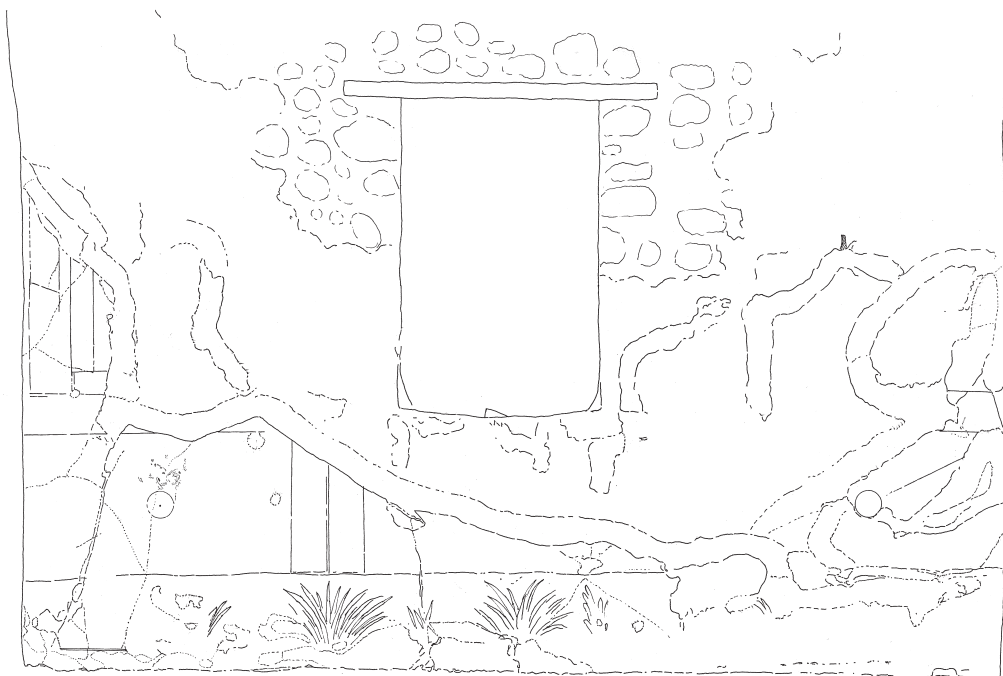


Fig. 17.

of half open doors facing away from the viewer is offered, as a contrast to its counterpart in the north wall. Even the colours are different, being more in accordance with the edge of the east wall, red and green.

Nowadays the decoration of the room seems to have been made in a quite heavy-handed manner, as shown by the thick yellow vertical supports; they may have lost, however, their original finer ornaments, e.g., candelabra. The birds, as exquisite details, together with the prominent use of an intensive blue colour in the upper zone, suggest an illusion of the open air, contrasting with the doubtless hot and crowded bakery.

Entrance (east) wall: The best-preserved part is the right side field, although the upper zone has been completely lost. The scheme of the shorter door (east) wall corresponds in general with the west wall. In the *socle* there are plants with more variation. Due to the opening for the door, the left side field is less than half the size of the right. Large parts of the *main zone* have been lost, as well as the whole *upper zone*. It is here that the vertical decoration between the inner and outermost side fields is visible on the right: a typical slim ornament with leaves belonging to a thin candelabrum. The yellow barrier-like feature splitting the two narrow and long openings has partially turned red due to the heat of the eruption.

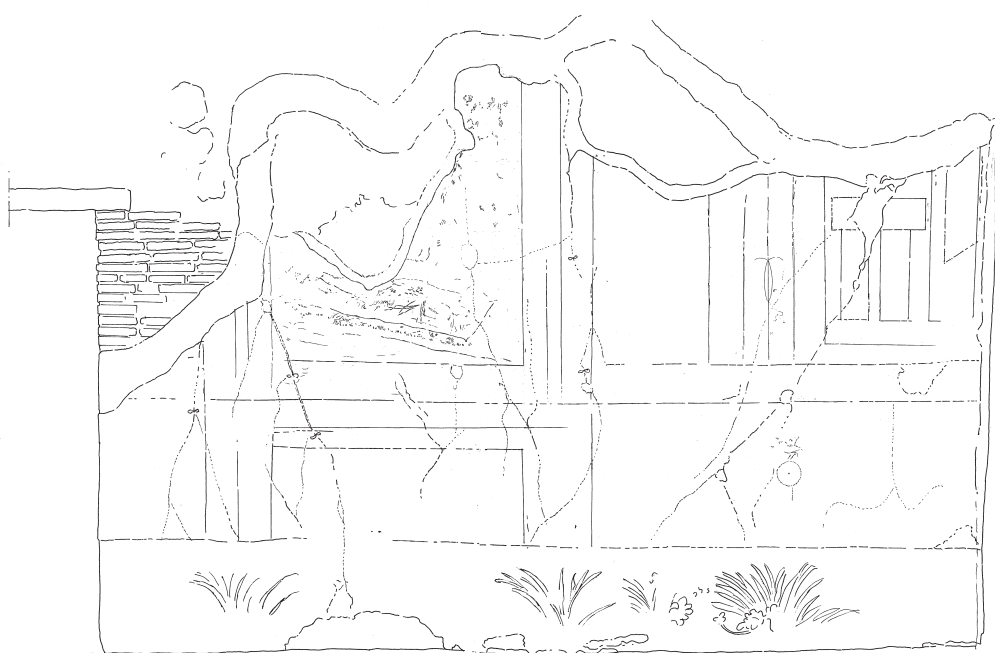


Fig. 18.

The Third Style central picture is poorly preserved, with scarcely half remaining, and only the yellow and blue edge of the mattress on which Ariadne is lying can be identified. Fortunately, it is known from a drawing by G. Discanno made in 1871.¹⁷ It was a composition of probably nine persons. In front, by



Fig. 19.

the seashore, Ariadne sleeps lying on her back on a light blue mattress. Her head is resting on a high blue pillow. A purple cloak covers her legs. In the middle stands a fully robed young, wreathed Bacchus wearing high boots, a red chiton, and a purple cloak. He is carrying a thyrsus and points towards Ariadne with his languorous right hand, supported by a satyr on his right side. He wears a short cloak, a loincloth, and a pine crown. Behind the main scene there are several other figures with thyrsi, and two with a tympanum, watching the scene on a rocky landscape with an occasional tree trunk and small plants. The painting was framed with light red sinopia lines, at least vertically, indicating the preliminary planning of the wall design.

According to Mau, the decoration of this triclinium was too colourful: “bunte und daher unschöne Decoration; viele Durchbrechungen mit blauem Grunde.”¹⁸ Bacchus discovering Ariadne is one of the most favourite motifs of Pompeian central pictures,¹⁹ but the scene with Triptolemus is a rare one, and it was the first discovery of its kind in Pompeii and Herculaneum. Gaedechens united these motifs



Fig. 20.

¹⁷ MANN ADS 1095, published in *PPM Disegnatori*, 844 (no. 9). See p. 272, Fig. 15.

¹⁸ Mau 1882, 442–443.

¹⁹ Stemmer 1992, 51–52; Hodske 2007, 159–163, table 3; Kuivalainen 2021, 141–156.

precisely: “il dono celeste del frumento e del vino, dopo i giorni della miseria; e ci vuole assai poca fatica per convincersi, che sulle vinifere pendici del Vesuvio fosse un soggetto conveniente per la decorazione di una casa, il trionfo del Dio del vino, come specialmente per la casa di un fornajo, la benefica missione di Trittolemo.”²⁰

Room 113 [a]

N-S 5.45–6.2 m W-E 10 m; 60.34 m²

This room is the mill by the bakery (115–116, 119), with a direct entrance from the Vicolo di Tesmo. It was a partially roofless space and included a lararium painting, as did the bakery IX 3, 12 in this insula.

Bibliography: Niccolini 1862, 75; Trendelenburg 1871, 207; de Petra 1871 (*GdS*), 134–135; Fiorelli 1873, 106 (no. 29); Fiorelli 1875, 399; Sogliano 1879, 12 (no. 26).; Boyce 1937, 84 (no. 417); Schefold 1957, 251; *PPP* III, 448–449; Sampaolo 1999 (*PPM* 9), 360.

Floor: Large volcanic basalt paving slabs around the millstones, otherwise no decorative pavement.

Wall Paintings: The red socle is partially visible on the right (north) wall, but otherwise no painted plaster. There is a rectangular niche on the back (west) wall by the door to the back part of the house, beside which there was a lararium painting (H 120 cm, W 157) known only from verbal description.²¹ There were five figures in the upper zone, three participating in the actual sacrifice, a genius capite velato, a tibicen, and a small camillus, and two lares standing aside with a rhyton and a situla. In the lower zone there was a serpent slithering towards the altar. Unfortunately, we only have verbal descriptions of this lost painting.²²



Fig. 21.

²⁰ Gaedechens 1871, 134.

²¹ Sogliano 1879, 12 (no. 26).

²² E.g. Trendelenburg 1871, 12: "Ella offre le solite figure che intervengono al sacrificio domestico. In mezzo ai due lari sta presso l'altare il genio famigliare e al di lui fianco il flautista e un piccolo Camillo che porta

When standing by the door there was a direct line of sight to the garden 123 with another lararium. This was also the case in the bakery IX 3, 10–12, where the lararium paintings were also within line of sight of each other.²³

Room 123 [i] Lower southern level N–S 1.75 m, W–E 4.3–5.15 m; 9.1 m². Upper northern level N–S 3.5 m, W–E 5–5.5 m; 18.6 m². Total area 27.68 m²

Room 123²⁴ is the rearmost space, behind the manufacturing area in the northwest corner of the bakery. It is part of the private area of the inhabitants, with stairs leading to the second floor next to a garden.

Bibliography: Niccolini 1862, 75; Trendelenburg 1871, 207; de Petra 1871 (*GdS*), 135, pl. 5:2; Jordan 1872, 33; Fiorelli 1873, 109 (no. 49); Fiorelli 1875, 398; Sogliano 1879, 16–17 (no. 44); Reinach 1922, 104 (no. 1); Boyce 1937, 84–85 (no. 418); Schefold 1957, 251; Jashemski 1979, 194; *PPP* III, 448–449; Fröhlich 1991, 152, 295–296 (no. L104); Jashemski 1993, 234 (no. 482); Eschbach 1993, 418; Sampaolo 1999 (*PPM* 9), 362–363.

The space was a small garden, viridarium, with a drain and a water pipe. On a higher level there are low benches of masonry (H 55 cm), called a podium or a raised planting bed,²⁵ on three sides: north, east, and west. In the middle of this space there is a round marble table (H ca. 50 cm; D 60 cm). Under the stairs in the southwest corner there is



Fig. 22.

an arched recess (H 160 cm; W 90 cm; D 90 cm) with a shallow water basin, irregular in shape, and a small rectangular altar or base of limestone (H 38 cm; W 28 cm; DPT 25 cm). The recess is painted inside and outside; the red socle (H 90 cm) is separated from

l'urceo.”

²³ In Pompeii, Vesta was a typical feature in the lararia in pistrina, but in this insula she appears only in the bakery IX 3, 12. Giacobello 2008, 118.

²⁴ The garden [i and l] is divided originally into two by Fiorelli and is in the EPUH numbering 122 and 123.

²⁵ Boyce 1937, 84–85; Jashemski 1993, 234 (no. 482).

the yellow arch with a light blue band. The graffito “Hic domus Papiriu(m) Sabinium” and another graffito were discovered here.²⁶ Above the bench, next to the stairs, the socle is red (H ca. 90 cm above the bench). A rectangular recess (H 45 cm, W 45 cm; DPT 20 cm), with a sill made of a re-used roof tile and an interior painted red and white, following the scheme of the immediate surroundings, cuts both the red socle and the white wall above. It may have been another lararium.

In the (right) north wall the red socle continues in the same manner above the bench, and as part of the construction material four amphora necks were inserted in the wall, three just above the socle and one further up on the left. The wall plaster is still preserved on the right-hand side of the central zone.



Fig. 23.

On the entrance (east) wall above the bench there is a large lararium painting in the socle (H 90 cm). It is divided horizontally into two panels (70 x 165 cm and 70 x 88 cm), framed with a wider horizontal band above and a narrower vertical band. For the description we have to rely on earlier sources, such as Discanno's drawing from 1871.²⁷ Only the undulating curves of a slithering serpent and a part of the altar remain. Nowadays there is only one large, crested and bearded serpent, moving to the right. His foremost part touches the altar with a pinecone and an egg on top. His head is above the pinecone, and his tongue touches it. The altar was made of coloured marble. The scene is painted on a terrain line, and the rest of the spaces are filled with plants, possibly oleander. Two garlands delimit the space above, and two more hang down on the sides, all decorated with ribbons. On the other panel, the river god Sarnus is reclining on a high rock surrounded by aquatic plants. He is robed in a green cloak, leaving his chest bare; his right hand is raised, and he holds a reed in his fingers. He leans with his left arm on the rock, holding in his left hand a calyx, out of which water is pouring. He is bearded, and his long hair is wreathed with reeds. His facial features are clearly marked,

²⁶ *CIL* IV 5065 and *CIL* IV 5066; Varone 2012 (vol II), 426.

²⁷ de Petra 1871, 135, *GdS* NS 2 (1870–1873), pl. 5:2.

and he watches a song thrush on the left. Another bird, probably a warbler, flies behind him on the right.²⁸ In front of him are palustric plants growing on the shore, and there are four different species of fish, resembling such Mediterranean species as grouper, redfish, and wrasse, and an eel or a water snake splashing to the left in the river. Above and on the sides there are more garlands with ribbons. Sarnus, Pompeii's own river god, is not an unknown divinity in Pompeian lararia; a well-preserved example comes from the garden I 14, 6–7, and from another bakery.²⁹ A famous wall painting portraying the divinity was discovered south of the town, outside the walls, in the red triclinium C of the villa 50A in Moregine.³⁰ The garden-passage seems to have been a multifunctional room, as the benches may also have been used as a small garden triclinium, of which the space has all the characteristics.

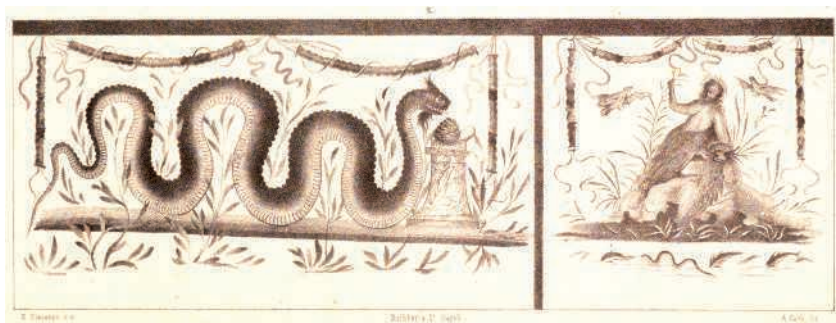


Fig. 24.

The combination of representative rooms and workspaces in this compound, consisting of houses IX 3, 19 and IX 3, 20, shows a great variety of artistic work. The most important triclinium (112) contained two elegant central pictures, chosen carefully for the commercial dining. The wall paintings of the Third Style were appreciated and thus kept for a longer time, even slightly restored. The Fourth Style was less exquisite, shown both in the commercial part and in the private area of the house, but with allusions to the same pictorial programme also in the other triclinia, e.g. the Maenads/Bacchantes carrying a bread basket and a bunch of grapes.³¹

²⁸ According to Antero Tammisto, the left bird is a Passerine spp. (Passeriformes spp.), probably a Song Thrush (*Turdus philomelos*), and the right bird also a Passerine spp. (Passeriformes spp.), but probably a Warbler sp. (Sylviidae sp.).

²⁹ House of the Sarno Lararium, Giacobello 2008, 289; Bakery (16) in Casa del Labirinto (VI 11, 10), Helbig 1867, 21 (no. 65); de Petra 1871, 135; Jordan 1872, 33; Boyce 1937, 51 (no. 185); Fröhlich 1991, 152–153, gives four examples of the Fourth Style, and one beardless Sarnus from the Augustan period.

³⁰ It was in the middle of the north wall in the red triclinium C, Nappo 2001, 871–872; Scarano Ussani 2005, 130–131.

³¹ Sogliano 1879, 47–48 (nos. 219–220).

House IX 3, 23

The house next to the unexcavated space,¹ occupying the northeast corner of the insula, is an eclectic collection of rooms originally belonging to houses that were probably destroyed by the earthquake of AD 62. The entrance from the north, from Vicolo di Lucrezio, leads to an atrium or courtyard (127) opening onto six rooms and a small garden (131).² Some features of the wall paintings are preserved in 125–126, 128 and 133, while in the atrium (127) Mau still could discern “Reste des gelben Sockels”.³



Rooms 125–126 [b–d]

N–S 3.09 m, W–E 2.85 m; 8.8 m²

The latrine (125) opening onto the fauces (146) is a late addition, as is the conversion of the enclosing room (126) into a kitchen. These two rooms were originally a single space covered with a vaulted ceiling. The later wall between the two rooms overlaps the painted plaster surface of the north wall and the floor.⁴ There is a modest First Style decoration, fragments of which are preserved in the northeast corner of room 126.

Bibliography: Mau 1882, 283; *PPP* III 449; *PPM* IX 364–365; Laidlaw 1985, 288–289; Heinrich 2002, 147.

Floor: Opus signinum.

¹ It was unexcavated until 2016, Mauro 2017, 129.

² Fiorelli 1875, 399; Eschebach 1993, 418; Jashemski 1993, 234.

³ Mau 1882, 283.

⁴ The composition of the plaster: The preparatory coat of plaster is grey with dark sand and some lumps of lime. The finishing stucco layer of the socle and in the main-upper zone is ca. 0.3 cm thick and creamy white with yellow crystals, the thickness decreases towards the floor. The finishing coat of the lowest 20 cm of the wall is different and made of crushed terracotta, dark grey sand, and contains no crystals.

Wall Paintings: A fragment of painted plaster surface on the *socle* (preserved H ca. 90 cm) shows the straight horizontal borderline between two coats of finishing plaster at a height of ca. 20 cm from the floor. The plaster surface of the upper coat is painted yellow. The decoration is contemporary with the current floor of room 126. In the corner, at a height of ca. 2 m, there is a fragment of plaster belonging to the main zone finished, at a height of ca. 25 cm, with a yellow fascia (H ca. 15 cm, Th ca. 1 cm). The finishing stucco layer continues on the north wall above the fascia up to a height of ca. 2.9 m and curves to the left, suggesting that there was a lunette on the wall and that the original decoration had been covered by a vault. There is a later(?) window on the north wall (H from the floor ca. 2.5 m). According to Mau, the room had traces of a yellow socle and “rother Gurt” with a “vorspringender gelber Gurt” above. He attributes the traces to the Second Style.⁵ Laidlaw, however, includes the decoration in her catalogue of First Style decorations mentioning “fragments of yellow socle below flat white(?) upper wall finished with a yellow fascia; on N wall traces of lunette”.⁶



Fig. 1.

Room 128 [e] N–S 3.5 m, W–E 5.85 m; 20.5 m²

This room in the northwest corner of the house next to the fauces (146) had originally a doorway to the neighbouring room 129, but it was later replaced by a doorway to the atrium/courtyard (127). Room 128 is the largest of the rooms opening to the atrium and probably was used as a triclinium.

Bibliography: Mau 1882, 104; *PPP* III 449; *PPM* IX 364, 366–367.

Floor: Opus signinum.

⁵ Mau 1882, 283.

⁶ Laidlaw 1985, 289.

Wall paintings: The paintings of this room have been badly worn, but the preserved traces of patterns and colours suggest that the representation of the decoration in the scale model is reliable in all essentials. The decoration shows a Second Style scheme with a marbled socle,



Fig. 2.

and a main zone of predominantly black orthostats divided by narrow, yellow panels. Mau writes about the decoration: “Sie setzt [--] einen Pfosten aus regelmässig wechselnden Ziegeln und ziegelförmigen Haussteinen voraus, der auf einen Ziegelpfosten gefolgt ist.”⁷ He dubs the decoration “spätere Nachahmung” of the Second Style, but his reasoning might be questioned. The decoration of corridor 4 of the Casa del Labirinto (VI 11, 8–10), though badly deteriorated, provides a good parallel, as already noted by Mau.⁸

The decoration’s state of preservation is poor, and of the original plaster surface 1/3–2/3 remains.⁹ On some areas, red and yellow can still be seen without difficulty. Black, the predominant colour of the original decoration, is preserved only fragmentarily in places where it has been incidentally protected by later interventions. On the (south) wall a doorway, contemporary with the decoration, had been walled up in antiquity, and the stonework of the filling was covered with mere unpainted preparatory plaster.¹⁰

Back (north) wall: The *socle* (H 70 cm) consisted of panels with a background colour based alternately on red and yellow pigments. According to the scale model, there were

⁷ Mau 1882, 283.

⁸ Stročka 1991, 116, figs. 103, 107; Mau 1882, 283.

⁹ The composition of the plaster of the decoration can be observed from the fragments of plaster preserved in good condition underneath the stonework of the walled-up doorway on the door (south) wall. The finishing stucco layer is thin (ca. 0.2 cm). The underlying preparatory plaster is dark grey, made of fine crushed black stone and sand with inclusions of larger stones and lumps of lime.

¹⁰ Several modern interventions can be detected: Iron anchors and nails have been used to secure the plaster. At least five different types of modern plaster have been used to patch and fill minor fractures and to consolidate the edges of the remaining plaster surface next to collapsed areas.

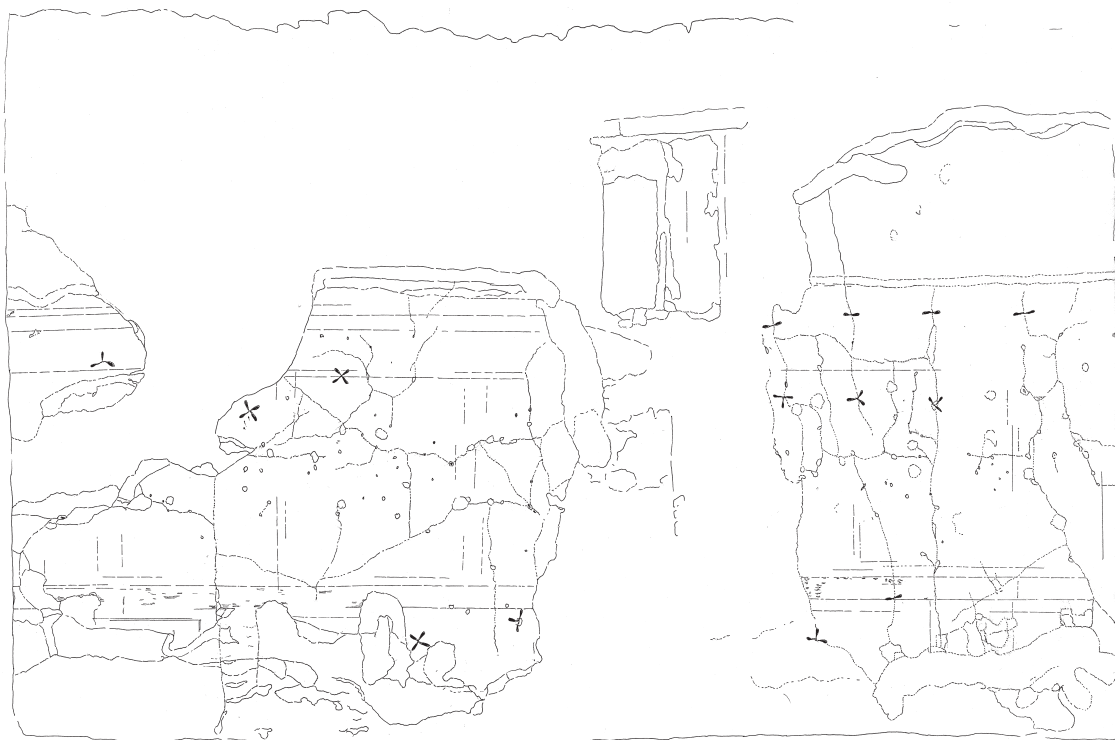


Fig. 3.

panels with a light greyish pink, yellow, and purple background. In the leftmost panel there are traces of dark purplish brown and a tiny bit of green. These would probably have been left by the marblings. Above the socle, there is a dark purple border (H ca. 12 cm) at least partly painted on yellow. Its outlines are customarily drawn in the plaster.

The *main zone* consisted of large panels divided by narrow intervals. The traces on the plaster suggest that there were probably five entire large panels (W ca. 80–90 cm, H ca. 110 cm), while the panels closest to the corners were cut less than half that size by the corners. The narrow intervals (W ca. 15 cm) between the panels show traces of both yellow and red. In the left corner there are traces of black paint on the area of a large panel. According to the scale model there were large black panels divided by narrow yellow fasciae with purple frames, but only four entire and two half ones on the sides, which seems improbable considering the width of the panels detectable on the other walls as well.

Above these panels there is a wide red board (H ca. 22 cm, H from the floor ca. 190 cm), with outlines incised. According to the scale model there would have been a white frieze above the red board, topped by a narrow red band. An ancient-looking, unpainted

coat of preparatory plaster covers a wide field above the frieze on the upper zone of the wall. It begins at a height of ca. 230–240 cm from the floor and has been preserved to the height of ca. 330 cm from the floor, on the right side of the wall.

There is a blocked window (60 x 95 cm) ca. 230 cm from the floor and 210 cm from the right corner. Its surface is ca. 10 cm lower than the painted surface of the wall, but it seems to have been preserved as part of the wall decoration as a fake window. The preparatory plaster covering the blocked window looks the same as the unpainted plaster covering the upper zone of the wall, while the finishing plaster looks the same as the finishing layer of the painted surface of the wall. The fake window might have been divided into two shutters by a vertical groove in the middle.

Right (east) wall: The preserved fragment of the *socle* (H 70 cm) has traces of yellow and red background paint, probably a yellow and a red panel, or a yellow panel with red marbling. A tiny bit of green pigment would have probably been part of the marbling. Above the socle there is a purple border (H ca. 15 cm) at least partly painted on yellow.

Some traces of yellow, red, and black paint are preserved in the *main zone*, but there are clear divisions of fields.

Above the probable black panels there is a wide red board (H ca. 25 cm, H from the floor ca. 190 cm). Little remains of the white frieze above



Fig. 4.

the red board. A fragment of the unpainted field of preparatory plaster in the *upper zone* of the wall has been preserved next to the left corner of the wall.

Left (west) wall: A panel (W 90 cm) with a yellow, or yellow-based, background has been preserved in the *socle* next to the left corner of the wall. Traces of red show that it was followed on the right by a panel with a red background. Above the socle (H ca. 70 cm) there is a purple border (H ca. 12 cm) at least partly painted on yellow.

The outlines of a narrow yellow field (w. ca 15 cm) have been preserved in the *main zone* 36 cm from the left corner. Some of the outlines are red. It would have divided the larger panels, of which no colour is preserved.

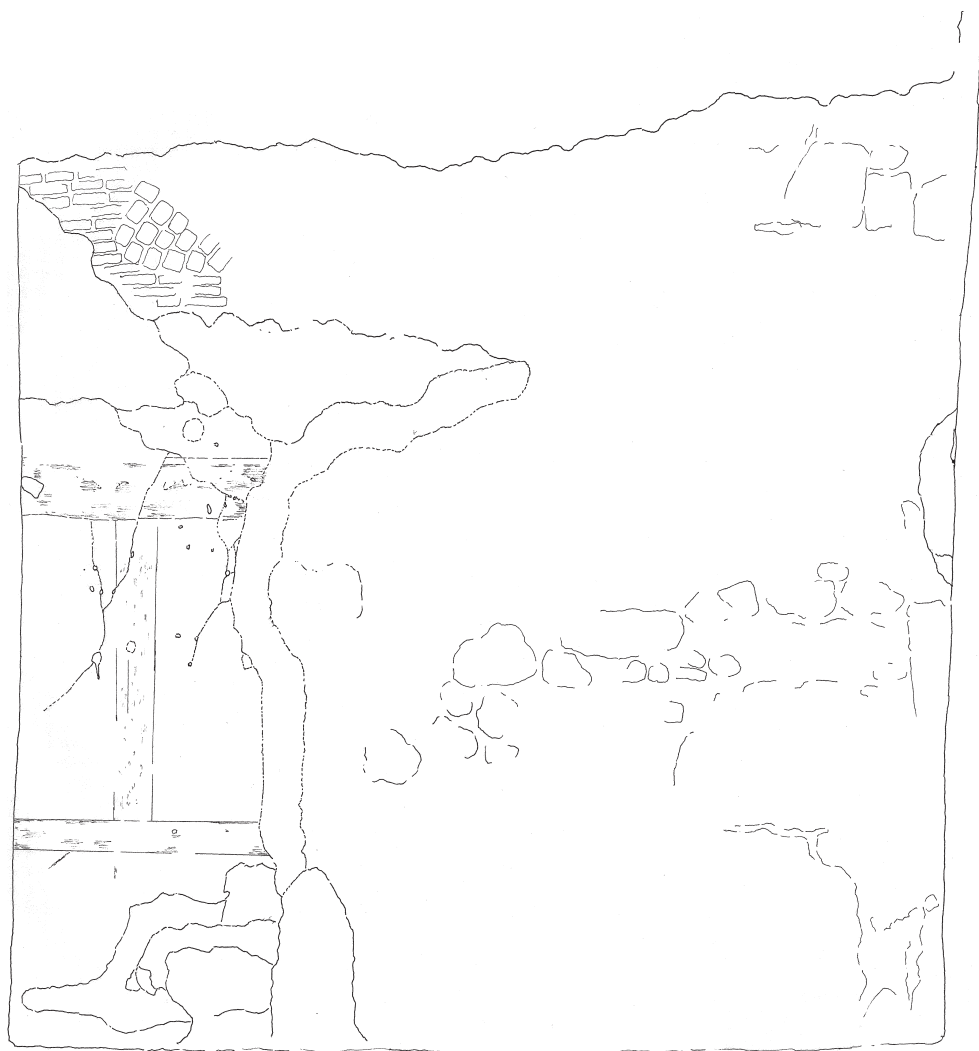


Fig. 5.

Above the panels there is a wide red board (H ca. 22 cm, H from the floor ca. 200 cm). Little remains of the white frieze above the red board shown in the scale model. The wide unpainted field of preparatory plaster in the *upper zone* of the wall has been preserved next to the corner to a height of ca. 320 cm.

Entrance (south) wall: In the right corner of the wall there is a doorway that is contemporary with the decoration but was later walled-up, as the decoration continues underneath the stonework of the filling. The filling seems to have been covered with unpainted preparatory plaster. There is a ca. 14 cm recession in the level of the wall 80

cm from the current doorway. The decoration continues seamlessly around the angle of the recession, which is therefore contemporary with the decoration.

There are traces of alternately red, yellow, and red background paint in the *socle* (H 70 cm), probably the remains of a light greyish pink, yellow, and red panel. Tiny bits of green pigment would have probably been part of the marbling shown in the scale model. Above the socle there is a purple border (H. 12 cm) at least partly painted on yellow.

In the *main zone* the (red) outlines of three narrow yellow intervals (W ca. 15 cm) have been preserved. The distances between them suggest that the large panels would have been ca. 80–85 cm wide. The well-preserved plaster around the door jambs of the walled-up doorway is shining black at the height of the orthostats. The painted surface covers the right doorjamb for the depth of ca. 27 cm underneath the blockwork of the filling. Traces of black paint are likewise preserved at the height of the orthostats in the angle created by the recess of the wall.

Above the main zone there is a wide red board (H ca. 22 cm, H from the floor ca. 200 cm), and a red band runs ca. 340 cm above the board, marking the upper outline of the white frieze shown in the scale model. Only small fragments remain of the wide unpainted field of preparatory plaster in the *upper zone* of the wall.

This room originally had a doorway to the neighbouring room (129), which according to Mau had “gelber Sockel, rother Gurt”,¹¹ and it was contemporary with the decoration. As that room had been at some point part of the neighbouring house IX 3, 24 and opening to its atrium (29), it is possible that the Second Style decoration of triclinium (128) also belongs to this phase. There is a possibility that rooms 128, 129, and 29 might have belonged to the same property before AD 62.¹² This would



Fig. 6.

¹¹ Mau 1882, 283.

¹² The excavation of a waste pit (CF29K1) in room 29 brought to light demolition material from a late renovation, including wall plaster fragments from a Second Style ensemble. These fragments have a similar composition of plaster to the fragments of the decoration of room 128, which were preserved in a good

support Mau's theory that the decoration of room 128 is a later imitation of the Second Style.¹³ He compared its scheme and colours to the corridor 4 of the Casa del Labirinto (VI 11, 8–10), which he described as “eine sehr einfache und mit geringer Sorgfalt gemachte Decoration”, also noting the lesser quality of the plaster.¹⁴ However, Stročka ruled out this idea, and argued on the basis of both structural and stylistic consideration that the decoration of the corridor 4 is original Second Style.¹⁵ This might challenge even Mau's judgement about the authenticity of the decoration of room 128.

We may conclude, that since the walled-up door between rooms 128 and 129 of House IX 3, 23 is contemporary with the decoration of room 128 and probably belonged to a phase when both rooms were part of House IX 3, 24, with lesser quality Second Style decoration, the decoration of room 128 almost certainly dates to a period prior to AD 62. It can very well be original Second Style instead of its later imitation. Since the walled-up doorway was only covered with unpainted preparatory plaster, it seems that the room's status decreased after this alteration.

Room 130 [g]

N–S 2.3 m, W–E 2.05–2.3 m; 4.4 m²

This small room, possibly cubiculum, on the west side of the atrium, between room 129 and the small viridarium (131), preserves only a fragment of unpainted or badly worn plaster on the right door jamb.

Floor: The opus signinum floor is decorated with white mosaic tesserae on black background. The diamond grid pattern inside a rectangle (ca. 80



Fig. 7.

condition underneath the stonework of the walled-up doorway. The composition of the plaster is of lesser quality than, for instance, the securely Second Style fragments excavated in the garden (18) of the House of Marcus Lucretius, in which the finishing stucco layer is ca. two times as thick (0.4–0.5 cm). Hakanen 2019, 201, 206–213.

¹³ Mau 1882, 283.

¹⁴ Mau 1882, 258–260. In this Mau was supported by Schefold, 1957, 126, who saw corridor 4 of the Casa del Labirinto as a representative of “vespasianischer 2. Stil”.

¹⁵ Stročka 1991, 116, n. 636.

cm x 20 cm) is preserved right after the stone door sill, as a kind of doormat. Rows of simple flowers made of four white tesserae (distance between the flowers 10 cm) decorate the remaining floor space. A fragment of mortar in the southwest corner of the room suggests that the decorated opus signinum floor belonged to an earlier phase and was covered by a simple mortar floor in the last phase of the building.



Fig. 8.

Room 132

N-S 325–360 cm, W-E 225–270 cm; 7.7 m²

This small room in the south part of the house is roughly trapezoidal. It is located between the garden (131) and the larger room (133) with a doorway to the atrium (127). In an earlier phase, the west wall had a colonnade with two pilasters. It was later walled up, except for the



Fig. 9.

central intercolumnium, which was turned into a window with a low parapet-type wall. In the northwestern corner there is a circular cistern.

Bibliography: Niccolini 1862, 75; Fiorelli 1873, 54; Fiorelli 1875, 399; Eschebach 1993, 418.

Floor: Opus signinum with crushed tile.

Wall paintings: There are remains of wall paintings, mainly on the east and west walls, most likely of a bipartite decoration. The red socle is high (H 105–110 cm). Some vague

traces indicate earlier decorative phases. The red colour is well-preserved behind the cistern, inside the blocked doorway in the west wall.¹⁶

Room 133 N–S 3.15 m, W–E 4.15 m; 13 m²

This room is the other space of the house IX 3, 23 with a more ambitious decoration. It is located in the southeast corner of the atrium (127) and with a lower floor-level. Also, this room seems to have changed from one property to another in antiquity. In the last phase it may have been a cubiculum.

Bibliography: Mau 1882, 443; *PPP* III 449–450; *PPM* IX 364, 368–369.

Floor: *Opus signinum* made from crushed lava.

Wall paintings: The preserved traces of patterns and colours seem to belong to a Third Style scheme with a red socle, and a white main zone divided into panels by red, blue, and green bands and stripes framing slender yellow candelabra. Mau calls the decoration “Candelaberstil”.¹⁷ The representation of the decoration in the scale model seems to reproduce the essentials of the scheme. The decoration’s state of preservation is poor. On the back (south) wall the original plaster surface has mostly collapsed, with only the socle and less than half of the main zone remaining. On the right (west) wall there are large lacunae in the original plaster surface, but most of the main zone remains. On the left (east) wall an ancient renovation has preserved only some fragments of the original plaster surface in the socle. On the entrance (north) wall the socle and the ca. 1/3 of the main zone remains, but ca. 1/3 of the width of the decoration was lost already in antiquity to a later doorway.

Back (south) wall: The red of the *socle* is the only colour remaining of the decoration, and the straight horizontal borderlines (H 20 cm and 70 cm) between the two coats of finishing plaster in the socle and the finishing stucco coat of the main zone are the only clearly visible structural elements of the decoration.

In the *main zone* there are a few faint traces of the bands and stripes that divided the wall into panels. They suggest that there would have been five panels, all of which ca. 70 cm wide and divided by clusters of bands (W 7–15 cm). This conforms to the somewhat

¹⁶ The former identification as a *cella penaria* by Niccolini 1862, 75, seems unlikely due to the connection with the garden and atrium, and the location of the cisterna.

¹⁷ Mau 1882, 443.

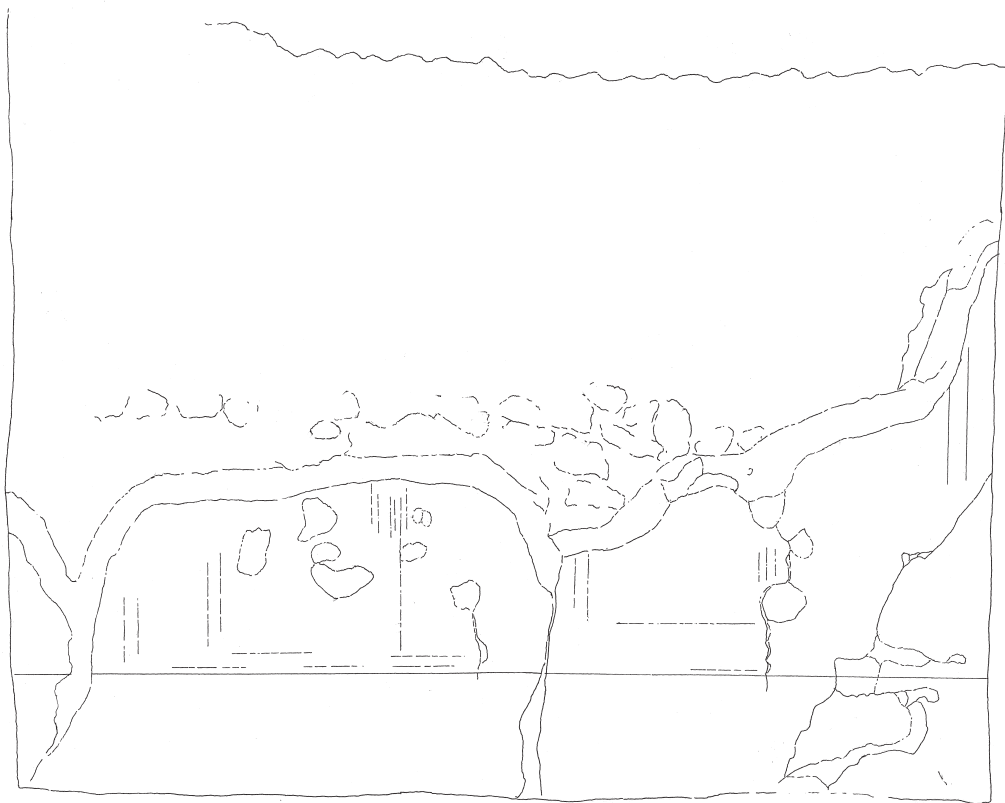


Fig. 10.

better preserved rests of the main zone on the opposite wall. The furthest panel to the left shows vertical lines also in the middle, ca. 50 cm from the left corner. The finishing plaster is preserved up to the height of 230 cm next to the right corner. Nothing remains of the *upper zone*.

Right (west) wall: The *socle* is red and the horizontal borderlines (H 20 cm and 70 cm) between the two coats of finishing plaster in the socle and the finishing stucco coat of the main zone are clearly visible. The upper part of a rectangular panel, painted with red, can be detected in the socle ca. 60 cm from the right corner, directly below the vertical dividing element between the first and second panel of the main zone from the right. A border (H ca. 7 cm) runs between the socle and the main zone. It seems to have been composed of brown, beige, and green stripes.

In the *main zone*, some traces remain of the vertical elements dividing the wall into panels. They suggest that the zone was divided into five panels and two half-panels (or 1/3 panels) in the corners (H ca. 118 cm). The width of the two panels framing the central panel would have been ca. 38 cm. Some tiny fragments of blue, green, yellow,

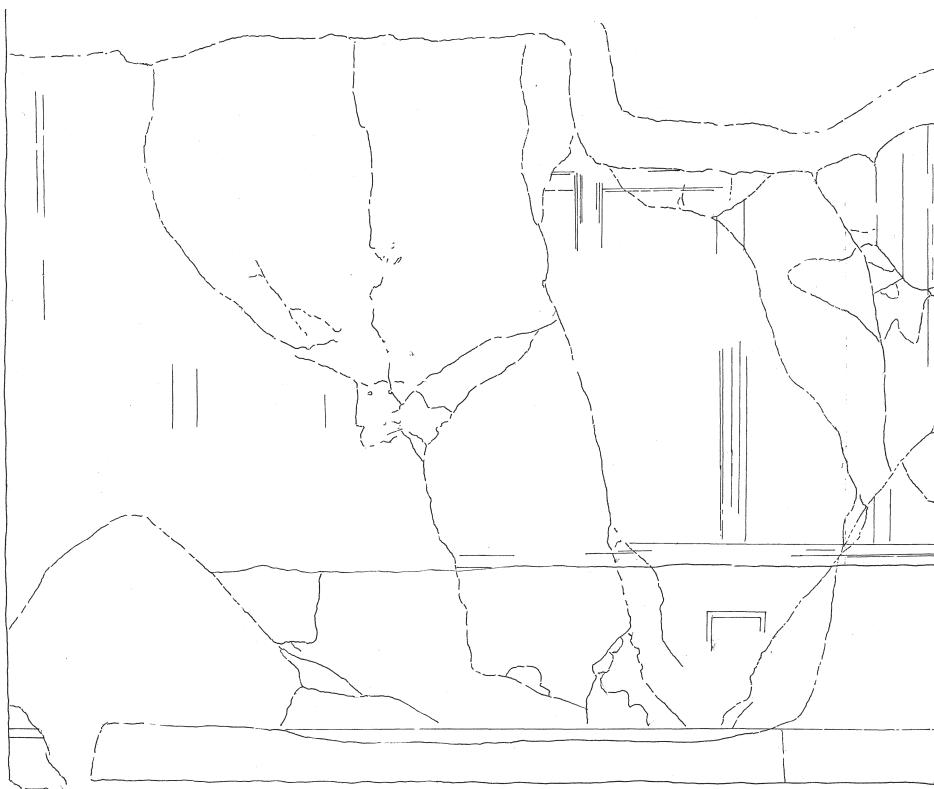


Fig. 11.



Fig. 12.

brown, and red belonging to the dividing structure are preserved. The background would have been white. The finishing plaster is preserved up to the height of 240 cm next to the left corner. Nothing determinate is preserved in the *upper zone*.

The traces conform rather precisely to the representation of the decoration in the scale model, which shows a structure of bands and stripes that divides the main zone into five panels and two half-panels in the corners and continues correspondingly in the upper zone in five panels and two half-panels. The colours shown in the model are blue, green, and brown on a white background.

Left (east) wall: This wall has been rebuilt from the socle up, the remains of the original door are preserved in the lower part of the wall, and the blockwork was covered with preparatory plaster, at least. The upper part of the wall was probably rebuilt after the earthquake of AD 62 and seems to have been



Fig. 13.

left unplastered. Relatively large areas of the original plaster surface remain,¹⁸ but the decoration is badly worn.

The original stucco surface of the preserved part of the Third Style decoration in the *socle* is red, and the horizontal borderlines (H ca. 20 cm and 70 cm) between the two coats of finishing plaster in the socle and the finishing stucco coat of the main zone are clearly visible.

The lower part of the wall preserves the remains of a walled-up doorway with half-columns of stuccoed brick on the doorposts and a monolithic stone threshold. The broken plaster surface reveals that in an earlier phase of decoration the half-columns might have been full columns covered with stucco and light pink paint. These were

¹⁸ The composition of the plaster of the decoration supports the Third Style attribution. In the main zone the finishing stucco layer is thick and creamy white with numerous quite coarse yellow crystals. There is a visible joint between the finishing stucco layers of the socle and the main zone ca. 70 cm from the floor and another within the socle ca. 20 cm from the floor. The finishing stucco layer of most of the socle is greyer than in the main zone, with finely crushed terracotta and fewer or no crystals. There seems to have been two coats of underlying preparatory plaster made of dark grey sand with some lumps of lime.

walled-up into half-columns framing the doorway, at the latest when the Third Style decoration was created.

The right half-column preserves parts of a painted stucco layer with purple veins of marble on a yellow background. The continuation of the finishing stucco layer between the rest of the socle and the marbled area is unclear, and the painting might belong to an earlier phase of decoration. In a later phase, but before the rebuilding of the upper part of the wall, the doorway was walled-up and covered with preparatory plaster, as is visible next to the right half-column. This phase overlaps with the marbling decoration and is probably contemporary with the opening of the current doorway on the north wall.

Entrance (north) wall: The current doorway seems to have been pierced through the Third Style decoration: the original plaster surface continues on the floor-level up to a height of ca. 10 cm against the threshold of the new doorway, which constitutes a step, since the floor-level of the atrium (127) is higher than that of room 133.

The remaining part of the *socle* is red, and the horizontal borderlines (H ca. 20 cm and 70 cm) between the two coats of finishing plaster in the socle and the finishing stucco coat of the main zone are clearly visible. The upper left corner of a rectangular panel can be detected in the socle ca. 155 cm from the left corner, directly below the vertical dividing element (including a candelabrum) between the second and third panel of the main zone from the left. A band (H ca. 7 cm) runs between the socle and the main zone. It seems to have been composed of light blue, green, brown, beige, and yellow stripes (though the order is not clear).

In the *main zone*, ca. 1/4 of the original height of which is preserved, traces remain of a structure dividing the zone into panels. There are four vertical elements dividing the remaining wall surface into three panels and framing them by the corner. The third panel from the left (W ca. 70 cm) would have been the central panel (as seen on the opposite wall) until the right 2/5 of the decoration was demolished with the opening of the current doorway. The vertical structural element next to the left corner preserves traces of blue, green, brown/purple, and beige.¹⁹ The vertical structural element between the central panel and the next panel to the left shows the stem of a yellow candelabrum framed by two or three bands. This justifies Mau's attribution of the decoration to "Candelaberstil".²⁰ Nothing remains of the *upper zone*.

After the earthquake of AD 62 this small house was reorganised and got its rectangular plan. The wall paintings of the Late Republican period, or rather their

¹⁹ The traces conform with the representation of the decoration in the scale model, which shows a structure of bands and stripes that divides the main zone into five panels. The colours shown in the model are blue, green, and brown on a white background.

²⁰ Mau 1882, 443.

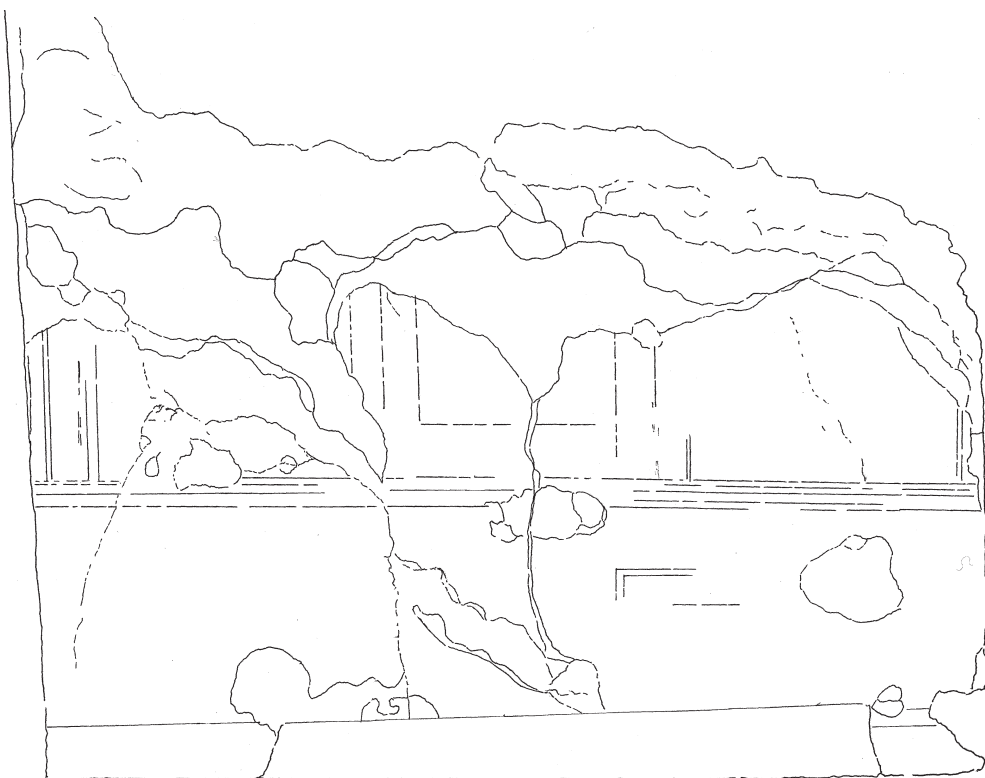


Fig. 12.

remains, continued to decorate the walls of rooms which could be used for completely different purposes, even as a latrina (125) with its First or Second Style paintings. It is debatable though, if the owners of the last period wanted to imitate the earlier fashion, or can the now almost vanished paintings in the triclinium (128) be dated to the original Second Style.

House IX 3, 25

House 25 is a very small domus with four rooms and stairs in the northwest corner of the atrium leading to the upper floor. On both sides of the narrow fauces (134) there are two small cubicula (135 and 137), followed axially by the atrium (136) and a multifunctional large room (138) behind it, with latrina. The wall paintings are almost destroyed, remaining only in the northeast cubiculum (137). Though the house is small and opening onto a quiet vicus, we are lucky enough to know the names of its last residents, incised one below the other on the bedside in room (137): L(ucius) Clodius Varus Pelagia coniunx, and on the left L(ucius) Clodius Varus, repeated and written by the same hand.¹

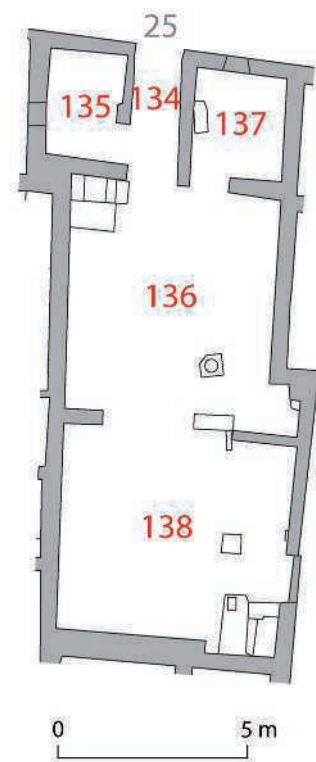


Fig. 1.

¹ *CIL* IV 2321; Varone 1994, 150.

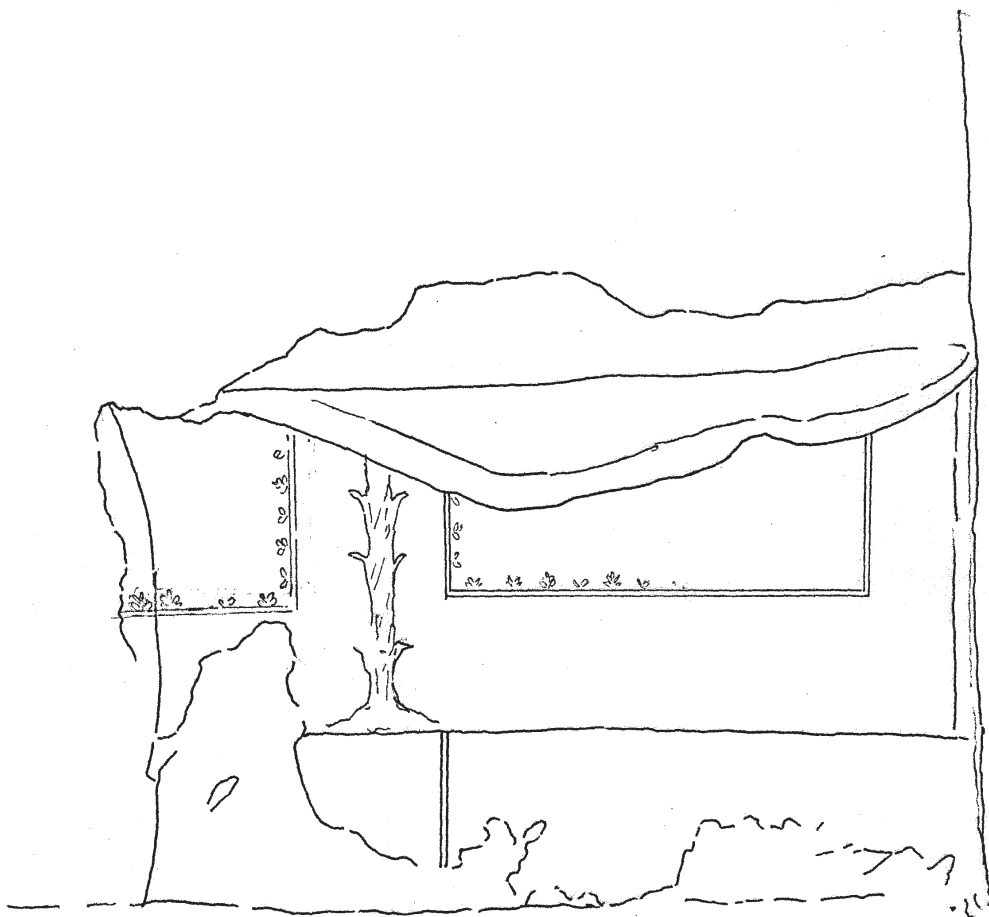


Fig. 2.

Room 137N-S 270–320 cm, W-E 250–290 cm; 6.7 m²

The entrance to the room is from the atrium (136), in the corner of the south wall of this cubiculum.

Bibliography: Bechi 1852, 19; Niccolini 1862, 75; Fiorelli 1873, app. 9 no. 2; Fiorelli 1875, 399–400.

Floor: Opus signinum.

Wall Paintings: There is a centrally positioned window to the vicus in the north, and remnants of wall paintings on three walls; no painted plaster remains on the south wall.

Two phases of paintings are visible; the older yellow layer appears in the alcoves on the east and the west walls, where the plaster has been picked to fix the new plaster. Of the second phase, two zones remain of the conventional three. The design consists of a very low *socle*, painted in intensive red, divided vertically with white



Fig. 3.

bands and decorated with blades of grass in dark and light green, even yellow. The *main zone* was white, now turned greyish. It is to be assumed that the walls were also horizontally divided into three fields.



Fig. 4.

The alcoves on both side walls have the same kind of decoration. On the east side the alcove is longer, covering the length of the whole wall, and preserving the decoration at its northern end. On the west side the alcove covers only the northern part of the wall, and the painting continues over the edge towards the door opening. Above the red socle there are horizontal yellow and black stripes. The white left field is framed with a red vertical band, with an embroidery border of two red and yellow lines, and red palmettes with five petals facing towards the interior. Between the two identical fields there is a yellow twisted candelabrum shadowed in red. Nowadays only one candelabrum remains per side, but for the sake of symmetry there must have been originally a second in the destroyed part.

Even if this is a modest house, the sample of its remaining wall paintings of the Fourth Style show a certain quality. The small recess in north wall of the atrium may have been a lararium.



Central Pictures Removed to Naples

ILKKA KUIVALAINEN

The early excavators of Pompeii wanted to remove the paintings that were considered either important or well preserved to the Royal Collections in the palace of Portici. From there the collections were moved to the Palazzo degli Studi in Naples (1806–1827), which later became the National Archaeological Museum of Naples (MANN). Insula IX 3 was no exception, although it did represent a turning point, as more was left in situ than detached.¹ Still, several paintings were taken to the museum in the 1850s, and all but one from the House of Marcus Lucretius. In those parts of the insula that were excavated later in the 19th century, the wall paintings were entirely left in their original places and, as a consequence, have been mostly destroyed. Similarly, in the house of Marcus Lucretius the remaining unsheltered paintings started to quickly deteriorate. Edward Falkener, who had been in Pompeii for almost the entire excavation period in 1847, complained that the originally quite clear side panels in the triclinium (16) “had already become nearly effaced, from the action of salt” in 1849.² Some paintings were even deliberately damaged, e.g. French scholar Désiré Raoul-Rochette (1790–1854), visiting Pompeii in 1851, bemoaned that only four years after excavation the central painting depicting an ithyphallic satyr in cubiculum 6 was nearly destroyed. Even if it was protected by a wooden shutter, it should have been removed to Naples in his opinion, because eager travellers were touching those kinds of indecent topics. He also considered that more paintings should have been removed to save them, e.g. the painting in the fauces (1) that gave the house its first name.³ The Pompeian administration tried to protect some paintings with wax, which was indeed used several times.⁴ In these efforts

¹ The earliest wall painting removals were done in Herculaneum by French sculptor Joseph Canart in 1739. Initially, almost all of the figurative motifs were removed to entertain King Charles (VII of Naples and III of Sicily, later III of Spain) and his court. The later open-air excavations in Pompeii enabled the excavators to see complete walls, which made the choice of the paintings to be detached more obvious, but the habit of removing most of the best figural scenes continued until the 1880s. The paintings removed were e.g. central pictures, floating figures, small landscapes and still-lives. Zevi 1981, 12, 18; Parise Badoni 1981, 58; Vlad Borrelli 1981, 81; Moormann 1991, 87–89, 92–93; Guglielmi – Prisco 2009, 15, 16, 19, 20; Tammisto – Kuivalainen 2008, 74.

² Falkener 1852, 62.

³ Raoul-Rochette 1852, 71, 76, 79.

⁴ Vlad Borrelli 1981, 81; Siotto 2004, 78, 81 (nos. 8 and 10), 82 (no. 15); Falkener commented on the decay: “Every fresco should be protected by a coating of liquid wax”, Falkener 1852, 62. The custom had started already in 1739, Moormann 1991, 90.

the success has been inconsequential, as in the House of Marcus Lucretius the number of surviving wall paintings is perhaps only twenty percent of the original amount, though more abundant in roofed parts of the house, and almost non-existent in some of the uncovered spaces.⁵ At any rate, the eruption of Vesuvius had already destroyed large parts of the upper zones of the wall paintings, the upper floors had fallen in, and the heat has caused immediate colour changes.

In this chapter the history of the removal and the possible causes for the selection of the detached paintings from insula IX, 3 is outlined according to their original positions. When the EPUH project was initiated the number of the paintings was not known, nor from where exactly in the insula some central pictures were removed, though in most cases the detached pictures had preserved their provenience.⁶ The inventories in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples are somewhat confusing, and it has been difficult to identify individual objects, even wall paintings.⁷ In the course of this study the information from the documents in the historical archive of the museum, the current catalogues, and photographic archives were combined with early publications on Pompeii and the museum collection in order to locate the lost central pictures.⁸

Venture in Inventories

The detachment process started in 1850, but most paintings arrived in Naples only in early 1851, as several were registered in the *Registro di Immissioni* 1838–51 on the 8th of February 1851.⁹ It was far from an easy project, as Guglielmo Bechi (1791–1852), architect working in Pompeii, wrote on the 15th of March 1852 to the director of the museum and the *soprintendente* of the excavations Domenico Spinelli, Principe

⁵ Tammisto – Kuivalainen 2008, 75. It has been estimated that the number of extant paintings in Pompeii came to less than twenty percent, or perhaps only ten percent, and other ten percent are known through drawings and photographs. Zevi 1981, 20–21; Parise Badoni 1981, 71; De Vos 1981, 182; Moormann 1991, 97.

⁶ At first only 23 detached pictures were identified from the House of Marcus Lucretius, Tammisto–Kuivalainen 2008, 74.

⁷ Coralini – Sampaolo 2020, 41–48.

⁸ The staff of the *L'Ufficio Catalogo*, *Ufficio museologia e documentazione storica* (containing the *Archivio storico*), and the *L'Archivio fotografico*, have been most obliging, and deserve special thanks for the progress of this study.

⁹ Prisco 2009, 247–248; *Registro di Immissioni* 1838–51 (SANP 162), 8.2.1851 shows all removed paintings except three. In the State Archives in Naples there are several documents about the detachment of paintings: *Distacco di pitture e intonaci pompeiani nella casa della “Sonatrice”* from 1852–1857 (fs 316, inc. 2), Castaldo Manfredonia 1979, 129.

di San Giorgio (1788–1863), stating that the craftsman Piedimonte, in charge of removing paintings, had detached two big ones from the House of Marcus Lucretius months ago, and despite Bechi's constant reminders they were still languishing in Pompeii.¹⁰ These paintings received inventory numbers when the *Inventario generale de' dipinti su muro* was created.¹¹ This inventory was named after Principe di San Giorgio as *Inventario San Giorgio* or *Antichi Inventari*. The wall paintings (*affreschi*) in the second volume were given the numbers 901–1780, and the mosaics (*mosaici*) 1781–1864. These inventory numbers were added to the *Registro di Immissioni*, in which they can accidentally differ from the numbers in the inventory San Giorgio itself. In addition, in the museum inventory numbers were customarily changed according to the arrangement of the galleries. Thus, the current inventory numbers were given whenever the collection of wall paintings was rearranged. Those which were not displayed did not always receive any number at all in the *Inventario Fiorelli*, also known as *Inventario Generale*, which was started in 1872 under the guidance of Giuseppe Fiorelli (1823–1896), director of the excavations.¹² In his inventory it was the custom to also enter the previous number if such existed. To make the system more difficult, sometimes the numbers painted on the wooden frames could be incorrect, perhaps at some time repainted incorrectly, and some paintings were even identified by the same number.¹³ In the museum it has been difficult to link the published written descriptions to the paintings, and even Wolfgang Helbig catalogued individual pictures under different entries in order to count every possible painting.¹⁴ Many detached pictures were fitted into dark brown wooden frames, with both horizontal and vertical beams behind, which was a novelty in the 1850s.¹⁵

¹⁰ Siotto 2007, 149.

¹¹ Vol. 2 (SANP 93) is mentioned in the written list of the historical archive to have started in 1852, but it may have been a longer process, initiated already in 1840s; Sampaolo 2005, 285–287; Coralini – Sampaolo 2020, 45. The earlier catalogue was the *Inventario Avellino* named after F. M. Avellino, who was the *soprintendente* 1839–1850, followed by D. Spinelli from the 11th of May to the 10th of April 1863, Laidlaw 2007, 633.

¹² Sampaolo 2005, 285; Prisco 2009, 6; Coralini – Sampaolo 2020, 41.

¹³ In the case of insula IX 3, the painting depicting the Triumph of the Infant Bacchus is MANN 9285, but another painting from Pompeii depicting Cupid, Helbig 1862, 137 (no. 625), was also known as MANN “9285”, Schefold 1957, 342.

¹⁴ If Helbig's sources gave different information about a motif of a painting in a certain house, he added a different number for both motifs, or he could add a separate number for a painting in MANN with the information about the excavation, in case the exact provenience had been lost.

¹⁵ Di Cosimo – Longo 2009, 75, 76, [82].

The House of Marcus Lucretius IX 3, 5

The paintings to be detached were figural scenes chosen according to their state of preservation and their relative value, perhaps artistically or because they depicted a rare topic. In 1850 the members of the Royal Academy (*Accademia Ercolanese*) visited many houses in Pompeii and decided that the most celebrated paintings of the Casa delle Sotatrici should be immediately detached and transported to the Royal Museum.¹⁶ This resulted in Raoul-Rochette becoming somewhat unconvinced about the application of the criteria, as only two central paintings from the four cubacula around the atrium were removed.¹⁷ The method was certainly detrimental, as e.g. the two better preserved central paintings in the main triclinium (16) were removed, but the third in poorer condition was left in situ to wait for a later detachment,¹⁸ which, however, never occurred. The rooms around the atrium received roofs, but the one over tablinum was not substantial and did not last for long.¹⁹



Fig. 1.

Cubiculum 6

NARCISSUS. MANN 9381, inv. San Giorgio 1672²⁰ (52 x 46 cm), from the left (west) wall (Fig. 1).

¹⁶ [–] “l’Accademia ha visto la necessità di doversi le dette pitture distaccare subito et trasportare nel Real Museo, e segnatamente quelle celebratissime dell’Ercole ed Iole, del Trionfo di Bacco e le altri delle favola di Amore e Psiche”. The original order was signed by B. Quaranta, and copies confirmed by F. De Luca and R. Zucca. Siotto 2004, 81 (no. 10).

¹⁷ Raoul-Rochette 1852, 77, 79, 80.

¹⁸ “I tre grandi quadri rappresentano secondo noi, uno Ercole iniziato a’ misteri *Jacco Eleusini*, l’altro una *Theogonia*, o rappresentanza ricordevole della nascita di Bacco, poichè si vede sopra un carro trionfale il *balio Sileno* col pargoletto Bacco nelle braccia circondato da fauni e baccanti di ambo i sessi: questi due quadri si sono distaccati per far parte della collezione del real Museo. Nel terzo che rimane ancora al suo posto è espresso Bacco trionfatore delle Indie.”, Bechi 1852, 9.

¹⁹ The early protecting pent roof was not yet built, when E. Breton made a drawing published in his book *Pompeia*, Breton 1855, 187, but it is visible in the oldest photos of the house, e.g. in G. I. de Rumine’s albumen print from 1859, MANN.

²⁰ Helbig 1868, (no. 1354); Bechi 1852, 5; Ruesch 1908, 341 (no. 1437); Reinach 1922, 197 (no. 1); Elia 1932, 79 (no. 169); Schefold 1957, 246.

Narcissus was the most favoured motif in Pompeian central pictures, and was also known from the surrounding area.²¹ This painting from the cubiculum (6) belongs to a rare type, in which Narcissus is shown standing and with feminine features.²² He is seen $\frac{3}{4}$ from behind, admiring his image in the fountain, and exhibiting his wide buttocks to the viewer. He is accompanied on the right by a kneeling Cupid with a torch held downwards, illuminating the reflection of Narcissus' head.



Fig. 2.

Cubiculum 7

PHRIXUS AND HELLE. MANN 8896, inv. San Giorgio 1680²³ (56 cm x 48 cm),²⁴ from the left (west) wall (Fig. 2).

Phrixus and Helle is a well-known topic from several central pictures in Pompeii.²⁵ This painting shows Helle already sinking in the water and reaching with both hands for Phrixus, who is sitting aside the golden ram.

²¹ Hodske 2007, 166–171. According to W. Prehn in the Roman-Campanian wall paintings, there were 57 known paintings, mostly from Pompeii. Out of these 30 frescoes still exist, half of them in situ, Prehn 2018, 27–28. Since that study a new discovery was made in the Casa di Leda (V 6, 12) in 2019, 'Amore e sensualità negli affreschi della regio V'.

²² Hodske 2007, 171; D'Angelo 2012, 229; Prehn 2018, 1, 27–29, 77–80, 203–204.

²³ Bechi 1852, 6; Helbig 1868, (no. 1253); Ruesch 1908, 339 (no. 1425); Elia 1932, 75 (no. 148); Schefold 1957, 247.

²⁴ Inv. Fiorelli gives the measurements as H 63 cm x W 54 cm, which are not accurate.

²⁵ More than ten central pictures depicting Phrixus and Helle have been discovered in Pompeii. They were in various types of rooms, one even in a macellum. These were discovered e.g. in: I 1, 2; V 6, 10; VI 2, 4 with two cupids; VI 5, 13; VI 8, 35; VI 40 *Ins. Occ.* (Masseria Cuomo; MANN 8889); VII 9, 7 containing only Phrixus and the ram; VIII 4, 4.49; VIII 5, 37; IX 5, 6.17 with two tritons. Except for the two paintings, one from the House of Marcus Lucretius and another from the *Insula Occidentalis*, the others were left in situ and have mostly vanished. Helbig 1868, 266–268 (nos. 1251–1258,); Sogliano 1879, 101–102 (nos. 549, 550); Reinach 1922, 211 (nos. 5 and 6); Elia 1932, 75 (nos. 149); Schefold 1957, 161; Romizzi 2006, 179, 233, 364, 368, 375, 437–438, 460, 465, 478, 481; Hodske 2007, 218–219; Lorenz 2008, 225–228. The new discovery in the Casa di Elle e Frisso (V 6, 10), Argento *et al.* 2024, 7–8; Rispoli *et al.* 2025, 2, 6–8.

Ala 8

Perhaps in early 1851 some paintings of ala (8) still remained in their original places,²⁶ but in February two bigger rectangular paintings from the middle fields, depicting theatrical topics, and the five smaller ones with either a Cupid or a Psyche, originally medallions from the side fields, were registered in Naples.²⁷ In fact, all of the seven central pictures of the main zone were detached, making this ala the only room in the insula with this outcome. The larger theatrical paintings were from back and right walls, the only complete walls of the room.

THE POET AND THE MUSE. MANN 9030, inv. San Giorgio 1683²⁸ (53 x 49 cm), from the back (south) wall²⁹ (Fig. 3).

THE POET AND THE ACTOR. MANN 9038, inv. San Giorgio 1684³⁰ (56.5 x 52.5 cm), from the right (west) wall (Fig. 4).

An extra bit (2.5 cm/1.5 cm–3.2 cm)³¹ of the original yellow main zone wall was left around both these rectangular pictures when detached, most probably for extra support. The combination of poets with actors and muses are known elsewhere, e.g. from Herculaneum.³²

A compass had been used to make the circles of the five medallions, but they were detached as rectangular panels (mostly 38.5 x 38.5 cm), and thus had extra yellow background colour of the main zone in the



Fig. 3.

²⁶ The paintings depicting poets were described without mentioning their removal, Raoul-Rochette 1852, 234–235.

²⁷ Bechi 1852, 7, mentions only the removal of five pictures, but *Registro di Immissioni* 1838–51 (SANP 162), 8.2.1851 all of them.

²⁸ Helbig 1868, (no. 1458); Reinach 1922, 314 (no. 2); Schefold 1957, 248.

²⁹ Its original place is erroneously given in the *PPM* IX, and changed with that of the following painting, Bragantini 1999, 230, 238; also, the information is unclear: the left wall for the Poet and the Actor, and the opposite for the Poet and the Muse, Schefold 1957, 248.

³⁰ Helbig 1868, (no. 1455); Reinach 1922, 314 (no. 1); Schefold 1957, 248.

³¹ The Poet and the Actor is set precisely inside its wooden frame, but the picture depicting The Poet and the Muse is not quite centrally positioned, the actual picture measuring 43.5 x 43 cm.

³² Another painting, possibly The Poet and the Muse instructing an actor, Wieseler 1851 36–37 (pl. 4 no. 11); Helbig 1868, (no. 1461); Reinach 1922, 310 (no. 7).

corners. The medallions themselves are red with a white border.

From the back (south wall):

PSYCHE CARRYING A BASKET AND A PEDUM. MANN 9344, inv. San Giorgio 1685³³ (D 23 cm), from the left side field (Fig. 5).

PSYCHE CARRYING A BASKET AND A SPRIG. MANN 9345, inv. San Giorgio 1686³⁴ (D 23 cm), from the right side field (Fig. 6).

From the right (west) wall:

CUPID CARRYING A CLUB. MANN 9341, inv. San Giorgio 1689³⁵ (D 22.9 cm)³⁶, from the left side field (Fig. 7).

PSYCHE CARRYING A FLORAL WREATH. MANN 9346, inv. San Giorgio 1687³⁷ (D 23 cm), from the right side field (Fig. 8).

From the left (east) wall:

CUPID CARRYING A RABBIT (HARE) AND A PEDUM. MANN 9343, inv. San Giorgio 1688³⁸ (D 23 cm), from the right side field (Fig. 9).



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

³³ Helbig 1868, (no. 840). This and the following Psyche's (MANN 9345) inventory numbers are interchanged by Helbig in the *PPM* IX, Bragantini 1999, 228, 232.

³⁴ Helbig 1868, (no. 839); Schefold 1957, 248–249.

³⁵ Zahn 1852/1859, pl. 75; Helbig 1868, 139 (no. 647); Reinach 1922, 74 (no. 10); Schefold 1957, 248.

³⁶ The rectangular area is a little larger in this painting: H 38.5 cm, W 37 cm.

³⁷ Helbig 1868, (no. 835); Reinach 1922, 145 (no. 6); Schefold 1957, 248.

³⁸ Helbig 1868, 145 (no. 725); Schefold 1957, 248. The number from Helbig is erroneous in *PPM* IX, Bragantini 1999, 225.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.

Both cupids and psychae, as floating figures or in medallions, were usual in the Vesuvian area.³⁹ Here they formed a combination, in which the Psychae with a basket and a sprig/pedum formed a pair on the back wall, the cupids with a pedum/club were on the opposite walls facing each other, and furthest Psyche with a floral wreath was depicted as a lone figure.

³⁹ E.g. figures from Herculaneum, Helbig 1868, 170 (no. 853); Reinach 1922, 90 (no. 2). 94. Helbig listed several Psychae, 166–168 (nos. 828–846), many in other forms than medallions, and several single Cupids (Erotes) as floating figures, 138–146 (nos. 632–740b).

Triclinium 16

When Raoul-Rochette visited Naples and Pompeii in 1851 most of the central paintings from the triclinium (16) were already detached, but had not yet been displayed in the museum.⁴⁰ This information concerns the two very large central paintings from the middle fields, the first depicting Hercules and Omphale, and the other The Triumph of the Infant Bacchus, which were considered the most valuable works of art from the House of Marcus Lucretius. From the side fields, six smaller paintings, Cupids and Psychae in different activities,⁴¹ were removed.



Fig. 10.

From the back (east) wall:

HERCULES AND OMPHALE. MANN 8992, inv. San Giorgio 1954⁴² (191 x 151 cm), from the middle field (Fig. 10).

THE BANQUET IN FRONT OF THE STATUE OF BACCHUS. MANN 9207, inv. San Giorgio 1671⁴³ (45 x 41 cm),⁴⁴ from the left side field (Fig. 11).

⁴⁰ Raoul-Rochette 1852, 237, 239; Bechi 1852, 9.

⁴¹ "Six beautiful little Dionysiac paintings, depicting Cupids and Psychae under canopies or awnings supported by poles, carousing, dancing, singing, and acting", Falkener 1852, 62.

⁴² Helbig 1868, (no. 1410); Ruesch 1908, 312 (no. 1319); Elia 1932, 44–45 (no. 56).

⁴³ Minervini 1856 (*MB* 15), pl. 45; Helbig 1868, (no. 759); Ruesch 1908, 345 (no. 1454); Reinach 1922, 93 (no. 3); Elia 1932, 93 (no. 230); Schefold 1957, 249.

⁴⁴ The modern wooden frames are wider than the picture itself, and the picture panel in between shows the original red colour of cinnabar under its blackish surface.



Fig. 11.



Fig. 12.

THE BANQUET IN FRONT OF THE STATUE OF HERCULES. MANN 9193, inv. San Giorgio 1694⁴⁵ (45 x 41 cm), from the right side field (Fig. 12).

Right (south) wall:

THE TRIUMPH OF THE INFANT BACCHUS. MANN 9285, inv. San Giorgio 1955⁴⁶ (181 x 156 cm), from the middle field (Fig. 13).

CUPIDS AND PSYCHAE AS A LYRIC CHOIR. MANN 9206, inv. San Giorgio 1590⁴⁷ (45 x 41 cm), from the right side field (Fig. 14).

CUPIDS AND PSYCHAE AS A TRAGIC CHOIR. MANN 9191, inv. San Giorgio 1693⁴⁸ (46 cm x 42 cm), from the left side field (Fig. 15).

⁴⁵ Minervini 1856 (*MB* 15), pl. 46; Helbig 1868, (no. 757); Ruesch 1908, 344–345 (no. 1453); Reinach 1922, 93 (no. 4); Elia 1932, 93 (no. 225); Schefold 1957, 249 (with Helbig's number 767); Bragantini 1999, 259, 273, 275. There are incorrect details for several paintings

⁴⁶ Helbig 1868, (no. 379); Ruesch 1908, 311 (no. 1317); Reinach 1922, 106 (no. 3); Elia 1932, 44 (no. 55); Schefold 1957, 249.

⁴⁷ Minervini 1856 (*MB* 15), pl. 47; Helbig 1868, (no. 766); Ruesch 1908, 344 (no. 1452); Reinach 1922, 93 (no. 1); Elia 1932, 93 (no. 228); Schefold 1957, 249.

⁴⁸ Minervini 1857 (*MB* 16), pl. 3; Helbig 1868, (no. 767); Reinach 1922, 92 (no. 4); Elia 1932, 93 (no. 226); Schefold 1957, 249. Modified names are used for MANN 9206, 9191, 9255 in the Catalogue.



Fig. 13.

Left (north) wall:

CUPIDS AND PSYCHAE PREPARING FOR A TRAGIC PERFORMANCE.
MANN 9255, inv. San Giorgio 344⁴⁹ (47 cm x 42 cm), from the left side field (Fig. 16).

⁴⁹ Possibly *inv. Avellino* 1575; Minervini 1856 (*MB* 15), pl. 19; Helbig 1868, (no. 768); Reinach 1922, 93 (no. 2); Elia 1932, 93 (no. 226); Schefold 1957, 249.



Fig. 14.



Fig. 15.



Fig. 16.



Fig. 17.

Entrance (west) wall:

THE BANQUET IN FRONT OF THE STATUE OF PSYCHE. MANN 9208, inv. San Giorgio 1692⁵⁰ (45 x 41 cm), from the left side field (Fig. 17).

⁵⁰ Helbig 1868, (no. 760); Minervini 1856 (*MB* 15), pl. 18; Reinach 1922, 401 (no. 2); Elia 1932, 93 (no. 227); Schefold 1957, 249.

All five of the small paintings of Cupids or Psychae are depicted amongst outdoor scenes with tents and elaborate hangings. In four of them there is a statue in the background, depicting firstly bearded Bacchus, secondly Hercules, and thirdly Psyche, but the fourth one has several possible identifications, such as Apollo or another Psyche.⁵¹ The last statue is now only faintly visible; it is either a robed female or a young nude male. The painted statues could connect these depictions of Cupids and Psychae to cultic activities with musical and theatrical performances. According to Falkener, “three are dramatic and three symposiac”,⁵² but strictly taken in three of these five paintings music is performed, dancing in two, and musical instruments appear in two of the dramatic scenes.

Recess 20

INSTRUMENTUM
SCRIPTORIUM. MANN
9818, inv. San Giorgio
1678⁵³ (19 x 30.5 cm),
from the back (north) wall
(Fig. 18).



Fig. 18.

The idea to depict
letters, scrolls, or tablets

and various pieces of writing equipment was quite common in wall paintings. In several of them the text is still at least partly legible.⁵⁴ This one from the recess is apt for the space, which may have contained a small desk offering a beautiful view towards the garden (18). Compared to the other known depictions of this subject, this is exceptional for the status of the owner, a priest of Mars, otherwise unknown in Pompeii.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Apollo is suggested by Minervini, though the sprig in the hand of the nude figure is not convincingly laurel, Minervini 1857 (*MB* 16) pl. 2.; another Psyche, Helbig 1868, 151 (no. 767); Panofka and Avellino do not mention the statue, Panofka 1847, 136; Avellino 1848, 10–11; the statue is completely missing in Falkener’s drawing, Falkener 1852, 63.

⁵² Falkener 1852, 62.

⁵³ Bechi 1852 (*MB* 14), 11, pl. A–B, does not mention the removal; Helbig 1868, 412 (no. 1722); Reinach 1922, 262 (no. 12, only in the text); Schefold 1957, 250.

⁵⁴ E.g. Helbig 1868, 412–414; Reinach 1922, 262 (nos. 10–12); J.-M. Croisille presented a list of fifteen paintings from the Vesuvian area containing either only writing equipment or some other objects with them, Croisille 2010, 64–67, 77.

⁵⁵ M(arco) Lucretio Flam(ini) Martis Decurioni P(ompeis) (*CIL* IV 879). Castrén 2008, 27–28; Castrén 2019, 17–19; Varone 2019, 29–31.

Oecus 21

This room, conventionally called an oecus, had an uncertain function, and its central paintings are not well enough known. Panofka described the two rectangular panels which were detached: “Vicino ad una stanza ristretta ve ne ha una ben grande, dove Venere ornandosi delle armi di Marte ha per contraposto Apollo abbracciando Dafne che si trova accanto all’alloro.”⁵⁶ The latter has survived, and is now displayed in the pornographic collection, Gabinetto Segreto, of the museum. The first painting, described here as a Venus, is no longer securely identifiable.

MARS AND VENUS/NARCISSUS. MANN (?), inv. San Giorgio (?), from the back (east) wall.

This painting is lost, but its arrival in Naples was documented in the *Registro di Immissioni* 1838–51 on the 8th of February 1851, together with most of the other paintings. At the end of the line in the record text there is the number 1671, meaning that it should be found in the inventory of San Giorgio for frescoes, but in reality that number refers to another painting from the House of Marcus Lucretius, i.e. the one from the triclinium (16) with the Banquet in front of the Statue of Bacchus (MANN 9207). The lost painting’s measurements were given as “palme due e 20/100 per palme due”,⁵⁷ and its empty cut in the wall is now ca. 56 cm wide. There was probably only one protagonist and a small cupid in the painting, which would explain the difficulty in its identification, as cupids customarily accompanied both Venus and Narcissus, as seen in the cubacula (6 and 7). In the first case, the feminine Narcissus is depicted with two spears. Falkener believed it was “Narcissus in love with his reflection in the water”,⁵⁸ and Helbig, for his part, opted for both alternatives; firstly, Venus in accordance with Panofka, but also referring to Minervini, who had described it as Narcissus, and secondly identifying it again as Narcissus with a new number.⁵⁹

One possible option, in my opinion, could be the Narcissus painting MANN 9380. There may have been simply two paintings with the same inventory number in the museum: one from Casa dell’Argenteria (VI 7, 20), and the other from somewhere in Pompeii without an exact location, or else the painting from the Casa dell’Argenteria

⁵⁶ Panofka 1847a, 132.

⁵⁷ Palma napoletana was ca. 26.5 cm. The measurements would have been ca. 53 x 58.3 cm, perhaps the larger being its height.

⁵⁸ Falkener 1852, 81.

⁵⁹ Minervini 1855, 80: “uno di essi rappresenta Narcisso, che specchiasi nelle onde”; Helbig 1868, 78 (no. 304): “Aphrodite sich schmückend”, and 303 (no. 1365b): Narkissos.

has a different inventory number in the museum.⁶⁰

APOLLO AND DAPHNE. MANN 9536, inv. San Giorgio 1589⁶¹ (43 x 37 cm), from the right (south) wall (Fig. 19).

This central picture was described in the museum simply as: “Intonaco su cui si vede dipinto Apollo che forza Dafne.”⁶² The harassing Apollo is shown standing with a red cloak, which is flowing in the air and tied around his neck. His body and head are in $\frac{3}{4}$ profile, and the top of his quiver appears above the cloak. Daphne, a tall figure with a yellow billowing cloak behind her head, is on her knees.⁶³ The painting of an assault was considered indecent, and the painting was thus displayed in the Gabinetto Segreto, as the only such painting from insula IX 3. There are several other pictures of the same topic, one good example being in the Casa dei Dioscuri.⁶⁴



Fig. 19.

Triclinium 25

In this large triclinium there was a predella painting depicting six cupids harvesting grapes, detached as three fragments, and one with six playing children. These were detached from the back (south) and right (west) walls. The third predella painting of the left (east) wall, depicting wild animals, was not detached and was destroyed.

⁶⁰ Helbig 1868, 302 (no. 1361); Schefold 1957, 344; Bragantini 1993 (*PPM* 4), 454–455; Prehn 2018, 148–149 (no. A 18); 199–200 (no. D7). The size of MANN 9380 would be quite suitable, H 43 cm, W 42 cm, though the back of the painting seems to be technically older using only wooden frames, Di Cosimo-Longo 2009, 30–33. See p. 253, Fig. 26. Narcissus from VI 7, 20 could also be another painting depicting Narcissus, MANN 9388.

⁶¹ Bechi 1852, 14, does not mention the removal; Helbig 1868, 56 (no. 207); Ruesch 1908, 339 (no. 1429); Reinach 1922, 26 (no. 7); Elia 1932, 76 (no. 152); Schefold 1957, 250.

⁶² *Registro di Immissioni* 1838–51 (SANP 162), 8.2.1851.

⁶³ Helbig 1868, 56 (no. 207) located the painting in the House of Marcus Lucretius due to the same date of the excavation and its publication; Panofka 1847a, 132; Panofka 1847b, 142; Falkener 1852, 81; Minervini 1855, 80.

⁶⁴ Lorenz 2008, 205–208.

The paintings in Naples are the only ones preserved from the walls, originally with elaborate grotesques, genii, maenads, and birds in fanciful architectural features.⁶⁵

HARVESTING CUPIDS. MANN 9198, inv. San Giorgio 1673⁶⁶ (45 x 48 cm), from the back (south) wall (Fig. 20).

There are two Cupids. The one on the right stands on a ladder gathering grapes for his companion on the ground. This is the painting originally at the highest location of the three, probably from the back (south) wall. Helbig presumed that it had been the centre of the predella,⁶⁷ but this is doubtful, as the vine garland above is growing higher to the left. In addition, the floral candelabrum on the right edge does not seem to have been the centrepiece of the wall.

HARVESTING CUPIDS. MANN 9338, inv. San Giorgio 1668⁶⁸ (32 x 31 cm), from the back (south) wall (Fig. 21).

The Cupid on the left is floating in the air while collecting grapes from the vine above. The other cupid stands by with a large basket.



Fig. 20.



Fig. 21.

⁶⁵ Panofka 1847a, 133; Panofka 1847b, 143; Bechi 1852, 13, does not mention the removal; Falkener 1852, 78; Minervini 1855, 65.

⁶⁶ Helbig 1868, 158–159 (no. 801); Reinach 1922, 85 (no. 3); Elia 1932, 93 (no. 231); Schefold 1957, 250.

⁶⁷ Helbig 1868, 159: "Vermutlich bildete das zuletzt beschriebene Stück das Centrum der Darstellung." There is no explanation for this idea. The white background is larger, and the depiction dividing the candelabrum on the right is not seen in the others. In my opinion, due to this candelabrum being so near, its location would rather be either side field.

⁶⁸ Helbig 1868, 158 (no. 801); Schefold 1957, 250.

HARVESTING CUPIDS. MANN 9340, inv. San Giorgio 1667⁶⁹ (32 x 30 cm), from the back (south) wall (Fig. 22).

Two Cupids are standing around a large basket. The one on the left is seen in perspective with a bunch of grapes, and the other on the right is presented frontally holding a small basket.

The original predella painting with these six Cupids is an obvious parallel to the famous frieze in the oecus (q) of the Casa dei Vettii (VI 15, 1). A Cupid on a ladder gathering grapes is also known from elsewhere, e.g. from the Casino Rospigliosi in Rome, and in addition to Cupids, Psychae are also shown as diligent harvesters and making wine,⁷⁰ quite appropriate for vineyards dedicated to Bacchus.



Fig. 22.

PLAYING CHILDREN. MANN 9103, inv. San Giorgio 1861⁷¹ (30 x 63 cm), (Fig. 23).

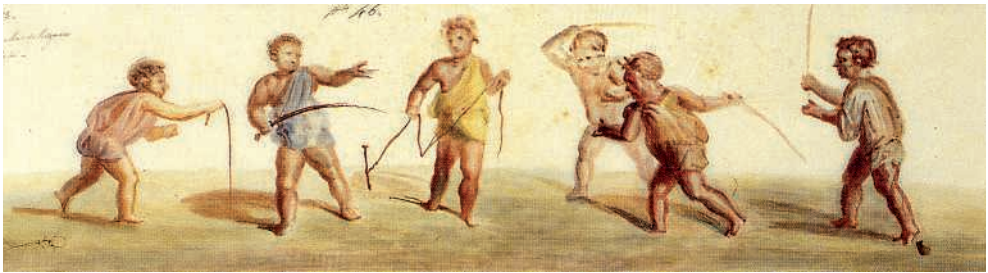


Fig. 23.

⁶⁹ Helbig 1868, 158 (no. 801); Schefold 1957, 250.

⁷⁰ Helbig 1868, (no. 803); Sogliano 1898, 355–356 (fig. 54), 361–362; Reinach 1922, 85 (nos. 4–6), 91 (no. 4), 92 (nos. 1–3); Schefold 1957, 148.

⁷¹ Helbig 1868, (no. 1477); Reinach 1922, 76 (no. 3); Schefold 1957, 250.

This painting is from the right (west) wall. None of the six boys has wings, which is exceptional in Pompeii. They are playing, perhaps some kind of a blind man's buff, where the blindfolded child (the hoodman), whose face is now destroyed and seen only as a white patch, is tied with a rope to a nail in the ground, and thus confined to a limited area, while the other five are teasing him.⁷²

Passage behind the garden 41 [18]

From the pillars, which are connected together by a low parapet wall in the passage behind the garden, two small central paintings were detached, one from the right (north) and the other from the left (south) pillar. They are atypically different in shape, as the first is a medallion and the other a rectangular pinax. In this research these two still-lives were identified as having been detached from the House of Marcus Lucretius.

STILL-LIFE. MANN 8642, inv. San Giorgio 1676⁷³ (D 28cm, detached panel 40 x 39 cm), from the right (north) pilaster (Fig. 24).

This circular painting depicts a still-life with figs, grapes, and a bird. Their identification has not been unanimous.⁷⁴ The bird, a small and plucked quail, is rarely depicted in wall paintings.



Fig. 24.

⁷² Bechi 1852, 13; Falkener 1852, 78. It is not for certain if the boy attached to the rope would have been blindfolded, because he has a curiously whitish face in the water colour illustration by M. Mastracchio titled "amorini che scherzano" (MANN ADS 1078).

⁷³ Helbig 1868, 409 (no. 1700); Dated to the reign of Vespasian, Schefold 1957, 327; Croisille 1965, 38, pl. 53 (no. 102).

⁷⁴ Panofka 1847a, 132: "fichi, uva ed un pollastro"; Falkener 1852, 72–73: "four green glass vessels, a small stone bottle, a bunch of grapes, and a garland of flowers, on the angle of a square table." Panofka was here more correct, even if the bird is too small to be a chicken.

STILL-LIFE. MANN s.n., inv. San Giorgio 1677/1678⁷⁵ (26 cm x 39 cm), from the left (south) pilaster (Figs. 25 and 26).

The rectangular still-life on red background depicts an open cupboard with shutters, and a box and comestibles inside. These cannot be identified precisely.⁷⁶



Fig. 25.

Elsewhere in Insula IX, 3

ISIS-FORTUNA. MANN 8836, inv. San Giorgio 1862⁷⁷ (72 x 79 cm), from the left (north) wall of IX 3, 7 or the same wall continuing in IX 3, 12 (Fig. 27).



Fig. 26.

This is a lararium painting depicting three human figures, Isis-Fortuna and two other divinities, on greenish brown terrain, and against a white background decorated with bluish flowers with four petals and dots in between.⁷⁸ Opinions differ on the original location of the painting, vacillating between IX 3, 7, IX 3, 10–12 and IX 3, 15.

The painting is well known for its black dipinto PILO[CA]LVS VOTVM SOL(VIT) LIBE(N)S MERITO above the picture.⁷⁹ Panofka's description of its location and artistic importance were published on the 1st of July 1847: "al muro della

⁷⁵ This painting has a problematic inventory number 1678 in the *Registro di Immissioni*, which was added later, *Registro di Immissioni* 1838–51 (SANP 162), 8.2.1851. The text "SG 1678" is hand written in black on the painting's wooden frame. According to the inventory of San Giorgio, number 1678 should, however, be the number of the painting with the letter of Marcus Lucretius, while the correct number for this rectangular still-life should be inv. San Giorgio 1677; Croisille 1965, 64 (no. 143), pl. 16 (no. 31).

⁷⁶ Panofka 1847a, 132: "un cestino con entro un frutto di mare ed un pomo"; Falkener 1852, 73.

⁷⁷ Panofka 1847c, 127; Panofka 1847b, 144; Minervini 1861, 89; Helbig 1868, 25 (no. 78); Brizio 1870, 46; Zangemeister 1871, 53 (*CIL* IV 882); Jordan 1872, 35–36; Fiorelli 1875, 394; Ruesch (no. 1352); Reinach 159 (no. 8); Elia 1932, 62 (no. 104); Schefold 1957, 251; Boyce 1937, 84 (no. 415); Fröhlich 1991, 294 (no. L101); Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 335.

⁷⁸ The description on p. 164–165.

⁷⁹ *CIL* IV 882. See also Weber in Suppl. 4,1, 1279.



Fig. 27.

casa accanto una pittura, in quanto al valore artistico da paragonarsi alle insigne di botteghe pompejane.”⁸⁰ Abbate’s drawing of the painting was dated to the 30th of July 1847, but unfortunately the information about the location is equally vague: “Pittura disterrata dun muro laterale della Casa così detta delle (corrected della) Sonatrice.”⁸¹ The painting with the letter of Marcus Lucretius from room 20 (MANN 9818) had recently been discovered, and the name change of the house from Casa delle Sonatrici to Casa di Marco Lucrezio was in process at the time. The last rooms of the house were unearthed only in the autumn, and the two rooms belonging to the neighbouring house IX 3, 15 were most probably part of the last excavations. According to Falkener they were finished at the end of June, perhaps referring to his departure, but he did not describe the painting, not even when he later returned to the site.⁸² The most reliable information concerns its detachment, which was ordered on the 16th of December in

⁸⁰ Panofka 1847c, 127.

⁸¹ Abbate MANN ADS 1094; *PPM Disegnatori* 1995, 367 (no. 183).

⁸² The excavations in the houses IX 3, 1–2, 24, and 25 were carried on until the 6th of September, Falkener 1852, 37–38.

1850 by Principe di San Giorgio. In a letter to Giuseppe Settembre, the architect of the Pompeian excavations, the painting was described as depicting Isis and Mithras. The place given was right behind the wall, “sul muro esterno della casa delle Sonatrici, e proprio alle spalle del Bacco bambino trasportato sul carro da Sileno”, this meaning the painting of Infant Bacchus in the Carriage of Silenus in triclinium 16, which should be detached first as a more important work of art than the Isis on the other side. Settembre answered on the 21st of December that the workers were also taking down Hercules and Omphale along with the others previously mentioned, as well as the ones behind them.⁸³

Minervini analysed the painting in 1861, reporting that it came from the wall of a neighbouring house of the House of Marcus Lucretius, and was at that time displayed in the third room of wall paintings in the newly reorganised National Museum.⁸⁴ Helbig was also vague in 1868 with his information, favouring as the original location a house with an entrance from the “vicolo”: “Haus neben der Casa di M. Lucrezio mit Eingang von dem zwischen Strada Stabiana N. 19 und 23 einmündenden Vicolo”, which means Vicolo degli Augustali.⁸⁵

Karl Zangemeister, who published the inscription in 1871, explained in *CIL* IV that it was originally in the House IX 3, 15: “Extabat in cubiculo tab. nostrae A 125 [--] pone aedes Lucretii sito, in pariete septentrionali, quem locum indiciis quibusdam a Fiorello mihi subministratis ductus tandem repperi.” He also stated that it was removed from the room, in his map A number 125 (stanzino di Pilocalus), which equates to number 60 in the map published by Bechi in *Museo Borbonico*.⁸⁶ This location in House IX 3, 15 is not correct, because that would be the tiny room 86 in the EPUH map, commonly known as room [g]. That is why the adjacent larger room 87 [h] has been accepted by many scholars.⁸⁷ However, this house cannot be the original location, because the cubiculum 86 [g] contains the best-preserved Second Style wall paintings in the house, and there are also remains of that style on the north wall of room 87 [h], although its upper part may be a modern reconstruction. Also, it would have been very odd to have a lararium painted in the Fourth Style on either of these walls, and thus dated after the earthquake in AD 62.

The other potential location has traditionally been taberna IX 3, 7, which was even named by Fiorelli the “Taberna Philocali”, as he pinpointed the painting to the back of

⁸³ Transcription of the documents 34 and 35 by M. Amodio, Prisco 2009, 247–248.

⁸⁴ Minervini 1861, 89.

⁸⁵ Helbig 1868, 25 (no. 78) i.e. House IX 3, 15.

⁸⁶ Bechi 1852, pl. AB.

⁸⁷ Fröhlich 1991, 294; Koponen 2021, 196–198.

this shop in his own description in 1875.⁸⁸ Its north wall, that is the outer wall of the House of Marcus Lucretius, is quite a suitable wall for a lararium painting; it would have been next to a small rectangular recess, which was indeed a small lararium (but empty when discovered), and the painting would have been cut from its side. Now the plaster is preserved only in places, e.g. above the stairs leading to the mezzanine above.⁸⁹

Zangemeister's view has been generally accepted, as he had personally been shown the place.⁹⁰ And yet, Fiorelli in his description in 1875 seems to have amended either his own possibly erroneous statement, or else Zangemeister was simply led to the wrong spot. Ynnilä was against identifying the location in the taberna, and placed it instead in the garden of the bakery IX 3, 11–12. In doing so, she referred to the weekly report of September 1846, according to which the taberna was undecorated.⁹¹ That was not, however, actually the case, as part of the socle painted in red was visible even later. At the time of this weekly report in September 1846, the back part of the long taberna IX 3, 7, perhaps even divided into two rooms, had most probably not been excavated,⁹² and the painting was discovered only in the first half of 1847, while excavating the House of Marcus Lucretius. Presumably the excavators had not even reached the east wall of the House of Marcus Lucretius when the painting was discovered in its southern side.

The letter by Principe di San Giorgio in 1850 clearly indicates that the enigmatic location was the southern outer wall of the House of Marcus Lucretius, either in the taberna IX 3, 7 or in the garden (68) = [i] of the bakery IX 3, 10–12, depending on how far the wall was unearthed. At the time even the garden was probably considered to belong to the taberna, which would locate the painting precisely behind the central picture of the Infant Bacchus.⁹³ This also conforms with Pancaldi's definition.⁹⁴

There is no doubt that the detachment in the early 1850s of the 27 paintings

⁸⁸ Fiorelli 1875, 394: "Taberna Pilocali. Questa è assai profonda, ed ha nello interno la scaletta dell'ammezzato con la nicchia de' Penati, presso della quale trovarsi quel dipinto, che ritrae Iside-Fortuna sul globo, il dio Luno a cavallo, ed Espero alato portando una face: nella cornice si legge PILOcaLVS·VOTVM·SOL·LIBES·MERITO". This view was also supported by Fröhlich 1991, 294.

⁸⁹ Also Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* IX), 314–315.

⁹⁰ Zangemeister 1871, 53 (*CIL* IV 882); Even Della Corte 1954, 158 (no. 361), and in the third edition 1965, 191 (no. 361), located this sacred painting in the cubiculum, which, in my mind, would not be a typical place for this kind of painting.

⁹¹ Ynnilä 2012 (cat.), 107, 134–135. "[L]e pareti di esse sono interamente spogliate d'intonaco", the weekly report of the 12th of September 1846 (no. 5789).

⁹² Koponen 2020, 297 accepted either room 87 or room 68; she later rejected the garden as the original location, since it was not excavated in 1847, Koponen 2021, 200.

⁹³ The letter was to show the order of the removal of the pictures, because the detachment usually also damaged the wall from the other side, Siotto 2007, 121.

⁹⁴ Pancaldi 1848, 34–35.

presented above saved them, while those left in situ have severely deteriorated. The process of removing and transporting them in an orderly manner to Naples was not an easy one, as the collection kept on growing. Some might have lost their identification on the way, if not at the final destination. Luckily, during the EPUH campaigns two paintings, the still-lives MANN 8642 and MANN S.N (inv. San Giorgio 1677/1678), considered already lost, were positively identified. The third, alas, is still missing, although it could be at least similar to Narcissus MANN 9380 (Fig. 28).



Fig. 28.

Bacchic Themes

ILKKA KUIVALAINEN

Gardens were central places for the cult of Bacchus, and should be considered alongside his other dedicated spaces. Most of his temples were small, and in the case of Pompeii his extramural shrine was surrounded by garden triclinia and vineyards. In addition to the vine (and grapes), ivy was also sacred to him. Statues depicting Bacchic figures were prominent in gardens, but there are also indications of a predilection towards portrayals of Bacchus in the wall paintings of interior spaces, regardless of the use of the room. Several of these painted scenes reflect events outdoors, thus strengthening the connection to natural spaces. The Bacchic indications can sometimes be modest, such as an isolated object characteristic of Bacchus: a thyrsus, basket, transport amphora, wineskin, situla, crater, cantharus, rhyton, mask, tympanum, or crotales. These could also include his sacred animals, e.g., his favourite she-panther, goats as typical sacrificial animals, or oxen representing his fertility and masculinity. Another important element in the cult of Bacchus were his companions: Silenus and other satyrs, maenads, and in Pompeii the very popular Ariadne. Secondary figures also appear: Genii with Bacchic attributes, Cupids harvesting wine, intoxicated figures, and Pan. Furthermore, as the patron of dramatic arts, several theatrical figures are connected to him. Bacchus himself was often depicted as a human figure of different ages. This chapter will review the evidence for Bacchic themes in Insula IX 3.

The Gardens

Six gardens were documented during the EPUH fieldwork in the insula IX 3. Their sizes varied, the smallest being 10.7 m² in IX 3, 23 (131). It was a tiny garden in the back corner of a small atrium house, with no religious features preserved, but offering a direct view from neighbouring representative rooms (48 and 52).

The middle-sized gardens included that in IX 3, 19–20, with a garden area of 27.7 m² (122–123). It was a private apartment connected to a bakery, mill, and triclinia, containing clearly religious features such as a lararium, but originally no Bacchic connections. A small marble disc with a tragic mask was at some point relocated from an unknown place and fixed in the arch-shaped recess under the stairs nearby.¹ House IX 3,

¹ Fiorelli 1875, 398–399.

10–12 was a private apartment connected to a bakery and a garden area of 38.5 m² (68). From the triclinium (67) there was a window offering a view towards the garden. House IX 3, 1–2, a dyer's workshop with a private apartment, had a garden area of 40.7 m² (5) and a lararium with bronze figurines, but none with Bacchic connections.²

The House of Marcus Lucretius IX 3, 5.24 held a large, elevated garden, 47.6 m² (18). It was the finest atrium house of the insula, with exceptionally numerous Bacchic details.³ The major features that made it famous were the statues and oscilla, depicting the divinity himself, his companions, and various animals.⁴ (Fig. 1)



Fig. 1.

The largest garden, 50.9 m² (90), was in the atrium house IX 3, 15. It was the only peristyle garden in the insula, furnished with a lararium, though not containing any Bacchic features.

The overall meagre indications of interest in Bacchus in the gardens of this insula may be due to the poor preservation of the wall paintings and the removal of artefacts during the eruption, if not later. In fact, the companions of Bacchus were more common than the god himself throughout Pompeii.⁵

² E.g. Bechi 1857, 17; Helbig 1868, 23 (no. 69b); Boyce 1937, 82; Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 223. Bacchus as a bronze sculpture is not common in Pompeii, Kuivalainen 2021, 218–225.

³ House IX 3, 24 had an earlier garden before it was merged into the House of Marcus Lucretius.

⁴ The sculptural display has been analysed in the previous volume of EPUH, Kuivalainen 2019, 68–116.

⁵ The role of Dionysus/Bacchus in Pompeian gardens has been seen more as decorative than religious, e.g., focusing on his extramural temple, Jashemski 1979, 123–12. The garden of the House of Marcus Lucretius has a clear focus, and even its four double herms, an exceptional combination among the most common type of Bacchus in Pompeii, are purposefully situated, Kuivalainen 2019, 111–112; Kuivalainen 2021, 281–285.



Fig. 2.

The Plants

In the category of Bacchic botany, both ivy and vine are represented in insula IX 3. In miniature form, ivy appears as garlands in the caupona IX 3, 13,⁶ while in the House of Marcus Lucretius it is abundant; it is shown in the embroidery border (p. 330, Fig. 40) framing the central painting that depicts the letter identifying the (former?) owner of the house, above a painted mask in the socle.⁷ It is further shown in garlands above the playing children, (Fig. 2) in this case balancing the scenery with harvesting Cupids under vine garlands in the adjacent wall,⁸ and in ivy wreaths adorning poets and drunkards, with supporting figures, and two small posies tied together with a ribbon in a Bacchic still-life.⁹ Ivy adorns even a female figure balancing on a globe in cubiculum 7 and Galatea in cubiculum 5.¹⁰

In the House of Marcus Lucretius there was a high regard for the famous passage in one of Martial's epigrams:

⁶ In the back room 72, p. 176. About ivy and Bacchus, e.g. Armstrong 2019, 157–159.

⁷ P. 247. The letter of Marcus Lucretius has been analysed in the previous volume of EPUH, Castrén 2019, 17–19 and Varone 2019, 29–31. Ivy leaves as part of embroidery borders seem to be rare in Pompeii. For comparison, see the embroidery borders gathered from the insula of Menander, Ling 2005, 535–537 (figs. 170–172).

⁸ Room 20, MANN 9103.

⁹ Rooms 8 and 16; one of the Psychae in the ala 8 holds an ivy wreath, MANN 9346, Helbig 1868, 167 (no. 835); it has even been suggested that one of the divine heads with emblems in room 17 was Bacchus wreathed with ivy, Falkener 1852, 68. That is doubtful, and most scholars thought that the vague figure was either Venus, Hebe, or Hygeia, p. 130.

¹⁰ Helbig 1868, 111 (no. 471); Avellino 1848, 5; Helbig 1868, 211, 207 (nos. 1037, 1051).

*Hic est pampineis viridis modo Vesbius umbris,
 presserat hic madidos nobilis uva lacus:
 haec iuga quam Nysae colles plus Bacchus amavit.*¹¹

These lines have been interpreted as literary proof for a special connection between Bacchus and the Pompeian vineyards on Vesuvius. The different phases of the actual harvesting were seen in room 25, where six cupids worked in pairs, reaching out for grapes from a long vine above and putting them into baskets.¹² In triclinium 16 the main figure of the large central picture, a drunken Hercules, wears a vine wreath.¹³ It has also been suggested that one of the winged figures in the entrance (north) wall of cubiculum 5 would have carried a bunch of grapes.¹⁴

The Vessels

The whole repertoire of vessels, from those used in the harvest to those adorning the banquet table, is seen here, even if most often as single objects rather than in a collection. When considered together these illustrations show the transport of grapes from the vineyard to the table. The harvesting cupids collect grapes in calathi, and in another picture a situla is lifted by female attendants into the triumphal chariot of the infant Bacchus. In order to find an example of the use of a wineskin, we have to refer to a statue in the garden of Marcus Lucretius – Silenus holding a wineskin under his left arm.¹⁵ Alternatively the ready-made wine could be transported in an amphora: the central figure of the five cupids and psychae is carrying a narrow silver amphora with high plastic handles on his left shoulder, while merrymaking in a garden in front of a cult statue of Bacchus.¹⁶ Finally, there are vessels used at the table, as seen in the next sequence. Now the company of cupids and psychae has grown to ten, gathered around a table with two silver canthari, one small situla for mixing wine, two wine ladles, and a cup.¹⁷ More mixing and drinking

¹¹ Mart. 4,44,3–4; translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey (LCL 94 *Epigrams* I) 1993, 293: “This is Vesuvius, but lately green with shade of vines. Here the noble grape loaded the vats to overflowing. These slopes were more dear to Bacchus than Nysa’s hills, on this mountain not long ago Satyrs held their dances.”

¹² MANN nos. 9198, 9338, 9340; Helbig 1868, 158–159 (no. 801).

¹³ MANN no. 899, also Helbig 1868, 231–232 (no. 1140). There are more ivy wreaths in triclinium 16, e.g. MANN 9285. Helbig 1868, 95 (no. 379).

¹⁴ Avellino 1848, 5.

¹⁵ Kuivalainen 2019, 81–82.

¹⁶ MANN no 9207; Kuivalainen 2021, 85–86.

¹⁷ MANN 9193.

vessels such as craters, canthari, and rhyta appear, both as suspended single objects and part of the still-lives.¹⁸

In the large central picture representing Hercules and Omphale in the triclinium (16), there is a small cupid by Hercules' knee, holding a large silver vessel with two short horizontal handles (Figs. 3–4), a parallel e.g. to the *lanx* from Moregine Silver treasure.¹⁹ It reflects the scene in the polished surface of the vessel, as if in a looking glass. Mirrors were often considered powerful and magical devices. They could be used as tools for revealing the invisible, and for reduction to purify the souls of the living. Lecanomancy was common in many cults, but mirrors were clearly part of Dionysiac rites, a way to personally meet the divine. If linked to the companions, or other artefacts of Bacchic sphere, mirrors and other polished objects had a clear meaning to the initiated.²⁰ In the Villa dei Misteri, lecanomancy is shown on the left (east) wall of the mystery room: Silenus and a satyr holding a theatrical mask are making fun of their companion, who looks



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

¹⁸ Falkener even suggested that one of the divine heads with emblems in room 17 was Bacchus with a rhyton and cymbals, Falkener 1852, 68.

¹⁹ Boscoreale inv. 86757; Mastroroberto 2006, 231 (no. 392); Sodo 2015, 126–127, 222 (cat. P2).

²⁰ Taylor 2008, 133–136.



Fig. 5.

into the vessel and sees the reflection of the mask from behind. (Fig. 5). In the case of the House of Marcus Lucretius, lecanomancy was associated with the role-play of Hercules and Omphale, caused by the excessive use of wine.²¹

Other Essential Objects

The thyrsus is the most favoured symbol of Bacchus. It is depicted either as one of the inanimate objects in a collection, or carried by either Bacchus himself or members of his entourage when in thiasus or banqueting outdoors. In Pompeii the typical thyrsus is decorated with a bunch of leaves and ribbons on top. There are some with a bunch of

leaves on both ends, while those with pinecones on top are rare.²² In this insula some are slender and simple, while others are decorated with ribbons, leaves, and flowers. Thyrsi appeared frequently in the House of Marcus Lucretius, and they were also present in the bakery IX 3, 19–20. They were even shown several times in the same room, e.g. in ala 8 one appears in both still-lives, while in triclinium 16 a thyrsus appears in all three central pictures: held by three Bacchi, his companions, and even Hercules.²³

The most preferred musical instruments, tympanum and crotales, are seen both in the Bacchic processions and in the two still-lives in room 8 (Fig. 6), and either alone or carried by single decorative figures. The most pretentious thiasus, with seven companions helping Bacchus to discover Ariadne, is in one of the triclinia of the bakery IX 3, 19–20, and depicted three thyrsi and one tympanum.²⁴

²¹ The same kind of bowl was also shown in a Bacchic ensemble with a small statue of bearded Bacchus in Herculaneum, MANN 8615, e.g. *MB* 7 (1831), pl. 56; Helbig 1868, 132–133 (no. 580); Griesi 2011, 250 (no. 2).

²² Kuivalainen 2021, 230–231.

²³ They are present in rooms 1, 6, 7, 8, 16, 33, and 112. E.g. the infant Bacchus holds a thyrsus with a ribbon and a bunch of leaves on top in his raised right hand, and holds the lower end of the ribbon with his left hand, while Silenus supports it, MANN 9285.

²⁴ Triclinium 112, G. Discanno's drawing MANN ADS 1095; *PPM Disegnatori* 1995, 844–845 (no. 9).

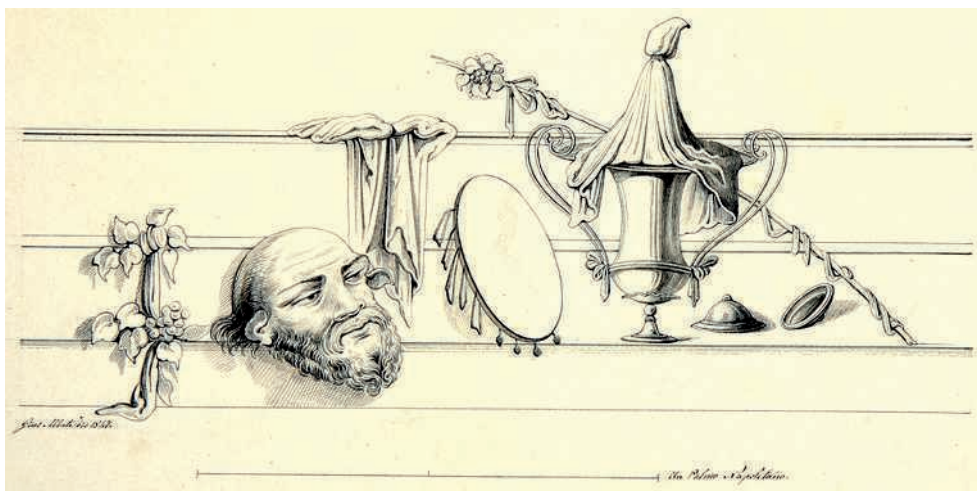


Fig. 6.

In the cubacula mainly side figures in the upper zones held an instrument: a single maenad standing on a globe carries a tympanum,²⁵ while a seated female figure is equipped with a tympanum and a patera.²⁶

It is of interest that a fragmentary terracotta figurine from the kitchen area of the House of Marcus Lucretius (rooms 11–14) depicts a female with a round object in her left hand, identified most probably as a tympanum.²⁷ Tympana also appear as a single object, e.g. in room 5. Crotales seem to be less important in the two houses IX 3, 5. 24 and IX 3, 19–20; they are shown in one of the still-lives in room 8, and as suspended objects in the triclinium 112.

The Masks

There are two types of masks in the House of Marcus Lucretius, those depicting Bacchus himself or his entourage, and masks linked to the theatre.²⁸ Sometimes a mere mask designated the presence of Bacchus, thus emphasizing his penetrating gaze when among

²⁵ In cubiculum 6 the opposite one had a thyrsus, Falkener 1852, 50. About the identification of these figures, p. 00.

²⁶ In cubiculum 5, Avellino 1848, 6; Helbig 1868, 111 (no. 474).

²⁷ Pietilä-Castrén 2019, 120–121, fig. 2.

²⁸ The masks could have originated from the idea of performing as billy goats, and were possibly made of their leather. G. Seiterle supported his theory by suggesting that tragedies were developed from dithyrambs depicting satyrs, and buck masks were worn in Dionysiac rites in which goats were sacrificed, Seiterle 2006, 40–41.

ordinary people.²⁹ For the Pompeian viewers, the masks could thus have been somewhat confusing or even threatening, not revealing whether Bacchus himself was in fact present or not.³⁰ The first type of mask is copiously known from the marble sculpture in insula IX,³¹ and from the Silenus' head in the wall painting ensemble in room 8.³² Theatrical masks, for their part, appear in several rooms of the House of Marcus Lucretius. In room 2 they appear as reliefs in the painted



Fig. 7.

architectural setting of the main zone and decorate the receding wings and the socle of an aedicula.³³ In room 4 they are held by the Muses (Fig. 7),³⁴ or stand by them,³⁵ or else appear as ornamental suspended masks as single objects. In room 16 they are held by cupids, and in rooms 6, 7, and 20 they are again suspended, in different parts of an architectural scene.

From Dramatist to Performance

A theatre performance was one of the elements in the climax of Bacchic cult rites, in addition to sacrifices and thiasus. In the wall paintings of the House of Marcus

²⁹ Kerényi 1960, 153; Otto 1965, 86–91; Taylor 2008, 126–128.

³⁰ Hales 2007, 337–341.

³¹ Kuivalainen 2019, 103–110.

³² It has also been asked whether the Bacchic still-lives are religious or decorative, Beyen 1928, 10–11.

³³ MANN ADS 1004; Zahn 1852, pl. 56; *PPM Disegnatori* 1995, 910 (no. 38).

³⁴ These Muses were Melpomene and Thalia, Avellino 1848, 4–5; Helbig 1868 176 (nos. 876, 880). They are not listed in E. M. Moormann's short catalogue of paintings representing Muses, perhaps because his focus was on more complete series of Muses, Moormann 1997, 99–102; Falkener 1852, 51, described them as actors with a pedom and a mask. Thalia is quite commonly portrayed as holding a pedom, see e.g. Helbig 1868, 176–177 (nos. 881, 885b), and *PPM Disegnatori* 1995, 915 (no. 44).

³⁵ In cubiculum 4 there were masks in quadrangular panels in the middle of the upper zone below the Muses, e.g. a water colour by V. Discanno, MANN ADS 1005; *PPM Disegnatori* 1995, 880 (no. 1).



Fig. 8.

Lucretius the different phases of putting on a play are shown, depicting poets, actors, musicians, and theatrical scenes. Several paintings with cupids in triclinium 16 might depict theatrical and musical rehearsals; the most obvious one shows them in the act of dressing in their costumes and seeking inspiration from masks.³⁶ In ala 8 there are two central paintings, both depicting an ivy-wreathed playwright guiding an actor/actress. In the first, the mask of the standing actor is pushed to the back of his head (Fig. 8).³⁷ In the other case, the seated figure holds a bearded mask in his hand; if the roles suggested here are correct, then this is not a seated actor but the poet.

³⁶ MANN 9255.

³⁷ As a parallel from Herculaneum MANN 9079; Helbig 1868, 341 (no. 1441).



Fig. 9.



Fig. 10.

Considering the actual production on the stage, there are three obvious theatrical scenes: one comedy scene in fauces 1, and one comedy scene and one tragedy scene in ala 9. The painting in fauces 1 gave the house its first name, “The House of the Musicians”.³⁸ As mentioned above, the painting on the right (south) wall shows a tibicen with a drunkard (Fig. 9), probably a scene from a play, as suggested already by Minervini.³⁹ There is a parallel from Herculaneum, now MANN 9035, in which an ivy-wreathed young man and tibicen sit side-by-side as an elderly man arrives in the scene (Fig. 10).⁴⁰ In ala 9 another comedy scene depicts a tall, (nowadays) headless woman with a short elderly figure.⁴¹

These two scenes can be interpreted as topoi, while the following tragic scene in the same ala 9 can be interpreted as the climax of a tragedy: the now severely damaged painting depicts two small children with a tall adult, identified as Medea and her children (Fig. 11).⁴² The atmosphere differs from the famous painting of the same subject in the

³⁸ Casa delle S(u)onatrici, e.g. Panofka 1847b, 144. See p. 6.

³⁹ Minervini 1855, 52–53; Scholia Aristoph. *ad Ran.* 479, and Xen. *conviv.* 9, 3. Unlike Avellino 1847, 33–34, Panofka did not see Bacchus or any religious aspects in the paintings of the fauces, Panofka 1847a, 130.

⁴⁰ Quaranta 1831 (*MB* 7), pl. 21; Helbig 1868, 354 (no. 1471); Reinach 1922, 314:5.

⁴¹ “Due attori”, Panofka 1847a, 131; Helbig 1868, 355 no 1474; A nearly identical male figure from triclinium 41 in the Casa del Centenario (IX 8, 3) is sketched by G. Discanno, MANN ADS 1111 C.

⁴² Avellino 1848, 34; Helbig 1868, 351 (no. 1466). Instead, only an actor in front of two children, Panofka 1847a, 131; Panofka 1847b, 142; a compromise is: “[–] a spare female figure masked, with two children



Fig. 11.

Casa dei Dioscuri (VI 9, 6), MANN 8977. There, the mother is only contemplating her deed and the two boys are playing, unaware of their fate, while here the two tiny timid figures stand shoulder-to-shoulder in front of their vindictive mother. A more suitable parallel is from the Casa del Centenario (IX 8, 3), in which a tall Medea is coming with a drawn sword towards her little sons, accompanied by a short tutor (Fig. 12). As all of these figures wear masks, the painting could represent a scene from, e.g., Seneca the Younger's tragedy *Medea* from ca. 50.⁴³

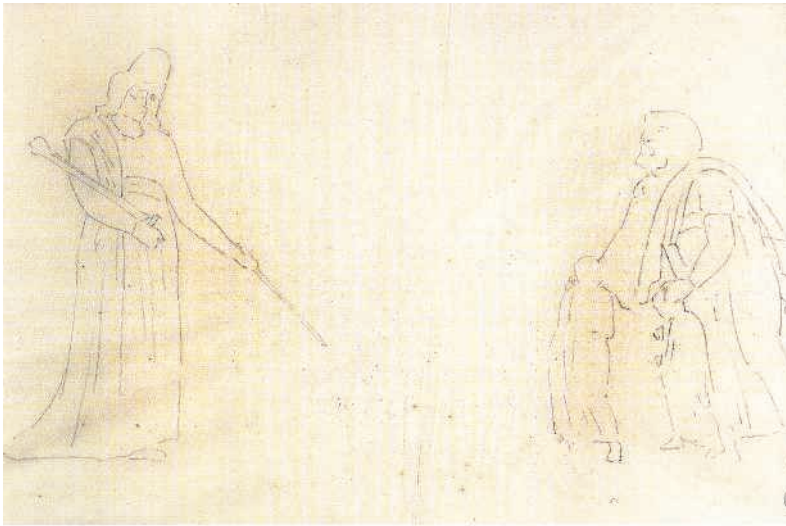


Fig. 12.

in front, as if receiving instruction (this picture may possibly represent Medea and her children)", Falkener 1852, 53.

⁴³ MANN ADS 1109, *PPM Disegnatori* 1995, 878 (no. 55); Seneca's play would be the best model, Carucci 2010, 57.

The Maenads

Maenads appear as isolated figures, floating or standing on top of candelabra or a globe. They appear in two houses, firstly in the fauces (1) of the House of Marcus Lucretius, where an isolated female on the left (north) wall is floating against a light blue background; she is decorated with an ivy wreath, carrying a thyrsus and a tympanum,⁴⁴ the two most characteristic objects of a maenad (Fig. 13).⁴⁵ Originally there were three instances of maenads standing on top of candelabra in the fauces. The only one preserved is in the yellow vertical division (fascia) of the right (south) wall. She is standing on a spiral candelabrum with a tambourine in her right hand.⁴⁶ Two other fasciae are destroyed, and the one directly opposite was replaced by the door to room 3. In the cubiculum (7) the characteristic attributes are divided among two dancing maenads against a white background, where they are presented opposite each other on the right (east) and west (left) walls.⁴⁷

There were two more floating maenads in the smallest triclinium (110) of the bakery IX 3, 19, painted against a white background. The first carries a thyrsus in her left hand, holding a bread(?) basket with her right hand on top of her head, while the other holds



Fig. 13.

⁴⁴ Helbig 1868, 113 (no. 482). P. 34.

⁴⁵ Two other floating figures, sometimes called *Victoriae* (with cornucopia and rudder), though sometimes also called *Bacchantes*, Fiorelli 1875, 391. P. 33.

⁴⁶ Falkener 1852, 40 describes them as pilasters ornamented with cupids supported by scroll-work candelabra.

⁴⁷ Avellino 1848, 37: “una figura nuda virile” and “una Baccante”; Panofka 1847a, 131 identified the one on the right (east) wall *Fortuna* on the globe, and the one on the left (west) wall *Venus* with two peacocks; Falkener 1852, 50: “Bacchantes standing on globes, and symbolical of the universal power of the Dionysian deity”; Helbig 1868, 109 (no 453) supported Avellino; Bragantini 1999 (*PPM* 9), 218 is for a feminine figure with a thyrsus and a tympanum. Despite some scholars being against the idea, the one in the upper zone of the east wall, though turned backwards, is clearly feminine, and because of her attributes a proper maenad.

a bunch of grapes.⁴⁸ These two seem to have a direct connection to the products on offer in the commercial premises, thus acting as a delightful advertisement.⁴⁹

The God Himself

The main types depicting Bacchus are illustrations of human figures of different ages – bearded men, in most cases already of advanced age, adolescents, and infants. The oldest type goes back to the archaic period, while the adolescent and the infant appeared in the classical period; many Pompeian wall paintings depicted Hermes holding the infant Bacchus, in scenes reminiscent of the well-known statue from Olympia.⁵⁰

On the east wall of the triclinium (16) of the House of Marcus Lucretius, a bearded Bacchus is portrayed as a statue behind a symposiac scene in a garden. In the foreground, under a baldachin, there are five winged figures, one of which plays a lyre and another dances, carrying the above-mentioned narrow silver amphora. At the top of this composition stands the fully robed marble statue of Bacchus on a pedestal. He holds in his left hand a thyrsus, his beard is longish, and he is wreathed.

Adolescent Bacchus can sometimes be effeminate,⁵¹ as on the north wall of the same triclinium (16). There are five figures: the Bacchus standing next to a satyr is a fully robed tall figure wreathed with ivy. He holds a shield with his right hand, participating in erecting a tropaeum (Fig. 14).⁵² A clearly male adolescent from House IX 3, 19–20,



Fig. 14.

⁴⁸ Sogliano 1879, 47–48 nos. 219–220; Schefold 1957, 251.

⁴⁹ In the triclinium 25 there were more floating figures, one with a tibia and thus possibly another maenad, Minervini 1855, 65; Helbig 1868, (no. 1936); Schefold 1957, 250.

⁵⁰ e.g. Moormann 1988, 34, 169 (no. 198b/2), 181 (no. 207/2), 186 (no. 220/1), 223–224 (no. 305/3/4); Kuivalainen 2021, 188–193.

⁵¹ Kuivalainen 2021, 73, 132, 228.

⁵² Another effeminate adolescent Bacchus wreathed with elephant tusks was once observed in the back (south) wall of the cubiculum 7. Avellino 1848, 17, identified it as Bacchus because of a Bithynian coin in which Bacchus holds a vase in his right hand and a spear or thyrsus in the left; Falkener 1852, 52; Helbig 1868, 111 (no. 474), identified the figure, correctly, as a female. It may be a personification of Egypt or Alexandria. Cf. G. Abbate's drawing, MANN ADS 1009, *PPM Disegnatori* 359, 363 no. 174.

triclinium (112), is part of a composition of nine figures depicting the discovery of Ariadne, one of the favourite subjects of Pompeian central panels (Fig. 15). Bacchus is fully robed, and points towards the sleeping woman with his thyrsus. In the case of the so-called Bacchic heads in the exedra 21, their identification remains ambiguous: one is claimed to depict Bacchus himself, and one Ariadne.⁵³ Ariadne may also appear in the company of an adolescent Bacchus in the fragment of a terracotta figurine discovered in the kitchen area (11–14). The two heads are depicted side-by-side, decorated with filets and corymbes, with a pinecone between the heads.⁵⁴



Fig. 15.

As for the infant Bacchus, there is one example from the insula IX 3, again from the triclinium (16). On the central panel of the south wall, since transferred to Naples, there is a composition of eleven figures and a chariot drawn by two oxen. On the chariot, Silenus sits holding in his lap a naked infant with a thyrsus (Fig. 16). This depiction of a thiasus, presented here as a closed composition, can be considered the most impressive of all the Bacchic depictions of insula IX 3.⁵⁵

The concentration of Bacchic pictures in the House of Marcus Lucretius is clearly among the most important in Pompeii, comparable to the House of Marcus Holconius Rufus (VIII 4,4.49).⁵⁶ In the second century AD Philostratus the Elder described a proper Bacchic room through five paintings depicting his life. He displayed an allowance for variation in his portrayal when analysing a picture representing the discovery of Ariadne:

⁵³ Three heads were described: Bacchus in a blue robe with a golden headband, Ariadne or Diana, and a male, Panofka 1847b, 144. Typically, it would have been an adolescent Bacchus, as known, e.g., from the Ins. Occ., VI 17, MANN 9520. Also Kuivalainen 2021, 105.

⁵⁴ Pietilä-Castrén 2019, 129–130, fig. 9.

⁵⁵ To compare, in the same regio IX, a thiasus is depicted as a megalography on three walls of a room that opens onto a garden in the Casa del Tiaso IX 10, 3; Zuchtriegel *et al.* 2025; Zuchtriegel 2025, 46–49, 269–297.

⁵⁶ Other houses with several Bacchi, e.g. Casa dei Vettii (VI 15, 1), see Kuivalainen 2021, 242–243.

“and there are countless characteristics of Dionysus for those who wish to represent him in painting or sculpture, by depicting which even approximately the artist has captured the god. For instance, the ivy clusters forming a crown are the clear mark of Dionysus, even if the workmanship is poor; and a horn just springing from the temples reveals Dionysus, and a leopard, though but just visible, is a symbol of the god; but this Dionysus the painter has characterized by love alone. Flowered garments and thyrsi and fawn-skins have been cast aside as out of place for the moment, and the Bacchantes are not clashing their cymbals now, nor are the Satyrs playing the flute, nay, even Pan checks his wild dance that he may not disturb the maiden’s sleep.”⁵⁷



Fig. 16.

The pictorial programme of the House of Marcus Lucretius fits well with this idea, as all the central pictures in the large triclinium (16) not only presented the god himself but also referred to his power. In fact, Bacchus appeared throughout the house, also gracing its garden with Bacchic statues. Panofka emphasized already in 1847 that Bacchic elements predominated in the paintings of the house, both in the pictures representing dramatic and symposiac scenes and mainly in the magnificent large paintings on the walls of the triclinium.⁵⁸ Falkener suggested that the owner of the house would have been depicted erecting the tropaeum in the triclinium (16):

⁵⁷ Philostr. *Imag.* 1, 15, 2, translated by Arthur Fairbanks, Loeb Classical Library 256, Cambridge MA 1931. The other paintings of this cycle are his birth (ch. 14,) the punishment of Pentheus (ch.18), the punishment of the Tyrrhenian pirates (ch.19), and the creation of a spring of wine in Andros (ch.25). There are also paintings depicting Silenus and satyrs, and, e.g., Narcissus, Lehmann-Hartleben 1941, 19–20, 33–36.

⁵⁸ He also thought that the owner of the house had a predilection and talent for dramatic poetry, and perhaps had made a career in Lydia or Hispania, due to the selection of paintings, Panofka 1847a, 137.

“The reader of the foregoing account must have been struck with the great number of Bacchic representations contained in this house [--]. We cannot consider that all this is a matter of chance, but must rather regard them as bearing some reference to the pursuits of the owner of the house. I imagine, therefore, that the proprietor was a *poet*.”⁵⁹

To my mind, the protagonist of that central picture is more likely an effeminate Bacchus, not “Marcus Lucretius” dramatizing his own poem.

In sum, the two houses of insula IX 3, the House of Marcus Lucretius and the bakery 19– 20, were the best protected immediately after the excavation, and many of the central pictures were removed to Naples. Both contained Bacchic subjects and displayed characteristics related to his cult in abundance; however, in the current state we have unfortunately lost many of the examples.

⁵⁹ Falkener 1852, 84–85.

Birds in the Sidelines

ILKKA KUIVALAINEN & ANTERO TAMMISTO

Birds, whether individuals or pairs, were by no means absent from the walls and floors of insula IX 3. To mention some examples, there is Juno's peacock (7, 17), Jupiter's eagle (9, 17),¹ the phoenix (9), singing doves (20), quails (41), pigeons (123), sparrows (6), and a swan, the favorite of both Apollo and Venus, most often decorating cubicula (5, 6, 7), and once also a triclinium (25),² as well as a thrush accompanied by a warble and sparrow (123). There were white birds and a singing bird in the Third Style wall (112), and bigger white birds, possibly herons, in the garden painting of the parapet wall (41), and several others in the other paintings around the garden (18). A larger flock of birds was immortalized in the tablinum (15) floor of the House of Marcus Lucretius (N–S 480–510 cm, W–E 450 cm; 21.8 m²). This room was certainly of some prestige;³ its remarkable opus sectile centerpiece of multi-colour marbles was framed with a black and white opus tessellatum border depicting a guilloche (W ca. 15 cm) and a wider border (W ca. 27 cm, L ca. 225/280 cm) with flowers and birds depicted in acanthus scrolls. In Pompeii it was usual to have a guilloche bordering the sectile pavement, but the highly stylized floral motives were rare in the first century AD.⁴

The floor mosaic was published by members of the Neapolitan Niccolini family in 1854, in the first volume of their *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei*. The authors relied on the reader getting enough information from the coloured lithograph (Fig. 1), made after an original picture by Abbate, as well as of Minervini, who wrote the awkwardly brief description: “Il pavimento è vagamente lavorato a mosaico, e nel mezzo è fregiato di marmi di varii colori; come può rilevarsi dalla fig. 8 della nostra tav. IV, ove ne facciamo la pubblicazione.”⁵

In this chapter a comparison is made between Niccolini's picture and that of the EPUH documentation in 2002–2007, not dismissing that the mosaic has been the subject of restorations. Since 1857 such work has been carried out several times in the

¹ Falkener 1852, 6. The descriptions of the birds are to be found in relevant passages of the descriptive catalogue, while those known only from former publications are mentioned here in the footnotes.

² Minervini 1855, 65.

³ The mosaic was claimed to be the most important in the house, parallel to the VIII 3, 8 and still influenced by the Third Style. The workmanship was, however, mediocre (“die Arbeit ist sehr mittelmäßig”), and the other parts of the house are completely indifferent, Pernice 1938, 105.

⁴ Blake 1930, 44.

⁵ Niccolini 1854, 11–12, tav. IV:8.

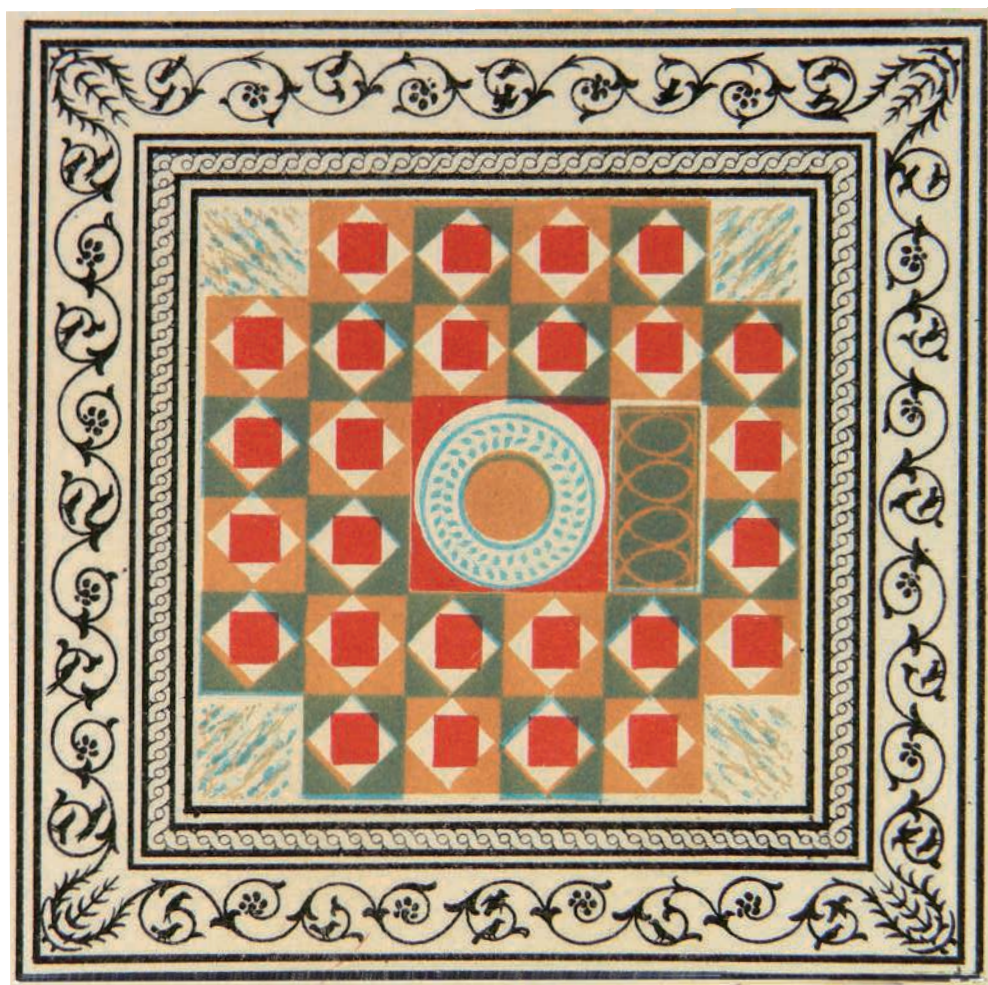


Fig. 1. The floor of tablinum 15 in the coloured lithograph, published in Niccolini 1854, tav. IV:8.

House of Marcus Lucretius: the floor of the atrium in 1925 and 1937, the geometric mosaics at least in 1940, 1947, 1949, and 1957, and the last restoration of the whole house in 2008.⁶ The exact information on the restoration of the bird and acanthus scrolls in the tablinum floor is unfortunately lacking.

⁶ Castaldo Manfredonia 1979, 131, refers to the restoration documents in the State Archive in Naples (no. 21: 1857–1859: “Restauro nella casa di Marco Lucrezio a Pompei e nelle sale delle nuove terme stabiane” [---] (fs. 318, inc. 33); Ynnilä 2011, cat. 79–80: *Giornale* 1899, 1925 (September), 1937 (October), 1940 (October, November), 1947 (April, November), 1949 (March, June), 1957 (May).

Niccolini's Scrolls versus EPUH Scrolls

In both versions the basic idea is similar: against a white background, nine black scrolls of acanthus emerge from three leafy twigs in each corner. Inside each scroll there is either bird(s) or a flower or a twig. In Niccolini's picture the following pattern is unvarying: the scrolls face alternately upwards or downwards, and along all four sides one or two birds presented in silhouette alternate with rosettes of mostly five-petals. Inside the scrolls there is the same pattern, from left to right: two birds on top of each other – a flower – a bird – a flower – two birds on top of each other – a flower – a bird – a flower – two birds on top of each other. All of the birds appear in the downwards curling scrolls, in the front (west) entrance side and the back (east) side, where they face left, while on the right (south) side and the left (north) side they face right, except a single bird inside the seventh, north scroll, facing left. The birds are of different sizes. Abbate's original drawing may have been more elaborate than the published lithograph.⁷

In the EPUH version (Fig. 2) the left (north) side is the only one following Niccolini's scheme from left to right: two birds on top of each other – a flower – a bird – a flower – two birds on top of each other – a flower – a bird – a flower – two birds on top of each other, all facing left, but presented now inside upwards curving scrolls. Respectively, the flowers are depicted in downwards curving scrolls, in addition to being more varied. The rosettes have only four petals, and the remaining two resemble short pieces of the twigs in the corners. There are eight birds.

Continuing clockwise, in the back (east) side there are more deviations from Niccolini's scheme. Flowers now decorate the outermost scrolls, the total sum being thus five: four rosettes, a twig and a bellflower, alternating with four single birds. The direction of the birds as well as the choice of upwards or downwards opening scrolls are mixed. There are four birds.

There is more uncertainty in the right (south) side, as the principle of bird alternating with flower is broken. The first figure in the left side was identified as a floral shape by EPUH but restored in the following years as a bird (Fig. 3). Even if acceptable, the following order would still be broken: a bird – a flower – two birds on top of each other – a twig – a bird – a flower – a flower – two birds on top of each other – a twig. There are six birds.

In the entrance (west) side, the pattern presented by Niccolini also fails, and seems to be now a flower – a bird – a rosette – two birds on top of each other – a twig – a bird – a rosette – a rosette – two birds on top of each other, the objects in the last two scrolls being, however, open to alternatives. The penultimate image, presented now in the

⁷ Niccolini 1854, tav. IV:8.

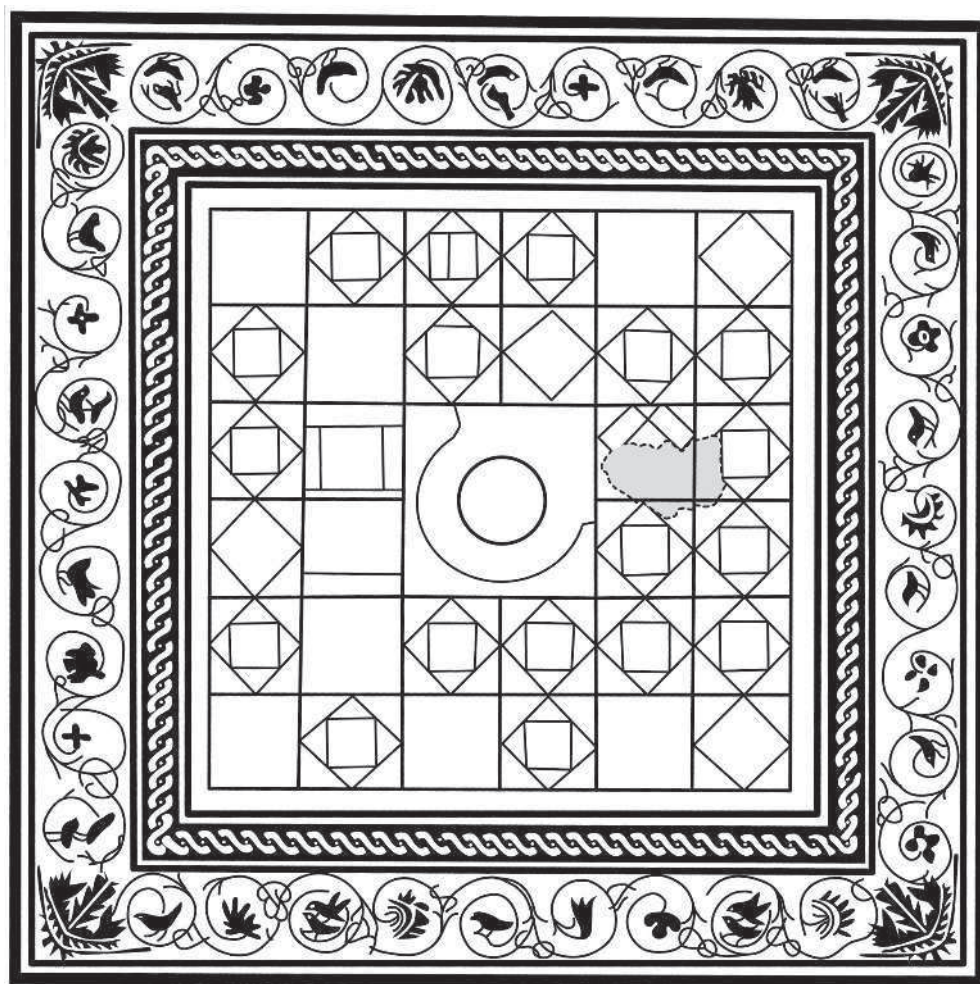


Fig. 2. The floor of tablinum 15 according to the EPUH documentation in 2007.

EPUH drawing as a rosette of four longish petals, is partly restored, and in photographs taken in 2005 rather resembles a bird. Equally, the two black figures in the last scroll might represent parts of flowers, fulfilling thus the obligation of alternating bird with flower in accordance with the east and north walls. We have thus at least five birds.

An Ornithological Note

As a result, the flock depicted in the borders of this floor seems to consist of 31 birds according to Niccolini's picture, and less, but at least 23 specimens, in the EPUH documentation, all black but in different sizes and poses. Of special interest are the

bird pairs, in which one is flying above the other as copulating birds do. This seems to be the case in the third and eighth scrolls of the right (south) side in the EPUH drawing. In Niccolini's picture this may be the same in the first scroll of the entrance (west) side, as well as in the fifth scroll, definitely in the ninth scroll of the left (north) side, and again possibly in the fifth scroll of the right (south) side. In any case, this is a rare detail in Pompeian bird descriptions.



Fig. 3. Detail from the southwestern corner in 2025.

Consequently, more anomalies accumulate the more we compare the two drawings some 150 years apart. Under the circumstances, might one hazard an identification of the birds? When analysing ancient wall-paintings and mosaics one should, as far as possible, follow the modern ornithological taxonomy and its criteria, despite the representations being mostly stylized and varied, even combining characteristics of several birds.⁸ In the case of this mosaic the task is challenging, as the birds are presented in silhouette. Based on the EPUH drawing, executed with great care and cogitation, it seems that the question is of medium and small sized passerines, the larger ones probably representing thrushes or their allies, and the smaller ones mostly warblers. This floor mosaic is so far unique in Pompeii in the number of specimens portrayed. There are vague similarities to paintings in two other houses and three mosaic floors. They are smaller, however, and present more fauna and fewer birds among various scrolls in momentaneous garden scenes. They are all connected to spaces bordering on atria.⁹

The EPUH documentation of the mosaic is plausibly accurate enough (Fig. 4). The floor has always been subject, however, to the effects of weathering and vegetation, and the tesserae have certainly been relocated, destroyed, and then restored. The exact details

⁸ Tammisto 1997, 4–10, 143–148.

⁹ Casa di M. Caesius Blandus VII 1, 40, ala 3a. Blake 1930, 60, 76, 108, pl. 18:3; Pernice 1938, 53; Bragantini 1996 (*PPM* 6), 392–393; Tammisto 1997, 422–423 (cat. SC.7). Casa del Menandro I 10, 4, room 46 (atriolum of the bath suite). Pernice 1938, 60; F. Parise Badoni 1990 (*PPM* 2), 377; Tammisto 1997, 421–423, cat. SC5 and SC6; Ling 2005, 243.

may have been partially lost over the years, but this decoration also binds this space to the idea of gardens and outdoor life, so favored in the whole house. It was visible to the atrium through the wide openings of the tablinum, not only from the garden itself, and the view was also expanded by the garden paintings decorating its walls.



Fig. 4. View from the tablinum towards the garden in 2025.

Comprehensive Non-destructive Chemical Characterization of the Wall Paintings

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Introduction

The APUV project, *Analitica Pompeiana Universitatis Vasconicae*, of the Department of Analytical Chemistry, University of the Basque Country, *EHU/UPV*, Spain, was launched in 2009 by the invitation of the EPUH-project in order to chemically characterize some of the wall paintings in the House of Marcus Lucretius IX 3, 5 in Pompeii.

An exploratory research was first conducted on 21 wall painting fragments containing red and yellow colours, and three mortar fragments. These samples were collected during the field work in 2002–2007. Out of the 21 wall painting fragments, 16 belonging to the Second Style had been excavated by EPUH and had consequently not been in contact with the atmosphere since their original deposition at the time of the eruption (Fig. 1).² The remaining five wall painting fragments and the three mortar fragments, belonging to the Fourth Style, were located in two rooms, the fauces or entrance (1) (Fig. 2), and the triclinium or dining room (16), where the walls are dominated by reddish and yellow colours. These samples had been unearthed more than 160 years ago and had been exposed since that time to the open air.

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² Hakonen 2019, 197–198, 206–213.



Fig. 1. Excavated samples stored in the triclinium (16), with a ceiling to protect them from rainfall.



Fig. 2. Detail of the right (south) wall of fauces (1), with bluish and reddish wall painting remains.

When designing the research strategy for those samples, it was recognized that the entire porous material, including the polychromy and the mortar layers, had likely been affected by various impacts. The various factors involved in the decay of these materials included earthquakes, humidity, the thermal impact of the eruption, ions dissolved in infiltration water, and the past impact of acidic gases coming from the eruption; however, the most important factor may be the impact of atmospheric pollutants. Atmospheric pollutants, such as CO₂, SO_x, NO_x, etc. can be deposited on the surface of mortars following dry and/or wet deposition processes. These pollutants are deposited in their acidic form and can react irreversibly with the alkaline mineral phases, generating efflorescence salts that are visible on the surface of the paintings.³

Preliminary Study and Diagnostic Evaluation of the Wall Painting Fragments

The characterization of the Second and Fourth Style wall paintings and Fourth Style wall fragments was performed in the laboratories of the Department of Analytical Chemistry, at the University of the Basque Country. First, microphotographs of the wall painting fragments prepared as cross sections, were obtained using a Leica DMLS light microscope with 100x and 200x magnifications in order to evaluate the paint stratigraphy of the mentioned samples, i.e. the pigment layer + the final, thin layer of plaster (*intonaco*) + the rough, first layer of plaster (*arriccio*). The characterization of all the wall painting samples, both in fragments and cross sections, was based on the use of Raman spectroscopy, using a Renishaw RA 100 Raman microprobe, 785 nm laser, and 20X and 50X objectives. Some of the Raman results were also complemented with micro-Energy Dispersive X-ray Fluorescence spectroscopy.⁴ The analysis of the mortars was carried out by the identification and quantification of soluble ions through the soluble salts test, which uses extraction with deionized water followed by ionic chromatography analysis. The quantitative data matrix was first treated by chemometric tools and then used as input to construct thermodynamic models to explain the chemical reactions suffered by the mortars due to atmospheric impacts.

The Pompeian Second and Fourth Styles have marked stylistic differences, but the pigments identified in the fragments were almost the same, i.e. red ochre⁵ and

³ Pérez-Alonso et al. 2004, 42–43, 49.

⁴ Maguregui et al. 2009a, 9–10.

⁵ A mixture of Fe₂O₃, clay and silica.

cinnabar (HgS) for the red colours, and yellow ochre as the unique yellow pigment were identified.⁶ However, different decaying processes of the red pigments were detected.

Black grains with small white crystals were always identified in the cinnabar layer in the Second Style fragments. The micro-Raman analysis of the black grains did not yield any Raman signal. Therefore, it was not possible to attribute the presence of any carbon or black oxide. The Raman analysis of the white crystals revealed the presence of calomel (Hg_2Cl_2).⁷ There is a known decaying process of cinnabar if chloride is present, where cinnabar (HgS) is partially transformed by a dismutation reaction in elemental black mercury (Hg^0) and the white calomel mineral (Hg_2Cl_2).⁸ In Pompeii, the chloride needed for that decaying reaction to occur could have come from the leaching of chloride from the pyroclastic materials that buried Pompeii and its transportation by rain water to the surfaces of the walls. This hypothesis was confirmed by the presence of chlorine detected by the micro X-ray Fluorescence analysis, not only in the red layer but also in the mortar layers.

The red ochre layer of the Fourth Style fragments showed the presence of hematite (Fe_2O_3) mixed with clay and silica. Some of the reddish areas in those fragments, which were exposed outdoors for more than 160 years, showed some darkening due to a microscopic black layer in the surface of red ochre. The Raman analysis of that microscopic black layer showed the presence of black magnetite (Fe_3O_4) and an absence of hematite, together with white crystals of gypsum ($\text{CaSO}_4 \cdot 2\text{H}_2\text{O}$) and calcite (CaCO_3) to a lesser extent. In the mixed interface between black and red, magnetite and hematite were identified together with gypsum. In the white/red areas near the blackened ones of the red layer, paracoquimbite ($\text{Fe}_2(\text{SO}_4)_3 \cdot 9\text{H}_2\text{O}$) was identified together with hematite and gypsum. Apart from calcite (the binder in the fresco paintings), the other three minerals are not part of red ochre, thus its presence could be explained only by the chemical reactivity between hematite and atmospheric sulphuric acid aerosols. The origin of such aerosols could be the urban-industrial environment of the Naples area and port, as well as emissions that took place in the AD 79 volcanic eruption.⁹

⁶ Maguregui et al. 2009a, 9–10.

⁷ Maguregui et al. 2009a, 9–10; Maguregui et al. 2010, 1400–1403, 1408.

⁸ Maguregui et al. 2010, 1401–1402.

⁹ Maguregui et al. 2009b, 45–46; Maguregui et al. 2010, 1404. Pliny the Younger, the eyewitness to the eruption, describes its subsequent phases in two letters, 6,16 and 6,20, and especially *odor sulphuris* in 6,16,18.

Thermodynamic modelling assisted with the confirmation of the above-mentioned hypothesis, which explains the formation of gypsum and paracoquimbite as deterioration products that lead to the blackening of hematite. A sustained impact of SO_2 acid gas, with more than 160 years with atmospheric 30-70 mg/L SO_2 , thermodynamically favoured the partial reduction of hematite to magnetite together with the oxidation of SO_2 to SO_3 . This SO_3 reacted with calcite, in the binder and mortar, forming gypsum.¹⁰ This is the initial degradation step, but if the attack of sulphuric acid continues, paracoquimbite is also formed from hematite in a second decaying process. The whole set of reactions and chemical diagrams can be consulted elsewhere,¹¹ but the main conclusion of this study, through the experimental identification of minerals and clarification of the chemical reactions explaining their formation, is the potential high sulfation impact suffered by red ochre pigments in the wall paintings exposed outdoors in ancient Pompeii.

The analysis of the mortar layers from the Second Style wall painting fragments, buried for the almost 2000 years, did not show any deterioration product.¹² However, the mortars of the Fourth Style wall painting fragments and the three mortar fragments showed a wide variety of decaying compounds, such as gypsum ($\text{CaSO}_4 \cdot 2\text{H}_2\text{O}$), mirabilite ($\text{Na}_2\text{SO}_4 \cdot 10\text{H}_2\text{O}$), epsomite ($\text{MgSO}_4 \cdot 7\text{H}_2\text{O}$), vaterite (CaCO_3), a polymorph of calcite, and weddellite ($\text{CaC}_2\text{O}_4 \cdot 2\text{H}_2\text{O}$).

The presence of gypsum, mirabilite, and epsomite are indicative of the extension of the sulfation decaying that reached to the mortar layers of the exposed outdoor walls and wall paintings in the House of Marcus Lucretius. However, these sulphates are present in the exposed surfaces of the mortars to the atmosphere, as the depth-profile Raman analyses demonstrate on such wall fragments. A higher presence of gypsum was observed at the surface, which decreased deeper in the layers, thus increasing the presence of calcite until the gypsum disappears.¹³

The presence of vaterite can only be explained by a first dissolution of calcite, which leaves soluble calcium and bicarbonate ions on the surface of walls, that reprecipitate as calcium carbonate in the form of vaterite after evaporation of the water phase, where the ions were in a soluble form. This is indicative of an acid

¹⁰ Maguregui et al. 2009b, 45-46.

¹¹ Maguregui et al. 2010, 1406-1407.

¹² Maguregui et al. 2010, 1408.

¹³ Maguregui et al. 2010, 1407, fig. 4: Some Raman spectrum data obtained after the point-by-point Raman analysis from the outer to the inner part of the mortar showed a massive superficial (more or less 10 μm) presence of gypsum (1-6) and the absence of these salts in the inner parts (7-9).

attack from the environment, but is not related to sulphuric acid aerosols, because only sulphates salts should be observed in that case. The acid involved in the reaction could be carbonic acid, which can be formed when CO_2 transforms into carbonic acid (H_2CO_3) at high relative humidities, like in the Pompeian atmosphere. The concentration of atmospheric CO_2 varied in the last 160 years from 30 mg/L to 70 mg/L, thus all materials exposed outdoor are affected by that acidic impact. The formation of vaterite is also described in literature as a consequence of *fungi* activities on calcite supports.¹⁴

The presence of weddellite could be attributed to the biological impact of colonies of microorganism that excrete oxalic acid from their biological activities; that oxalic acid reacts with calcium carbonate to form calcium oxalate. The presence of weddellite ($\text{CaC}_2\text{O}_4 \cdot 2\text{H}_2\text{O}$), the dehydrated form of calcium oxalate, is indicative of living colonies of microorganisms, because when a colony dies the calcium oxalate transforms to the more stable mono-hydrated form whewellite ($\text{CaC}_2\text{O}_4 \cdot \text{H}_2\text{O}$).

To confirm the effects of the described impacts, a soluble salts test was performed on subsamples of the wall fragments. The Ion Chromatography results revealed the presence of Ca^{2+} , Mg^{2+} , Na^+ , and K^+ , together with the unexpected ammonium NH_4^+ cations. Carbonate (HCO_3^-), F^- , Cl^- , NO_3^- , SO_4^{2-} and $\text{C}_2\text{O}_4^{2-}$ anions were also detected. The quantitative matrix of ions was subjected to chemometric analysis and thermodynamic modelling. Both predicted the presence of potassium chloride (KCl) in the wall fragments and not the presence of sodium chloride (NaCl), which could be expected from the influence of the marine aerosols.¹⁵

The APUV Project for in situ Characterization and Diagnosis

To assess the extent of the observed phenomena, such as the extensive sulfation of the walls and their paintings, the transformation of the original pigments, and the impact of microorganisms, a further in situ research program was designed using portable instruments. For this purpose, the APUV project was extended to include the transportation of scientific equipment to the House of Marcus Lucretius, the execution of research campaigns in the field, the development of new sampling protocols to evaluate environmental effects on material conservation, and the laboratory processing of the extensive data collected on site. This phase of the APUV

¹⁴ Maguregui et al. 2010, 1406.

¹⁵ Maguregui et al. 2010, 1407.

research program was carried out in 2010–2012 and was funded by the University of the Basque Country and the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation. The field campaigns considered works not only in the House of Marcus Lucretius but also in other areas of Insula IX 3.

The portable analytical instrumentation included a Raman spectrometer, capable of analysing either large areas of 0.2 mm or small spots of 2-10 microns, using a motorized tripod that enabled precise X-Y-Z axis positioning, a Diffuse Reflectance Infrared Fourier Transform (DRIFT) spectrometer, and an Energy Dispersive X-ray Fluorescence (XRF) spectrometer. Figs. 3–5 show some members of the team at work in the House of Marcus Lucretius with the portable instruments.



Fig. 3. In tablinum (15), Irantzu Martinez-Arkarazo and Maite Maguregui prepare the Raman setup to perform measurements of the entrance (west) wall of atrium (2).



Fig. 4. Kepa Castro with the DRIFT instrument, measuring wall painting remains of the right (south) wall in fauces (1).

Fig. 5. Anastasia Giakoumaki performing micro-Raman measurements on the originally red side field in triclinium (16). It had to be done in the absence of wind in order to avoid vibrations in the tripod.



Figures 6-8 show some representative spectra collected with these three instruments from the walls of the House of Marcus Lucretius. In addition, rainwater samples, soils, and lapilli were collected to investigate the influence of the surrounding environment around the house.

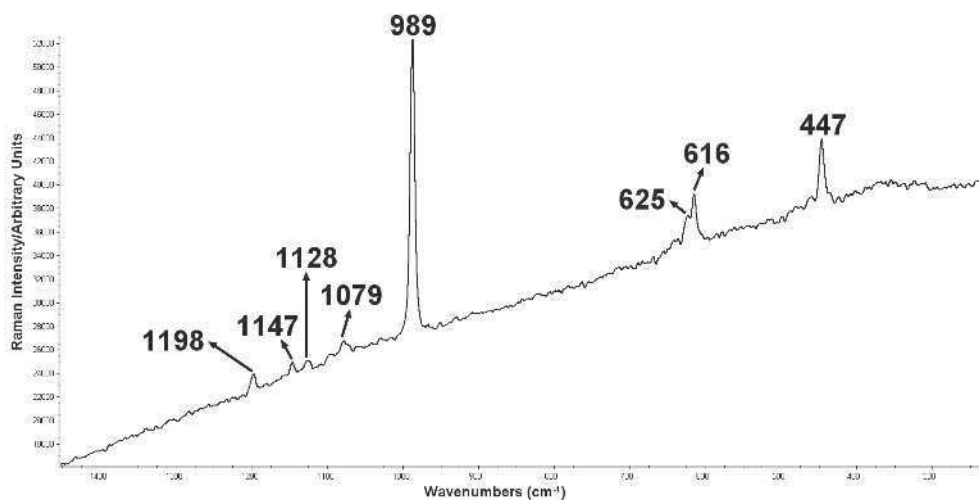


Fig. 6. Micro-Raman spectrum of a white well-crystallized grain, showing all the Raman bands of mirabilite. This spectrum was collected from the mortar of the entrance (west) wall of atrium (2), close to the Portland layer used to fix the mortar to the wall.

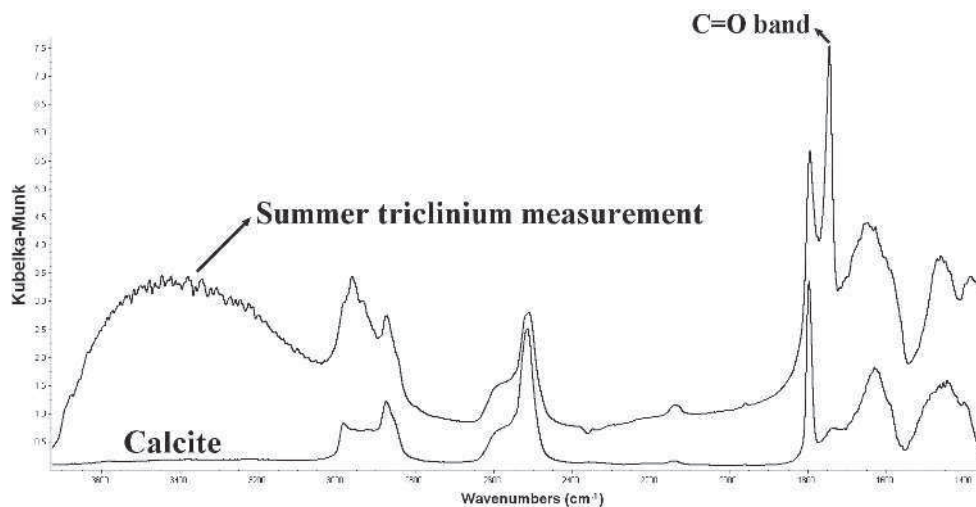


Fig. 7. DRIFT spectrum of the mortar of the summer triclinium (25), showing all the bands in the Mid Infrared range of calcite, together with two bands of an organic compound, the broad C-H vibration bands in the range of 2900-3000 cm^{-1} , and the well defined band at 1795 cm^{-1} characteristic of the C=O bond.

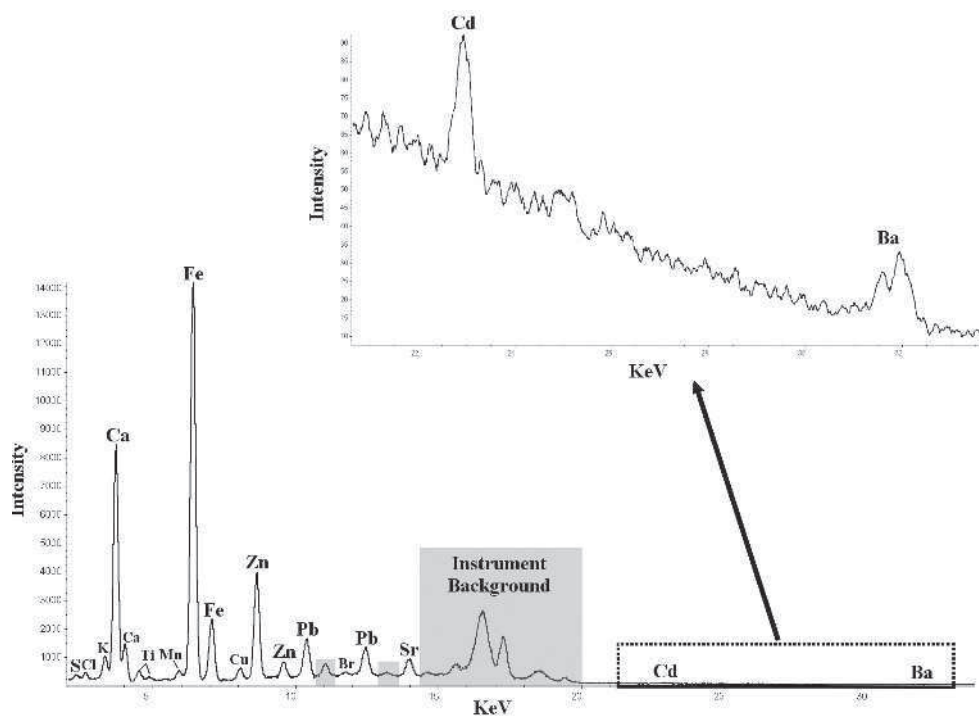


Fig. 8. XRF spectrum from a protected wall of room 6, where reddish remains are still observed. Among signals of the expected elements of the pigment and mortar layers, two diagnostic signals of sulphur and chlorine appear at the lower energies of the spectrum.

In situ measurements with the two vibrational spectroscopic techniques confirmed the presence of a wax coating applied in previous conservation treatments, both on wall paintings exposed to the open air and interior environments, even on the walls that had lost their polychromy. From the right (south) wall of fauces (1), depicted in Fig. 2, the micro-Raman spectrum shows four characteristic Raman bands of wax.¹⁶ Fig. 7 shows the DRIFT spectrum collected from the mortar in the summer triclinium (25), showing two characteristic reflectance infrared bands of a wax. Both the Raman and IR signatures are characteristic of beeswax. Additional analysis confirmed that beeswax was applied by restorers to most of the walls as a protective measure against further deterioration.¹⁷ Given that the use of beeswax was common

¹⁶ Maguregui et al. 2011, 3320, fig. 1: In situ Raman spectra of (A) possible wax on the surface of the pigment layers of the wall painting in room 1 (fauces), and (B) a blackened area of the red pigment from the same wall painting, showing the main Raman bands of calcite, gypsum, and magnetite. At the top, a detail of the measured blackened area (left) and the Raman microprobe measuring the wall painting in situ (right).

¹⁷ Maguregui et al. 2011, 3321.

among 19th century restorers, it is plausible that the treatment was carried out shortly after the excavation of the House of Marcus Lucretius.

Another important objective of the *in situ* measurements was to confirm the extent of the degradation processes previously identified in the small fragments analysed in the laboratory. As an example, Fig. 8 shows the XRF spectrum acquired from a protected wall of room 6, showing a clear chlorine signal. The presence of chlorine may be attributed either to the leaching of the volcanic materials that buried the room, or to marine aerosol transported from the nearby sea. As discussed earlier, chlorine is a critical factor in the chemical alteration of cinnabar, leading to its blackening. XRF analyses revealed chlorine in nearly all wall paintings containing cinnabar, as well as in mortars that had lost their pigmented layers.

The blackening of red ochre was observed in the fragments previously studied in the laboratory, and was also observed with the naked eye in most of the red panels. The reddish panel of fauces (1) observed in Fig. 2 had that dark shade, and Raman and DRIFT analyses of those surfaces were performed. Direct Raman analysis of blackened red ochre areas¹⁸ confirmed the presence of calcite (binder), gypsum, and magnetite, although it was impossible to detect for red ochre. The identified compounds are consistent with ones detected in the laboratory on the external microscopic black layer of a red ochre fragment. The DRIFT spectrum confirmed the presence of calcite, gypsum, and silicates, together with bands of organic molecules consistent with beeswax,¹⁹ confirming the presence of compounds related to the blackening of hematite. Magnetite could not be identified with the infrared spectrometer (DRIFT mode) used, since its bands are located outside the spectral window of the device. However, this blackening was not observed in paintings decorated with red ochre that were protected in rooms with ceilings.

Mirabilite ($\text{Na}_2\text{SO}_4 \cdot 10\text{H}_2\text{O}$, with Raman bands at 447, 616, 625, 989, 1079, 1128, 1147, 1198 cm^{-1}) was also identified *in situ*, as seen in Fig. 6, in walls exposed to the open air that had lost practically all of their pigmented layers.²⁰ Together with mirabilite, its anhydrous form thenardite (Na_2SO_4), with its Raman band at 992 cm^{-1} ,²¹ was also identified by Raman spectroscopy in other areas of the walls.²² Modern Portland cement was usually used in these walls in recent restoration works. These modern mortars are well-known sources of sulphates that could be the source for the formation of mirabilite salts. Another source could be, as mentioned, the atmospheric

¹⁸ See fig. 1 in Maguregui et al. 2011.

¹⁹ Maguregui et al. 2011, 3321.

²⁰ Giakoumaki et al. 2012, 8.

²¹ Not seen in the spectrum of Fig. 6.

²² Maguregui et al. 2011, 3322.

sulphuric acid aerosols, produced in high volume not only today but also decades ago around Naples Bay,²³ and also produced by the leaching of volcanic materials from the AD 79 eruption, which can react with sodium carbonate, a minor compound in the calcite mortar, to form mirabilite. Mirabilite is a harmful compound, because when temperature increases above 22°C and the relative humidity decreases below 70% it is transformed into its anhydrous form, thenardite (Na_2SO_4), whose grains have five times less volume than mirabilite grains. Depending on the atmospheric conditions, mirabilite can transform into thenardite even twice a day, resulting in physical stress on the mortar layer that over time will separate the mortar layer from the wall.

To confirm these in situ observations, micro samples of the blackened paint layers were taken for laboratory analyses with benchtop instruments. All of the compounds (spectroscopic signals) detected in situ in the blackened areas were also detected in the laboratory, but a new Raman band was observed at 1025 cm^{-1} consistent with an iron(III)-sulphate. This is a subproduct of the main chemical degradation process promoted by SO_2/SO_3 aerosols, with the formation of gypsum by the SO_3 attack on the calcite binder, the formation of magnetite by the chemical reduction of hematite in the presence of SO_2 , and the formation of iron(III)-sulphate as a result of the sulphuric attack on the hematite grains. This overall chemical degradation process was demonstrated by chemical simulation using thermodynamic modelling. The modelling confirmed the thermodynamic stability of the new compounds resulting from the acid attack of sulphur gases.²⁴

The in situ analysis also confirmed the presence of magnesium sulphate, epsomite ($\text{MgSO}_4 \cdot 7\text{H}_2\text{O}$), and hexahydrate ($\text{MgSO}_4 \cdot 6\text{H}_2\text{O}$).²⁵ Magnesium is not an element widely present in Roman mortars, nor in pigments. Its presence could be associated with the Portland mortars used in previous restorations, and their reaction with sulphuric acid aerosols. In a high relative humidity environment, the two highly hydrated magnesium sulphate compounds can be crystallized. Thus, the previous use of mortars containing Portland cement for conservation purposes must be completely avoided.

It is remarkable that the formed sulphate salts are partially soluble. As an example, the solubility of gypsum is around 1800 ppm as soluble SO_4^{2-} at ambient temperature. Thus, if after the attack of the sulphuric acid aerosol on the calcite accessible on the surface of the exposed walls, the rainwater washes the walls, part of the gypsum will be dissolved, introducing Ca^{2+} , SO_4^{2-} and HCO_3^- to the rainwater in direct contact with the wall. The remaining gypsum (the non-soluble part) and new calcite will then

²³ Giakoumaki et al. 2012, 7–8, 11; Maguregui et al. 2012a, 1750–1753.

²⁴ Maguregui et al. 2011, 3322–3325.

²⁵ Not seen in the spectrum of Fig. 6, Maguregui et al. 2012a, 1747, 1750, 1752.

be prone to a new attack by SO_2 acid gas, which is always present in the atmosphere around Pompeii. This cyclic process of this acid attack on calcite can explain both the systematic presence of gypsum, due to a generalized sulphation process, all over the walls and wall paintings of the houses, and the progressive dissolution of the calcite that acted as the binder of the wall paintings or was part of the original *intonaco* layers. This means that the pigment grains will be lost as the binding capacity is lost, and/or part of the *intonaco* layer will disappear by dissolution after the acid attack. A surprising finding of the first in situ Raman analyses was the identification of anhydrous calcium nitrate with its characteristic Raman band at 1053 cm^{-1} .²⁶ The presence of this compound could be explained by three possible mechanisms. The first one involves the formation of calcium nitrate as a consequence of a reaction between the calcite from the mortar and infiltration waters rich in nitrates, mainly as ammonium nitrate (NH_4NO_3). The second mechanism consists of a wet deposition of NO_x pollutants on the surface of the calcium carbonate; deposited NO_x , usually in its HNO_3 acidic form after oxidation with the ozone in the atmosphere, could react with calcium carbonate to form calcium nitrate. The third mechanism to explain the nitrate presence could be a dry deposition process of calcium nitrate airborne particles; mineral calcite in atmospheric particles, usually coming from the Sahara Desert, can be transported by wind,²⁷ deposited in the walls, and react with atmospheric nitric acid aerosols, producing calcium nitrate salts.

The in situ Raman analysis on the walls and wall paintings in rooms protected with ceilings showed the systematic presence of weddellite ($\text{CaC}_2\text{O}_4 \cdot 2\text{H}_2\text{O}$). This organic molecule was also detected in the fragments analysed in the laboratory. Weddellite is attributed to the presence of colonies of microorganisms that excrete oxalic acid from their metabolic activities, as explained above. To confirm this, part of the in situ studies focused on the deteriorated paintings and walls of the atrium (2) that exhibited brown patinas or stains of a possible biological origin.²⁸

To avoid the thermal decomposition of the biological patinas, the laser of the Raman spectrometer was set to its minimum power. Apart from the in situ analyses, some small fragments containing grains of the red, yellow, and green pigmentation were sampled to perform laboratory analysis with high resolution instruments.

The in situ analysis with the microscopic Raman setup showed the presence of red ochre in the red grains, and yellow ochre in the yellow grains, and also in the green grains. Although the blue component in the green grains was not identified with the

²⁶ Maguregui et al. 2011, 3322–3323.

²⁷ The wind was certainly also scorching in ancient times, as appears from the poems of e.g. Horace (65–8 BC), *sat.* 1,5,78, or *carm.* 1,3,12.

²⁸ Maguregui et al. 2012b, 1537–1539.

785 nm laser of the portable Raman spectrometer, the use of the laboratory Raman instrument at 514 nm of the excitation laser showed the presence of Pompeian Blue ($\text{CaCuSi}_4\text{O}_{10}$), which, when mixed with the yellow ochre, gave the green colour to the painting. The presence of Egyptian Blue was also confirmed *in situ* by the use of diffuse reflectance infrared spectroscopy (DRIFTS) on the blue panels of the fauces (1),²⁹ which detected the diagnostic IR bands at 1068 and 782 cm^{-1} .

In the brown patina covering the deteriorated green layer of the atrium (2), it was possible to identify different orange and yellow spots using the micro-video-camera of the micro-Raman setup. The obtained Raman spectra showed broad and not very intense bands at 1005, 1156, and 1523 cm^{-1} . These Raman bands could belong to carotenoids, which are typical photoprotective pigments biosynthesized by the different biodeteriogens of wall paintings, but the *in situ* analyses did not provide information on the specific nature of those carotenoids. Thus, the laboratory analyses were performed on the small fragments sampled from the walls of atrium (2).

Optical microscopy and SEM analyses revealed the presence of bryophytes as the main biodeteriogen source. From its phylloids, it was concluded that the bryophyte was a moss. This moss was classified as belonging to the Plantae kingdom, Bryophyta division, and Bryopsida class, on the basis of the lanceolated shape of the phylloids and the aesthetic appearance of the rhizoids. Mosses usually adhere to their support through the use of these rhizoids (that act as “roots”), which are responsible for the disintegration of the plaster of the wall painting. Details of these optical analyses are provided in the reference material.³⁰

High magnification at 50x and 100x optical observation revealed the presence of orange, yellow, brown, pink, greenish, and black crystals of different shapes and colour intensities. Two well defined carotenoids, namely β -carotene and lutein, were clearly identified. Moreover, in the coloured spots other Raman bands appeared that helped in distinguishing the nature of the isomer of β -carotene (all-trans, 7-cis, 9-cis, 11-cis, 13-cis, and 15-cis) present. From the detailed spectra, the presence of all-trans- β -carotene isomer was concluded. In agreement with this hypothesis, DRIFT analyses revealed the presence of IR bands at 970 and 1650 cm^{-1} , related to all-trans carotenoids.³¹

In some measurements on the black crystals a characteristic Raman band at 1575-1576 cm^{-1} was also observed, corresponding to the 11,11'-di-cis isomer of carotene. Thus, at least three different carotenenes were detected in the analysed fragments of the brown patina. To assess the extent of the colonization, Raman image and depth profile

²⁹ See Fig. 2.

³⁰ Maguregui et al. 2012b, 1530, 1532.

³¹ Maguregui et al. 2012b, 1530, 1536.

analyses were performed in the laboratory, confirming the presence of a 20-25 microns layer with the carotenoids (biopatina) on top of the surface of the pigmented layer.³²

Apart from the carotenoids, scytonemin (another pigmented molecule biosynthesised by microorganisms to protect them against a harsh environment) and weddellite (the calcium oxalate dehydrate form) were also detected. As weddellite was identified in samples and panels without a clear patina, it should be concluded that, before formation of biopatinas (an extreme situation of biodeterioration), a previous colonization not observable by the naked eye – but identified by Raman spectroscopy, even with portable instrumentation – could have occurred on the wall. Therefore, weddellite must be considered a bioindicator for micro-organism colonization processes.

Conclusions

Portable spectroscopic instruments have become powerful tools not only for characterizing polychromy and mortar layers, but also for detecting alteration compounds and identifying biogenic pigments or organic biosignatures associated with microorganisms. The APUV project has demonstrated the significant influence of the surrounding environment on the conservation of the walls and wall paintings in ancient Pompeii. Among the most harmful degradation processes observed is the extensive sulfation affecting both mortars and pigments, including the transformation of hematite into a thin magnetite patina responsible for the blackening of reddish wall paintings exposed to open air. Atmospheric CO₂ also contributes to deterioration, first through the dissolution of calcite and subsequently through the reprecipitating of calcium carbonate in the less stable form of vaterite. Nitration of the walls is another important decay process, with nitrates coming from infiltration waters containing NH₄NO₃ from the decomposition of vegetation and/or atmospheric nitric acid aerosols. Finally, microbiological activity is a constant factor, present to varying degrees from visible biopatinas to oxalate bioindicators detected only through Raman spectroscopy.

The use of portable instruments greatly reduces the number of samples required for comprehensive characterization and/or diagnosis. Results from in situ analysis help to determine optimal sampling locations and the minimum amount of sample required, enabling more targeted investigations with high resolution laboratory instruments.

³² Maguregui et al. 2012b, 1537–1538.

Diagnosis should not rely solely on the visual assessment of experts. Archaeologists, conservators-restorers, historians, etc., can greatly benefit from including chemists and other professionals from the field of science and technology in their teams, equipped with appropriate portable and laboratory instrumentation and having the expertise to perform scientific characterization and diagnosis of the conservation state of antique remains. The collaboration between the EPUH and APUV projects illustrates the added value that such transversal, multidisciplinary, and holistic studies can provide for better understanding of cultural heritage assets.

The Upper Floors: Space and Status

JAMES ANDREWS

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to assess the surviving structural and decorative remains to understand the extent and character of the upper storeys of the House of Marcus Lucretius. These will subsequently be considered in the wider context of spatial use of upper floors in Pompeian housing. Little of the house's upper floors can be distinguished today partly due to damage sustained during the AD 79 eruption and partly due to the manner of the original excavations and the limited nature of restoration work which followed. As the excavations until 1860 generally proceeded in from the street rather than stratigraphically, structures relating to the upper floors of buildings were often lost as they fell from the face of the excavation.¹ In his account of the excavations of the house, Eugene Dwyer notes that the excavators made no reference to remains of the upper floor nor attempted to restore elements of it.² The restorations that were carried out following the excavations also has obscured potential evidence such as where roofs or ceilings were later built to protect the wall paintings in some of the rooms around the atrium.³ Finds originating from upper floor contexts are also only rarely documented in the excavation diaries, the *Giornale degli Scavi*.

In stark contrast with the limited details provided in the *Giornale degli Scavi* Edward Falkener's 1852 account of the excavation of the house, in which the antiquarian took a particular interest in the remains of upper floors, provides illuminating details.⁴ Falkener not only observed that numerous finds were made at the level of the upper floor in various parts of the house, but also that the excavators found fragments of collapsed upper floor mosaic pavements, ceiling decorations, and other fittings. Falkener's account allows us to reconstruct certain aspects of the upper floors that would otherwise be entirely lost to us.

¹ Laidlaw 1993, 217, on the excavation of the Casa di Sallustio.

² Dwyer 1982, 21.

³ This took place between 1870 and 1880. Viitanen – Andrews 2008, 71.

⁴ Falkener 1852, 69.



Fig. 1. Plan of the House of Marcus Lucretius with room numbers and upper floors (1:400).

A Reconstruction of the Upper Floors

The House of Marcus Lucretius had likely two, or possibly three, distinct upper floor units reached from separate staircases (Fig. 1).⁵ The first of these was reached via a

⁵ This chapter builds on an initial account published by the present author; Viitanen – Andrews 2008, 65–67, figs. 6.9–6.10. All levels provided, unless otherwise indicated, have been taken on the modern surface

staircase in room 3 and likely extended above the rooms to the west and south of the atrium. Further rooms in the same apartment likely extended above the rooms to the north of the atrium. Another series of rooms were situated above the tablinum and adjacent rooms to the north of the garden, potentially reached by a staircase from room 19. A third upper floor can be identified above the east and south sides of the garden, reached from the large staircase in room 26. There is no evidence to suggest that there was an upper floor above the annexed house in the final phase.

Little can be seen of the staircase in room 3 today aside from a faint scar in the plaster on the north wall which indicates that the wooden part of the stair ascended from the surviving masonry base in an easterly direction (at angle of 45°).⁶ Given the proximity of the base from the east wall, and assuming there was a small landing at the top of the stair, then the stair would have reached the east wall at height of approximately 2.95 m (+ 34.20 m.r.s.l.).⁷ However, this is almost a metre lower than the restored ceiling of the rooms around the atrium so there must have been a further flight of steps, perhaps ascending in a westerly direction, to make up the difference in level. Such additional short staircases can be observed in other Pompeian upper floors.⁸ No further structural clues as to the character of the upper floor can be observed in the upper parts of the walls of room 3 or the adjacent entranceway/faucis although the impressive brick piers that flank the entrance of the house and the adjoining tabernae are suggestive as load-bearing elements for the upper storey.⁹ However, Falkener mentions that a number of objects originated from above the entranceway.¹⁰

We must assume that this apartment also extended above the adjoining taberna (IX 3, 6, rooms 35/40) and then also above the rooms to the south of the atrium. Unlike other tabernae in the insula, this property had no staircase of its own. As no traces of the upper storey can be observed in the surviving fabric in this unit we must assume that the upper floor was at a higher level, consistent with that above room 7.

level and are given as meters above relative sea level (m.r.s.l.). The author is grateful to Maija Holappa of EPUH project for this information. On site measurements of upper floor features were made with a Dynamis 7 metre telescopic measuring rod.

⁶ Niccolini 1854, 3; Falkener 1852, 43; Fiorelli 1875, 391.

⁷ The assumed depth of the landing used here is based on that of the landing at the top of the stair on the north side of courtyard N in the Casa di Giulio Polibio (IX 3, 1–3). The depth of the landings of stairs in rooms B' and SS' of the same house are 1.01 m and 0.58 m respectively.

⁸ Such a flight of steps has been restored in room SS¹ on the upper floor of the Casa di Giulio Polibio (IX 3, 1–3).

⁹ Maiuri 1942, 128 tav. Xxxviii, fig. B.

¹⁰ The finds mentioned by Falkener (1860, 42, 71) include: a small terracotta vessel, two terracotta cups, the handle of a small bronze vessel, part of a bronze hinge, a bronze lock, and a glass bottle. Berg catalogue 2019c, 229–230 (cat. 1–7).

Similarly, no trace of an upper floor can be observed in the surviving walls of room 36 of taberna IX 3, 4. We can assume that this was also at a higher level as IX 3, 6, and was connected to the same apartment. However, the articulation of the upper storey above this taberna appears to have been rather complicated. Falkener's plan indicates a staircase in the northern part of room 38, although no trace of this survives.¹¹ The well-preserved remains of an upper floor niche latrine in the east wall of the same room suggests a floor level approximately half a meter lower than the top of the stair in room 3 and at least 1.30 m lower than the level of the first floor rooms (6–7) on the north side of the atrium (see below). On this basis, the upper floor above room 38 most likely belonged to the upper floor of taberna IX 3, 4.

In the rooms around the atrium, most of the fabric above the restored ceiling levels is modern so it is consequently difficult to determine much about the upper storey or its original level. However, the relatively consistent height of the ceilings and restored vaults in the rooms on its north and south sides suggests a consistent potential level for the upper floor.¹² The surface of the restored level above room 6 and 7 is 4.60 m above that below, while that above room 9 is at 4.91 m.¹³ The existence of an upper floor above these rooms is also supported by Falkener's description of several items having originated from there. These included two amphorae found at ceiling height in room 7, while a marble statue support that was found in the atrium is also ascribed to having originated from the upper storey.¹⁴

The upper floor of the atrium complex likely also extended above part of the service quarter to the north (rooms 11, 13–14). A large immured terracotta downpipe can be seen in the north wall of the kitchen 14 (Fig. 2). Investigations by the project have confirmed that this drained into a cesspit of the downstairs latrine (13). The downpipe survives to 3.92 m and has an internal section diameter of 0.19 m, a size consistent with that of pipes that flushed latrines.¹⁵ The upper floor presumably extended above the rooms adjacent to the

¹¹ Falkener 1852, 34.

¹² Falkener 1852, 69.

¹³ The level of the restored surface above rooms 6 and 7 is + 35.11 m.r.s.l., while that above room 9 is + 35.42 m.r.s.l. Assuming an original upper floor pavement thickness of approximately 0.15 m above supporting beams approximately 0.15 m in height, a similar height above the level of the restored ceilings can be reached, suggesting that the modern surface has been restored at a level close to that of the original upper floor. This level is comparable to that indicated by Sear for the upper storey in the *Casa della Caccia Antica*, Allison – Sear 2002, 61.

¹⁴ Falkener 1852, 70; Berg 2019c, 235–236 (cat. 45). Berg (2019c, 231, 233–235, cat. 36–43) suggests the following artefacts, described from the upper levels in the atrium possibly also came from the upper floor: part of a bronze strap hinge, two bronze coins, a bronze nail, a bone fitting, a bone spoon, a small terracotta vase, a group of iron nails.

¹⁵ For an analysis of downpipe size in upper storey latrines from Pompeii and Herculaneum, Andrews 2006

kitchen (11 and 13) although it is impossible to know how they connected to the rooms above 7 or 9. That the upper rooms belonged to the house rather than the adjacent taberna IX 3, 3 is certain given the survival of the party wall at the level of the upper floor in that unit. We can rule out an upper storey above room 12 as traces of a roof line survive on its north wall, pitched in an easterly direction, indicates the existence of a roof at a lower level. Presumably this contained a skylight as the room below appears to have provided light to the kitchen through the window in its west wall.¹⁶ While this room had no true upper storey, three beam sockets in the east end of the north wall at 2.21 m indicate the probable existence of a



Fig. 2. North wall of kitchen (14), showing remains of downpipe from first floor latrine.

narrow mezzanine above the east side of the room. No sign of corresponding sockets can be seen as the south wall does not survive to the corresponding height, although if we assume that the mezzanine extended for the full width of the room, then it would have measured 1.23×2.90 m with an area of 3.6 m^2 . The coarse pink plaster on the north wall appears to have respected the mezzanine, extending above it at least in part; a horizontal lip, at approximately 2.50 m, above the western socket possibly indicates the point at which the wooden boards abutted the wall.

The second upper floor apartment in the house likely extended above rooms 10, 17, and the tablinum (15), which were then in turn connected to further rooms above 19 and 20 to the north of the garden. The upper parts of the walls in rooms 10, 17 and 15 are almost entirely modern although the presence of a room above the tablinum is

(1), 52–62.

¹⁶ Falkener 1852, 82. Also Nappo 1997, 105, for examples of skylights in single pitch roofs at Pompeii.

borne out by Falkener's reference to the discovery of two sections of lead pipe which he suggested provided pressurised water to a fountain on the first floor. A statuette of Silenus found in front of the tablinum perhaps came from the same room.¹⁷ We can assume that the rooms above 10 and 17 were on a broadly comparable level to that of the restored upper floor above rooms above 19 and 20 (see further below).¹⁸ These last two rooms appear to have been on a significantly lower level than another part of the upper floor to the east of the garden (see below) which implies this apartment was unconnected to that above the rear part of the house.

More certain are the remains of two rooms above 19 and 20, the only preserved part of the upper floor (Figs. 3–4). The north wall of these survives up to approximately 1.60 m above the level of the restored pavement, its surface at 2.80 m from that of the rooms below.¹⁹ Two large sections of surviving painted wall plaster on the north wall provide evidence both for the division of the upper floor into two rooms, but also the nature of their décor. A vertical break, approximately 1 metre in height at the east end of the western section indicates the position of a partition wall, placed above that dividing the two rooms below. On this basis, the western room (above room 19) measured approximately 2.92×2.39 m and the eastern room (above room 20) at least 2.05×2.39 m, although it remains difficult to establish how far the latter extended to the east as it is unclear how its floor was supported.²⁰

¹⁷ Falkener 1852, 70; Berg 2019c, 232 (cat. 13); Kuivalainen 2019, 110 (cat. 13).

¹⁸ The survival of the northern jamb of the window on the east side of the tablinum to 4.20 m provides us with a minimum height for the lintel and therefore also the upper floor above that room. If we project a lintel 0.20 m high and a combined floor joist and pavement thickness of 0.30 m above this level, then the level for the first floor above this room was just under 0.30 m higher than that above rooms 19 and 20 but at approximately the same level as that of the restored surface above the northern ala (9). The suggested level for the upper floor above the tablinum (15) is + 35.46 m.r.s.l.

¹⁹ The level of the upper floor rooms above 19 and 20 is + 35.19 m.r.s.l.

²⁰ The restored pavement of the room above room 20 terminates at the point that it meets the east wall although if this originally extended further to the east, as far as the L-shaped pier, which comprises the northeast corner of the garden, then we would expect to find some evidence as to how this was supported. The southeast corner of the upper storey room appears to have been supported by a wooden post inserted into the south wall of the room below; its position indicated by a rectangular break which is still visible. Falkener's plan of the house (1860, 34) fills this gap with what appears to be a wooden post and judging from an archive photograph, taken in approximately 1900, a wooden post was at one time restored at this point (Alinari Archives, Florence ID: ACA-F-11357A). The post appears to have formed a mullion which was possibly flanked by glazed windows with wooden muntins (pers. comm. Evan Proudfoot, Department of Archaeology, University of Oxford). Upper floor joists to the east of this could have been supported by the cross lintel above the wide window in the south wall although this would have required the beams to have rested in corresponding sockets in the north wall, opposite. Yet this is impossible as the brick pier, which faces the south wall at this point does not extend as far as the L-shaped corner pier to the east so corresponding



Fig. 3. Upper storey above rooms 19 and 20 from southeast.



Fig. 4. Detail of surviving decoration on the north wall above room 19 with vertical break on right indicating position of dividing wall.

Visible in May 2006 were traces of an earlier layer of pink plaster, exposed at the edge of the vertical plaster break of the western section. Its position suggests an initial, possibly preparatory, phase of decoration prior to the addition of the dividing wall as it appears that the plaster originally extended further to the east and beneath the dividing wall. This plaster has subsequently been obscured by subsequent restorative interventions. The remains of the painted plaster are now very faded, with that of the western room (above 19) being better preserved, comprising a dark red dado at the top of which is the negative imprint of a horizontal ornamental band. Further details were clearly discernible in the 19th century; the scale model in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples which represents the remains of the upper floor prior to the installation of the modern pavement, has a central red frame separated from ochre frames by narrow vertical white divisions, with a narrow red field at the sides. The accuracy of the model in this instance is partially corroborated by the famous black and white photograph of the tablinum taken in the late 19th century which shows the remains of the same fresco prior to the restoration of the pavement; this shows a dark dado, divided from the main zone by a light horizontal band and the main zone divided into panels by vertical white divisions, with the panels perhaps slightly lighter in colour than that of the dado.²¹ The easternmost room (above room 20) appears to similarly have had a dark red dado, while the surviving section of the main zone was probably also red, although this decoration is not represented on the scale model.

How this part of the upper floor was accessed remains problematic. Falkener describes a stair in room 19: ‘... and by a slightly projecting ramp of stucco, it is evident that a flight of steps, 3 ft. wide, ran backwards to level of first floor of house, forming a bulkhead in the ceiling of the room below.’²² Fausto and Felice Niccolini similarly describe a stair in the same location: ‘*La prima stanzetta (i.e. 19) ha finestra sul peristilio, ed il pavimento è di opera signino. Dava essa l’ingresso ad altra scala che menava alle parti superiori della casa, ovvero a qualche ammezzato.*’²³ The position of the staircase is also outlined on Falkener’s plan where it is shown partly carried by the south wall of room 10.²⁴ The present opening in the west wall of room 19, overlooking room 10, can be identified as the springing point of Falkener’s staircase, while the ‘projecting ramp of stucco’ undoubtedly relates

sockets cannot have existed. Thus, it appears that the room above room 20 did not extend further east. This then raises the purpose of a narrow horizontal section of plaster on the upper part of the west face of the L-shaped corner pier. Perhaps this marked the edge of a window frame that provided additional light to the rooms beyond (26 and 27). A similar window at first floor level can also be observed in the Casa a Graticcio at Herculaneum (Maiuri 1958 (1), 410, fig. 347).

²¹ *Fotografi a Pompei nell’800 dalle collezioni del Museo Alinari*, 215; Viitanen – Andrews 2008, 70, fig. 6.12.

²² Falkener 1852, 69.

²³ Niccolini 1854, 16.

²⁴ Falkener 1852, 34.

to the still-discernible incline in the break in the Fourth Style wall decorations on the north wall of room 17, that rises steeply in a westerly direction from the top of the steps from the atrium (Fig. 5). Surviving plaster on the upper part of the south wall of room 10 suggests that any stair must have turned a corner to the north before it reached the level of the first floor. Falkener's staircase is illustrated as being set partly on the dividing wall between rooms 10 and 17 but it is unclear how the string of the stair was supported. Such an arrangement is highly unusual and without any parallel at Pompeii known to the author.

The masonry staircase located in room 26 provided access to an upper floor above the rooms to the east (above rooms 21–23 and corridor 41) and probably also the south of the garden (rooms 24 and 25). The staircase (Fig. 6), situated against the north wall is well-preserved; the first three steps rise in an easterly direction to a roughly square platform, at which point the second flight of 11 steps, carried by an arched vault, rises in a southerly direction to the level of the first floor.²⁵ The top step is twice the depth of the others and one suspects that there must have been further steps to reach the level of the first floor above this part of the house, which must have been at least 0.73 m higher (see below).²⁶ In addition to the staircase, also of note is another immured terracotta downpipe situated in the south end of the east wall of room 23 (Fig. 7). A cesspit located beneath the southeast corner of the same room discovered during fieldwork undertaken by EPUH, confirms the existence of a latrine in the room above.²⁷ Lastly, several finds are described by Falkener as having originated from



Fig. 5. North end of west side of room 19. Angle of plaster on north wall of staircase 17 indicates position of staircase described by Falkener.

²⁵ Falkener 1852, 83; Fiorelli 1875, 394.

²⁶ The level of the top step is + 35.65 m.r.s.l.

²⁷ The downpipe survives to 2.33 m and has an internal diameter of 0.16 m, with a section thickness of 0.01 m.



Fig. 6. Staircase in room 26 from west.

the upper floors in this part of the house or from the “upper portion of adjoining house”.²⁸ This last findspot broadly refers to the northern rooms although most of the neighbouring properties were without upper floors and so it is difficult to see how finds from those could have ended up in the upper levels of the garden unless had been deposited there during or after the eruption. The finds included the balance of set of bronze scales, a bronze lamp, a bronze strigil, a bronze bracelet, a glass unguent bottle, and a bronze cup.²⁹

No further structural remains of the upper floor to the east of the garden remain (above rooms 21–23, the southern part of room 27, and corridor 41). However, the uniformity in height and homogeneity of construction of the surviving walls and load-bearing piers, which survive to 3.54 m, suggests that the floor they carried was probably on a single level, at least 4.00 m above that of the rooms below.³⁰ It should be noted

²⁸ Falkener 1852, 71.

²⁹ For a discussion of this group of objects, Berg 2019c, 260. On the individual items, Berg 2019c, 263, cat. 264 (glass unguent bottle), 266, cat. 291 (bronze beam of scales), 274, cat. 353 (bronze strigil); Berg 2019d, 166–167, III.1.3, cat. 319, figs. 4–5 (bronze lamp), 175–176, III.2.8, cat. 309, figs. 27–28 (bronze bleeding cup), 184, III.4.2, cat. 305, figs. 45–47 (bronze bracelet).

³⁰ The hypothetical upper floor level of the upper floor above room 41 is + 36.38 m.r.s.l. This is based

that the proposed level is approximately 1.20 m higher than that of the two first floor rooms to the north of the peristyle above rooms 19 and 20 and the upper floor rooms around the atrium. Given this disparity, the probable existence of a staircase accessed from 19, and the presence of the window at first floor level to the east of the room above room 20, suggests that the two apartments most likely formed separate units.

The faded Fourth Style decorations on the west wall of room 25, which terminate at approximately 3.50 m, possibly indicates the level of the room's original ceiling. Unfortunately, the fabric above this level belongs to the 19th century restorations



Fig. 7. Room 23 east wall showing immured downpipe from upper storey latrine.

making it impossible to definitively determine the existence of a room above, although it seems credible given the similarity in ceiling height with the rooms to the northeast. Of triclinium 16, the existence of a room above can be considered unlikely based on the height of the present restored ceiling, as any room above would have had a level at approximately 6.90 m. This would have been approximately 1.30 m higher than that above room 25, about 2.60 m higher than that proposed for the upper floor above the tablinum, and approximately 2.35-2.65 m higher than the rooms above the south side of the atrium. The disparity between these levels is too great to have been resolved by two or three steps from one upper floor room to another. Moreover, if we follow Vitruvius'

on the height of the surviving piers and assuming an upper floor pavement and beam thickness of 0.30 m and a load-bearing lintel between the piers, 0.20 m high. The level of the upper floor (4 m approx.) is comparable to that of the upper floor above the western portico of the Casa dei Quattro Stili (I 8, 17/11) which was also partially carried by large, broadly spaced, load-bearing piers at a height of approximately 4.30 m. The piers of the portico in the Casa dei Quattro Stili are dated by Gallo (1989, 92) to the period after the AD 62 earthquake and thus belong to the same general period as those in the House of Marcus Lucretius.



Fig. 8. Ionic cenaculum capital in room 4.

rules for ceiling height for square rooms such as this we could potentially reach a ceiling height that was higher still.³¹ Falkener describes a lavishly decorated ceiling probably belonging to a room above triclinium 16 and a circular marble table also found in the upper levels above it.³² On this basis, we have to assume that the finds described by Falkener had probably been dislocated from their original position, perhaps having originated from the room above the tablinum, immediately to the north.

Finally, also of note are two tuff ionic column shafts, presently located in room 21, and a four-sided tuff ionic capital, located in room 4 (Figs. 8–9). Three further sawn-off sections of a tuff ionic column shaft, or shafts, can also be seen in the west walls of rooms 27 and 34 (the party wall between this house 25). These elements are described by Falkener as having comprised two columns and were found in rooms 26/27 and 31, while the capital, which he suggests was part of the same group, was found in the fauces (134) of the neighbouring house (IX 3, 25).³³

³¹ *Vitr. arch.* 6.3.8 (transl. Granger 1931–34, vol. 1).

³² Falkener 1852, 67, 70; Berg 2019c, 235 (cat. 44).

³³ Falkener 1852, 83, 88.

The elements incorporated into the party wall appear to have been inserted there during the restorations that took place following the house's excavation.³⁴ The original columns appear to have been approximately 2.50 m in height, including the capital.³⁵ Their size suggests that they had belonged to or were intended for use on an upper storey colonnaded room. These examples are larger than is typically the case in Pompeian upper storey columns although a larger example still can be seen in the Casa del Centenario (IX 8, 3/6) which had columns 3 m in height and 0.48 m in diameter max.³⁶ The circular underside of the base of one of the shafts evidently was designed to be set into a secure footing, the remains



Fig. 9. Ionic cenaculum column shafts in room 21 from south. Note footing in base of left-hand shaft.

of which have been found in other Pompeian upper storey colonnades. These were typically comprised of a series of tuff blocks although no such elements are reported as having been found in the House of Marcus Lucretius. How these elements relate to the final house is unclear given their disparate find spots. It has been suggested that they

³⁴ Ynnilä 2012, vol. 2, 94. The column fragment in the west wall of room 34 is surrounded by a line of tile fragments, a technique used at various times during the excavations at Pompeii to indicate the division between ancient and modern fabric and thus should indicate its modern insertion into the wall.

³⁵ The two complete column shafts in room 21 measure 1.06 m and 1.01 m in length and 0.34 and 0.32 m in diameter respectively, the longer of the two with a base, while the capital measures 0.44 m in height and 0.30 m in diameter at its base. Taken together, we can project an original column height of approximately 2.50 m. The three pieces of column shaft in the west walls of rooms 27 and 34 are consistent in size with the complete shaft sections and measure between 0.31–0.35 m in diameter.

³⁶ Sutherland 1989, 76 indicates that upper floor column shafts at Pompeii normally measure 0.28–0.32 m in diameter and 1.90–2.10 m in height. The author is grateful to Riccardo Helg for information regarding the upper floor colonnade in the Casa del Centenario. On the columns of that house, also: Sutherland 1989, 76, 382.

relate to ongoing building work at the time of the eruption.³⁷ The capital has been dated on stylistic grounds to the 2nd century BC which, if correct, would make more likely that they originally belonged to an upper storey from the pre-Roman period that was perhaps part of an earlier house on the same site, or elsewhere.³⁸ Perhaps these good quality architectural elements had survived the demolition of the earlier house on the site or one of the neighbouring houses and, being of value, had been kept for future use elsewhere.

Interpretations

The upper floors of the House of Marcus Lucretius clearly formed substantial quarters that significantly extended the size of the house. Quantifying the size of these apartments is fundamental in understanding their role as well as the articulation of space across the whole house. The subsequent analysis relies on total room or useful area rather than general measurements of property size, which has various limitations. For comparative purposes, with other Pompeian houses, numbers of upper storeys have been established based on the number of unique accesses, which in our house is three and a mezzanine level. The upper floors above the western part of the house (above rooms 1, 3–11, 13–15, 17 and 19–20), reached from the stair in room 3 and quite possibly another in room 19, had a total useful area of 190.3 m², while the upper floor to the east and south of the garden (above rooms 21–25 and corridor 41), excluding any possible upper room above *triclinium* 16, had a total useful area of 84.9 m². The mezzanine in room 12 added a further 1.6 m² of space to that room; the upper floors together formed a combined area of 276.8 m². The total useful area of the ground floor was 517.2 m², so therefore the total useful area of the whole house was 794 m², the upper floors thus formed approximately 35% of the total living space.

Comparison with a sample of large Pompeian atrium houses allows us to determine if the situation in the House of Marcus Lucretius was typical (Table 1). These 11 houses have been chosen partly as they have been the subject of recent thorough studies that allow us to reconstruct their upper floors in detail but also as they represent a useful sample of Pompeii's elite housing for comparative purposes.³⁹ In terms of ground

³⁷ For a discussion of evidence for building work in the house, Berg 2019a, 59.

³⁸ *PPP* III, 429.

³⁹ On site room measurements were made by the author in the Casa dell'Efebo (I 7, 10–12.19), the Casa dei Quattro Stili (I 8, 17), the Casa di Giulio Polibio (IX 13, 1–3) and the Casa di M. Obellius Firmus (IX 14, 2.4). Room measurements and reconstructions for the following houses were taken from the indicated published works: Casa di Paquius Proculus (I 7, 1): Ehrhardt 1997; Casa del Menandro (I 10, 4): Ling

area alone the House of Marcus Lucretius is in the bottom half of this group and is significantly smaller than the three largest houses (the Casa del Menandro, the Casa del Labirinto and the Casa di M. Obellius Firmus), which are almost three times the size. However, the House of Marcus Lucretius had the second most extensive upper floors of all the houses in terms of useful area (m²). The most extensive upper floors are those of the Casa di M. Obellius Firmus, which, if Spinazzola's reconstruction is broadly correct, were vast, extending over more than 500 m². However, aside from this distinctly anomalous example, the percentage that the upper floors formed of the total living space the House of Marcus Lucretius is second only to the Casa dei Quattro Stili whose upper floors amounted to only a square metre less. Both houses featured upper storeys that extended above rooms around the garden or rear portico, which suggests an attempt to maximise potential space. In contrast with Herculaneum, where upper levels around peristyles in houses were a common solution to physical constraints on space, these appear to have been relatively rare at Pompeii.⁴⁰ There were, of course, practical limitations to the building of upper floors in these houses and thus the potential proportion they might form of the total living space. Several of these houses had extensive gardens that formed a substantial proportion of the total useful area; the enormous garden of the Casa di Obellius Firmus extended over more than 550 m², a size greater than the useful ground floor area of our house. Conversely, at approximately 48 m², the diminutive garden of the House of Marcus Lucretius is the smallest of the sample.

1997; Casa delle Nozze d'Argento (V 2, i): Ehrhardt 2004 (it is not possible to fully reconstruct the upper storey above the southeastern part of the house as this remains unexcavated, see Ehrhardt 2004, 176, 183, Taf. 104); Casa della Fontana Piccola (VI 8, 23): Fröhlich 1997; Casa del Labirinto (VI 11, 9-10): Strocka 1991; Casa degli Amorini Dorati (VI 16, 7.38): Seiler 1992; Casa della Caccia Antica (VII 4, 48): Allison and Sear 2002. In the case of the Casa di M. Obellius Firmus the reconstruction of the upper floors offered by Spinazzola (1953, fig. 387, tav. xvii-xlix) has been followed although the extent of the upper floors in the service quarter cannot be upheld on the extant evidence. Consequently, some spaces were not included in the area count.

⁴⁰ Andrews 2006 (1), 148-49, ft. 432.

Table 1. Upper floors and total living space in Pompeian atrium houses.

House	Total Ground Floor Useful Area (m ²)	Number of Upper Floors/ Mezzanine Levels	Total Upper Floor Useful Area (m ²)	Total Living Space (m ²)	Percentage of Upper Floors to Total Living Space
I 7, 1. Casa di Paquius Proculus	875.3	2	112.0	987.2	11.3
I 7, 10–12.19. Casa dell'Efebo	819.0	7/1	215.0	1,034.0	20.8
I 8, 17. Casa dei Quattro Stili	439.5	3/2	275.3	714.8	38.5
I 10, 4. Casa del Menandro	1,602.6	5	264.7	1,867.3	14.2
V 2, i. Casa delle Nozze d'Argento	1657.7	3	77.7	1,735.4	4.5
VI 8, 23. Casa della Fontana Piccola	491.3	3	194.0	685.3	28.3
VI 11, 9–10. Casa del Labirinto	1670.0	4/2	165.1	1,835.1	9.0
VI 16, 7.38. Casa degli Amorini Dorati	803.2	3	84.4	887.6	9.5
VII 4, 48. Casa della Caccia Antica	375.6	1	122.5	498.1	24.6
IX 3, 5.24. House of Marcus Lucretius	517.2	2-3/1	276.8	794.0	34.9
IX 13, 1-3. Casa di Giulio Polibio	712.9	3	213.7	926.6	23.1
IX 14, 2.4. Casa di M Obellius Firmus	1731.9	5/2	529.9	2,261.7	23.4

Overall, it appears that the House of Marcus Lucretius had an unusually high proportion of its total living space consisting of upper floors and suggests its inhabitants required extensive additional space to make up for the lack of space at ground floor level. If the generally accepted identification of the house's owner is correct that it belonged to Marcus Lucretius, priest of Mars and Decurion, then the upper storeys extended the potential socio-economic capacity of the household of one of Pompeii's most important residents.⁴¹ Moreover, if house size is a barometer of household size, then we should conclude, that the typical Pompeian household was considerably larger than we might assume. This fits the picture of "housefuls" suggested by Wallace-Hadrill where the household was made up of a "fluctuating assortment of dependants, freedmen, workers, friends and lodgers."⁴²

The construction of the house is particularly significant in the context of these expansive upper floors. This event has been ascribed to the final phase of Pompeii, following the earthquake of AD 62, after which most of the house was rebuilt *ex novo*.⁴³ The extent of the rebuild and quality of décor suggests an expensive project and a sponsor with significant financial means. While the ground plan of the new build broadly followed the traditional blueprint for the Italic atrium house, central to the project were the upper floors that, as we have seen, formed an extensive and integrated part of the new house. Indeed, the large brick reinforcements in the façade and *opus vittatum mixtum* jambs around the atrium and peristyle were clearly intended from the onset to be suitable load-bearing elements for an extensive upper floor.⁴⁴ In this respect the House of Marcus Lucretius represents a late stage in the evolution of the atrium house, in which upper floors formed a more substantial and integral part of the whole.⁴⁵

Given the extent of space on the upper floors we might expect to find evidence of activity that was previously present on the ground floor had moved upstairs or was shared between the two. There is little to inform a view of the anterior upper storey other than it was large (almost 200 m²) and was reached from a staircase close to the principal entrance of the house. It has already been noted that one of the upper floor rooms above the southern part of atrium complex was at least partly used for the storage of amphorae. Storage of this type of vessel appears to have been relatively common on the upper floors of elite houses

⁴¹ On the identification of the owner of the house, see: Bechi 1852; Castrén – Berg – Tammisto – Viitanen 2008.

⁴² Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 116.

⁴³ Maiuri 1942, 128; Dwyer 1982, 22. For a detailed examination of this phase, Viitanen and Andrews 2008, 61-65.

⁴⁴ Maiuri 1942, 128; Dwyer 1982, 21.

⁴⁵ On the maintenance of the atrium house design at Pompeii in the first century AD, Dwyer 1991, 38-39.

at Pompeii and Herculaneum so their presence here is hardly surprising.⁴⁶ Moreover, evidence from other Pompeian houses suggests a trend where anterior upper floors were at least in part given over to food storage and even featured opus signinum basins we might identify as dry stores.⁴⁷ Perhaps the proximity of the upper floor to the front of the house made them suitable for such storage close to the point of entry. It is difficult to draw any conclusions regarding the objects from the upper floor above the fauces.

In contrast the upper floor above the central part of the house appears to have been exceptionally well-decorated and furnished. Falkener's description of a fountain belonging to the room above the tablinum might suggest display activity. If his identification was accurate, given the rarity with which pressured water can be identified in Pompeian first floor contexts this suggests a very unique feature.⁴⁸ If not from a disturbed context, the circular marble table that was found in the upper levels of the adjacent triclinium (16) is also suggestive of display.⁴⁹ Penelope Allison concludes that the majority of display items, such as marble furniture or statuary, were mostly from disturbed contexts rather than upper floors. Yet the presence of similar items on the upper floors of several property types from Herculaneum, where the evidence is far more reliable, indicates that such activity was not solely the domain of the ground floor and we should therefore see these finds in the same context.⁵⁰

The two rooms above 19 and 20 were also well-decorated, in frescoes of the Fourth Style, while the discovery of a richly decorated ceiling in the upper levels of triclinium 16, perhaps also originating from the upper floor above the tablinum, suggest a sophisticated decorative scheme.⁵¹ Falkener also notes that parts of the upper floors were sumptuously

⁴⁶ Allison 2004, 117-120. On the storage of amphorae on the upper floors of peristyle houses at Herculaneum, Andrews (1) 2006, 153.

⁴⁷ Evidence for such dry stores can be found in the upper floors of the following houses: the Casa di Paquius Proculus (I 7, 1), the Casa dei Quattro Stili (I 8, 17/11), and the Casa di M. Lucrezio Frontone (V 4, a). For a discussion of these and similar examples from Herculaneum, Andrews 2006 (1), 87-92.

⁴⁸ Evidence for pressurised water on upper floors is extremely rare at Pompeii and Herculaneum, although evidence for at least one case can be found in the façade of IX 7, 1 at Pompeii where a lead pipe survives in situ. No lead pipes carrying pressurised water can be identified in any of the upper floors at Herculaneum. This compares with the apartments or so-called garden house of Ostia, built in the late 120s of the 2nd century A.D., where each apartment, including those on the upper floor, was connected to the pressured water system. See: Stevens 2005, 119.

⁴⁹ Moss 1988, 275-276 indicates that when placed in dining rooms they appear to have been for the display of crockery. For a general account of marble furniture, Dwyer 1979.

⁵⁰ Andrews 2006 (1), 114, 159.

⁵¹ Surviving examples of upper floor ceilings are extremely rare at Pompeii and Herculaneum. Spinazzola (1953, 737-738, figs. 720, 722-723) describes the remains of the only other Pompeian example in one of the rooms on the first floor of the Casa del Moralista (III 4, 2-3). Andrews 2006 (1), 100, on two examples from Herculaneum.

decorated with mosaic floors.⁵² This is particularly significant as this appears to be one of only two houses at Pompeii where a mosaic floor has been recorded during the excavations, although examples are documented in several of the villas around the town.⁵³ The scarce evidence for upper floor mosaics at Pompeii is almost certainly a legacy of the manner of site's excavation rather than that upper rooms not being paved in mosaic as there is extensive evidence of this at Herculaneum.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, Falkener does not specify from what part of the upper floor these originated from although given the largest and most important rooms on the ground floor were also the best decorated we might reasonably assume that they most probably originated from the larger first floor rooms.⁵⁵ The room above the tablinum, if not subdivided (4.00 × 4.90 m, 19 m²) and triclinium 25 was reasonably large (4.09 × 6.46, 26.2 m²) and, given the finds already identified as having originated there, seems a likely contender.

The evidence thus suggests that this part of the upper floor featured highly in the spatial hierarchy of the house and may have been used for reception or display purposes. Examples from Herculaneum indicate that upper storeys in the larger houses often served distinct roles from one another, with separate points of access that were made more or less accessible to the visitor, as per the ground floor.⁵⁶ While next to the entrance, the narrow staircase (3) adjacent to the main entrance appears poorly suited to potential guest access, the base of the stair placed tightly against the far end of the room. In comparison, the wide steps (17) up from the atrium, which gave onto the stair to the highly-decorated upper floor above the tablinum and adjacent rooms, was better suited to the invited guest. However, both stairs were also accessed through doorways which could be easily to the visitor. Accordingly, potential access was subject to control.

Less is certain of the function of the upper floor to the east of the garden which were reached from the staircase in room 26, other than it must have been at a higher level than that the apartment above the tablinum and the rooms to the north of the garden. The staircase was in a simply rendered space far from the public spaces in the house, which might imply that access to it was reserved to members of the household. At Herculaneum, we often find upper floors around peristyles being given over to service activity and these were often also visually closed from the sight of the visitor, which suggests an attempt to hide activity there from visitors. The only feature that can be

⁵² Falkener 1852, 70.

⁵³ The only other example known to the author was found in an anterior upper floor of the Casa del Poeta Tragico (VI 8, 5) in October 1824. Gell 1837 (1), 148–149; *PAH* II, 116–117 (16, 23 Oct. 1824).

⁵⁴ Andrews 2006 (1), 100.

⁵⁵ It has been suggested that they were found in the upper levels of the atrium: Berg 2019a, 55; 2019b, 195 (cat. 47); 2019c, 235, 287.

⁵⁶ Andrews 2020, 105–114.

identified is the existence of a latrine. This appears to have been the second latrine on an upper storey in this house in addition to the two, in rooms 13 and 23, on the floor below. Multiple latrines might suggest a large household, and/or large numbers of visitors, or the need to have these available in one area of the house at a given time. By comparison with the other houses in our sample, only the Casa dell'Efebo had more latrines in the whole house, a potential total of five (one per 167.6 m²); two on the ground floor and three on the upper floor, while the same number of latrines have been identified in the much larger Casa del Menandro (one per 420.1 m²).⁵⁷

Such extensive upper storeys may have affected spatial use and living conditions in other ways. Above all, the extent of the upper floors probably had a significant impact on light levels on the ground floor.⁵⁸ Problems pertaining to low levels of sunlight were probably most keenly felt in the area surrounding the peristyle. In the House of Marcus Lucretius, the upper floors around the tiny garden (18), with the eaves of the roof on the east and south sides approximately at six and a half metres from the pavement of the eastern portico (41), towered over the garden, probably created a rather claustrophobic effect. This would have also had the result of throwing many of the adjacent ground floor rooms into shade even at midday (Fig. 9). Indeed, some of the ground floor rooms, such as the north-facing triclinium (25), probably received little direct sunlight, particularly during the winter, and were consequently dependent on light reflected off the walls of the upper floor.⁵⁹ It is apparent that the architect recognised this issue and so we find an attempt to present solutions through the deliberate placement of wide windows and openings of all the rooms around the garden on the ground floor and probably the upper floors as well. Unfortunately, the light penetrating these rooms would then have been reduced by the translucent glass with which the windows were most likely glazed.⁶⁰

Differences in ambient temperature between upper floor and ground floor spaces also had a potential impact on spatial use. Rooms in direct sun on the upper floor, beneath the roof, would have been hot in summer but warmed by the sun in winter. Equally, ground floor rooms in greater shade would have been cooler in the summer

⁵⁷ On the evidence for the upper storey latrines in the Casa dell'Efebo, Allison 2004, 117. The evidence for these latrines is corroborated by the present author. On the latrines in the Casa del Menandro, Ling 1997, 95, 108, 114–115, 118.

⁵⁸ Boman 2011, 93.

⁵⁹ C. Löhr (1990, 10–19) has argued that this was the case in the Maison des comédiens at Delos, a Hellenistic residence which had an upper floor colonnade surrounding all four sides of a small rectangular garden. Löhr suggests the light levels in the two principal dining rooms in this house were extremely low, equal to that of a typical Berlin basement.

⁶⁰ The evidence for window glazing in the Roman house comprises part of a study currently being undertaken by Evan Proudfoot, a Doctoral Student in the Department of Archaeology, University of Oxford.

and cold in the winter. As a result of such fluctuating conditions, it is likely there was a seasonal use to some upper floor rooms.⁶¹

Conclusion

A review of the evidence for the upper floors of the House of Marcus Lucretius provides us with a tantalising insight into the potentially diverse role they played in the house. Falkener's account of the house's excavation points towards luxurious decorations and fittings of the central upper floor. Mosaic floors, elaborate wall décor, and display furniture are suggestive of reception activity and so these rooms likely played a role in the social functioning of the house. It is also clear the upper floors were extensive; the combined living space on the upper floors comprised almost 280 m², extending the available living space by approximately a third. In comparison with a sample of Pompeian atrium houses the percentage of the total living space formed by upper floors in this residence appears to be rather atypical. We can infer that this was partly the result of the limited plot size, which forced the owner to extend vertically, but also that the upper floors probably accommodated a household whose social functions and practical requirements could not be sustained by the ground floor alone. The House of Marcus Lucretius appears to reflect a trend in the final years of Pompeian housing where an ever-increasing proportion of space was articulated on multiple floors. Yet such extensive upper storeys presented other issues for the architect who evidently needed to ensure an adequate amount of light to rooms on the ground floor around the garden. Light is intrinsically related to temperature and the likely variation in this suggests that usage may have been temporal or seasonal as a result.

⁶¹ For a recent examination of seasonality in the upper floors of houses at Herculaneum, see Andrews 2017, 139–40; 2020. For a discussion on the potential seasonal use of space Casa degli Amanti (I 10, 10-11) at Pompeii, see Ling – Ling 2005, 128.

Conclusions

More than one hundred and fifty years ago, in 1846–1872, insula IX 3 was unearthed and left scarcely protected. Consequently, the wall paintings and pavements have been almost totally destroyed. However, some spaces were deemed worth covering with new roofing, i.e. around the atrium of the House of Marcus Lucretius and in the bakery IX 3, 19–20 in the southeast corner of the insula, and thus fared better, although most of the details have nevertheless been lost. Due to the excellent condition of its decoration, the House of Marcus Lucretius, the most luxurious of the insula – although in Pompeian terms a medium-sized domus – became a famous tourist sight after its excavation in the mid-19th century. It later fell into decay and was restored only in 2007–2008. The *Expediatio Pompeiana Universitatis Helsingiensis* ended its field seasons in 2012, at a time when the northwest corner of the insula was still uncovered.

The situation of the wall paintings in insula IX 3 is as follows:

IX 3, 1–2: The wall paintings and mosaics have been mostly destroyed. There are no traces of the central pictures or any other motifs; only the divisions of the architectural features are visible, as well as the First Style wall in the garden. The mosaic floor in the fauces is well-preserved, other mosaics only haphazardly.

IX 3, 3: There is only faded reddish plaster in places.

IX 3, 4: The plaster has mostly fallen, but in the small backroom there are remains of a yellow vertical band on a white background in the curved upper edge of a recess.

IX 3, 5.24: The Fourth Style paintings in the covered rooms around the atrium are in recognizable condition, but the atrium, tablinum, and the rooms around the garden have lost most of their paintings, and even the small covered rooms have fallen into disrepair. The earlier house IX 3, 24 contains very vague remains with some architectural features. Many detached central pictures are also in lamentable condition.

IX 3, 6: There are no preserved wall paintings.

IX 3, 7: There is painted plaster in places, but no figures visible; only the horizontal division is clear.

IX 3, 8: There are no preserved wall paintings.

IX 3, 9: There are no preserved wall paintings.

IX 3, 10–12: In the bakery area there is some plaster depicting flowers inside the lararium recess on the south wall, otherwise faded. There are remains of Third Style decoration visible in the triclinium.

IX 3, 13: There is only faded plaster in places, e.g. greyish in the atrium. The lararium painting has been destroyed.

IX 3, 14: There is plaster in places, e.g. whitish around the lararium on the back (north) wall of the shop. In the recesses of the back room there is a clear horizontal dividing line, the lower part being a high socle plastered with opus signinum. In the extreme back of the house there is a basin covered with pinkish, at least partially hydraulic plaster.

IX 3, 15: There is plaster in places, and some Second Style divisions are still visible, but the Third Style paintings have been almost destroyed.

IX 3, 16: There are only minimal pieces of greyish plaster.

IX 3, 17: There is painted plaster in places, but no figures are visible, only e.g. the division between the darker socle and the white upper zone in the narrow passage to the back of the house.

IX 3, 18: There is wall plaster on the east wall of the shop, and in its back room, both showing the division between the high socle made of opus signinum plaster and the white main zone, now greyish.

IX 3, 19–20: There are both Third and Fourth Style paintings in the bakery and its triclinia. The covered paintings are in poor condition, and the inserted central pictures have lost their details. The paintings that are not protected have been almost destroyed, e.g. the lararia.

IX 3, 21: There are some remains of wall paintings of the First and Second Style in the rooms of the older house behind the ruined bakery, with various colours.

IX 3, 22: There are some remains of now visible wall paintings of the Second Style, on the lower parts of the walls of the ruined domus.

IX 3, 23: There are some remains of wall paintings belonging to the First, Second, and Third Styles, and possibly late imitations of the Second Style.

IX 3, 25: There are some remains of the Fourth Style paintings.

In this second volume of EPUH research, the wall paintings, decorated pavements, and upper floors are presented as they were during the field seasons. They are further compared with the earlier documentation, as, luckily the arduous scholars of the 19th century recorded even small details, albeit inconsistently.

The scale model in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples has been an important auxiliary tool for the research into the less preserved houses of the insula. In fact, many rooms of insula IX 3 were undecorated; perhaps their plaster surface was destroyed during the eruption, or was under construction at that time. Simply painted rooms had always existed, and were meant for servants or slaves, for other domestic purposes, or for manufacturing, with no need to display any prestige elements, and were called “Nebenzimmer” by V. M. Strocka. In several of these rooms the walls are

divided into simpler fields, perhaps split by narrow vertical bands or columns, and sometimes even with candelabra.

Wall paintings representing the First Style were documented only in two buildings, IX 3, 1–2 and in IX 3, 23. The Second Style paintings, though not well preserved, were still easily discernible, as they represent a simple decorative scheme without any sense of depth, or an illusion to an outside view; instead, they are linear, featuring perhaps only two zones separated by a wide horizontal band, and when including three zones the decorative bands divide the zones into panels of various colours. For the documentation, wall paintings representing the Third Style were the most problematic. They originally covered several buildings, but few elements remain intact, excepting the wall painting with Ceres and Triptolemus in a bakery (112). The Fourth Style paintings were the most researched even before this project; their preservation rate differed both between the rooms as well as inside them. Besides the elaborate paintings in the House of Marcus Lucretius, Fourth Style paintings were also common in cubicula all around Pompeii, with subjects such as the fishing Venus, Polyphemus, and Galatea.

Most of the *tabernae* or the working spaces of bakeries had been scarcely decorated, featuring only bipartite wall paintings with a high socle and the main zone above; the colours used were grey, red, and yellow for the high socle and mostly white for the upper zones. The exception to this monotony was the *lararium* paintings, along with those situated in atria and gardens of other houses, which featured an abundance of the inevitable lares, genii, and serpents, with Isis-Fortuna being especially well-liked. They are now almost all lost, except in few small recesses, and are devoid of any decorative features. The most elaborate and expensive *aedicula lararia* with painted wall plaster were rare, and were only discovered in the two largest houses: one in the atrium of the House of Marcus Lucretius, and the other in the garden of house IX 3, 15.

Already in the 19th century the debate about the identification of the individual figures in the wall paintings – rather important as an individual subject but also in relation to other paintings – was lively, being based on ancient literature, coins, and other works of art. Some subjects occurred, in fact, for the first time in Pompeii, thus requiring extensive clarification. It was also evident from the beginning that the rooms represented programmatic painting, of which the best example is certainly the only richly decorated house of the *insula*. The wall paintings of the House of Marcus Lucretius were a combined effort of several artists and craftsmen, some of whom were extremely talented, as proved by the large, inserted paintings. The use of cinnabar and the light Egyptian blue was also costly, which indicates that no expense was spared. The paintings – as well as the statues – revealed a predilection for Bacchic themes, wine and banqueting, theatre, and other performances, causing a lively discussion about the role of the divinity. It even produced an idea of the whole house having been a *Iaccheo*, a

sacrarium dedicated to Bacchus, rather than being primarily just decorative and light-hearted. The programmatic painting appears on a more practical level in the triclinia of the bakery IX 3, 19–20; under the auspices of Ceres and Triptolemus, the production of bread could be observed through a window opening onto the mill, while in another room a bread basket and grapes were carried by floating figures, as another reference to the available products and perhaps to fast service.

The causes for the decay of the wall paintings are various. The costly cinnabar was used only in thin layers, and its bright red could not tolerate sunlight without being protected with wax. In the House of Marcus Lucretius most of the cinnabar has been transformed and now appears black, or else only the yellow ochre, which was painted under it, remains. The plaster surfaces have fallen not only due to the effects of the weather, but also due to the environmental pollution, which accelerates the chemical processes. The 19th century custom of removing central pictures has saved several from the House of Marcus Lucretius, albeit the cuts on the walls have also damaged wider areas, e.g. in the triclinium (16), in which adjacent details, such as the inner candelabra in the intervals, are lost. The only detached wall painting from elsewhere in the insula is the Isis-Fortuna (MANN 8836).

Information on the original locations of some wall paintings removed to the MANN had been lost already in the mid-19th century. As a result of the work of the EPUH project, only one central picture of the insula still remains undiscovered in the National Archaeological Museum in Naples, as the two still-lives (MANN 8642 and MANN S.N. inv. San Giorgio 1677/1678) were indeed identified as having been removed from the portico (41) behind the garden.

Comparing the findings of the EPUH project with earlier data, more information was able to be added, such as that pertaining to the mosaic floors in the small domus IX 3, 23, which was neither analysed by Blake and Pernice nor published in *Pompei pitture e mosaici*. Some errors were also corrected, e.g. the locations of both the floors and wall paintings in the dyer's workshop IX 3, 1–2, as well as in the right ala (8) of the House of Marcus Lucretius. The original location of the lararium painting depicting Isis-Fortuna (MANN 8836) was also confirmed based on the descriptions of both Pancaldi and Spinelli (San Giorgio).

One of the problems met in this research was the (un)reliability of the 19th century pictorial documents. The authorised artists at the excavations drew both individual motifs, central pictures, and whole walls, having started their work immediately after the ruins were unearthed. They made several versions of the same picture, and the final drawing of the painting was executed only later, in the studio, not at the site. Several foreign artists were allowed to document the wall paintings only a few years later, and it is indeed obvious that these pictures are not completely trustworthy. Helbig already

noted differences between his own observations and some of the drawings. The case of the missing goat, i.e. a detail in the central picture on the left (east) wall of cubiculum (5) in the House of Marcus Lucretius, illustrates the problem. Awkwardly, painters sometimes drew iconographic reminiscences or recalled details from other rooms with the same subject. During our field seasons it sometimes took several days to visually analyse a wall painting in poor condition and finally realise that, e.g., there were birds sitting on garlands, as happened in the tiny room 20 in the House of Marcus Lucretius. We can count ourselves lucky to have been able to add such details to complete our drawings.

This study also shows that the House of Marcus Lucretius as we see it now was only one part of the original domus, as the extensive and elegant upper floors formed substantial quarters that significantly extended the living space, by approximately 35%. This would have also required suitable load-bearing elements around the atrium and peristyle, with the house thus representing a late stage in the evolution of the atrium house type. The variation in light levels and temperatures that must have taken place over the course of the year also suggest that the usage of different spaces may have been seasonal. This kind of an upper storey was unusual in Pompeii, and must have been constructed due to a lack of space on the ground floor level, even if the owners had acquired a smaller neighbouring house. The garden was small and the rooms around it did not get much light, which made the use of cinnabar understandable, both to produce a lighter appearance and considering its durability. Also, the amount of garden paintings enlarging the vista and the exceptional floor mosaic with birds were all used to create an illusion of outdoor space in the packed centre of insula IX.

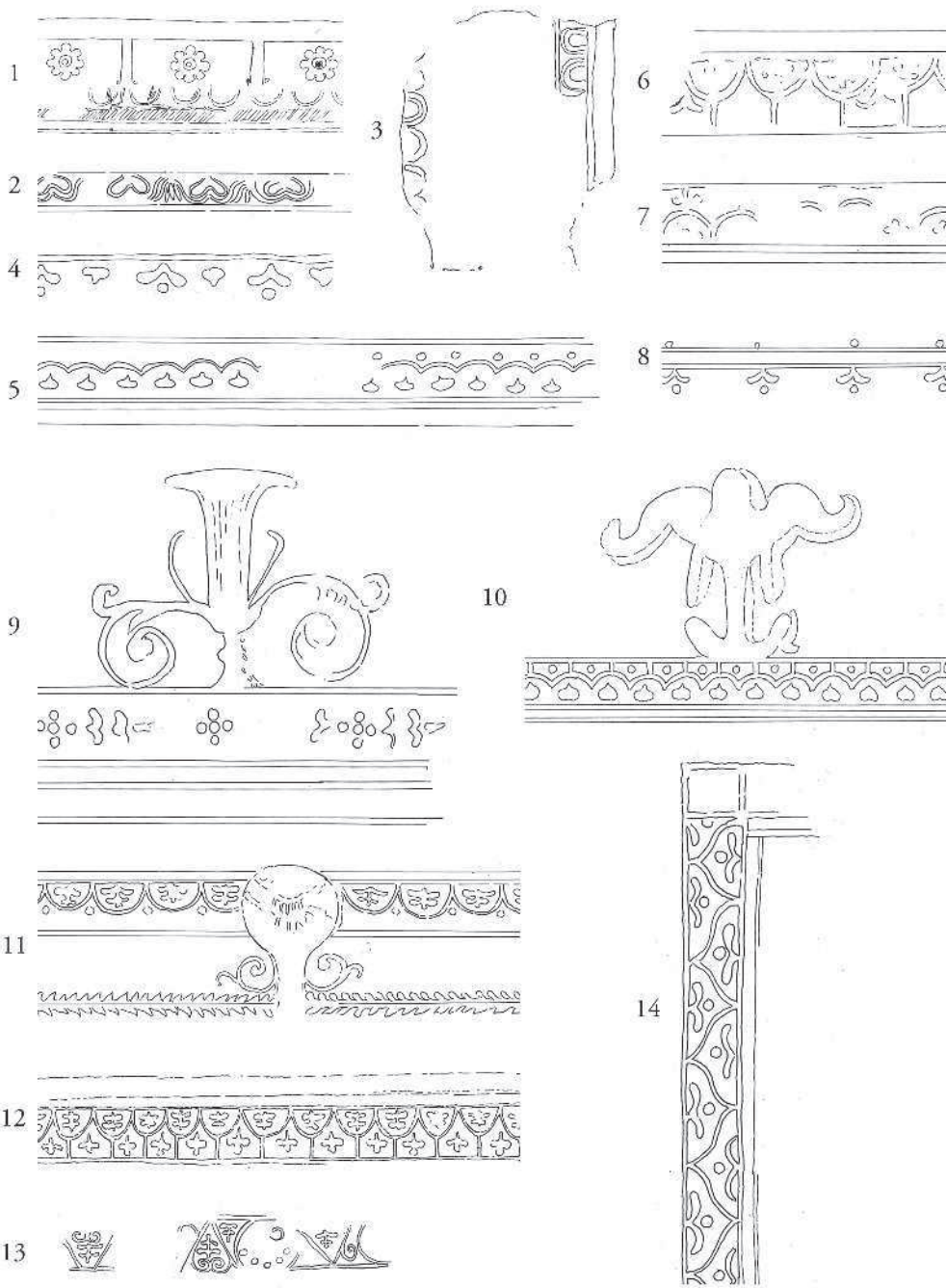
Insula IX 3 was situated in a busy part of the whole of Pompeii. It was a creative environment, with many tabernae used by craftsmen and artists. Some construction works were ongoing in AD 79, as the missing mosaics of the House of Marcus Lucretius clearly show. Many residents around their wealthy neighbour seem to have been more conservative, or simply economical, in their decorative efforts. In the religious sense, the Bacchic themes were much favoured in the House of Marcus Lucretius, while Mars made a much more modest appearance, even though Marcus Lucretius was his flamen. The syncretistic eastern influences, for their part, were spread throughout the whole insula, and were especially noticeable in the decorative schemes. After all, the form and decoration of insula IX 3 must have been an amalgamation of the aims, wishes, and views of many people, from owners to artists, and their respective abilities, gradually manifesting throughout a longer period until the final end.

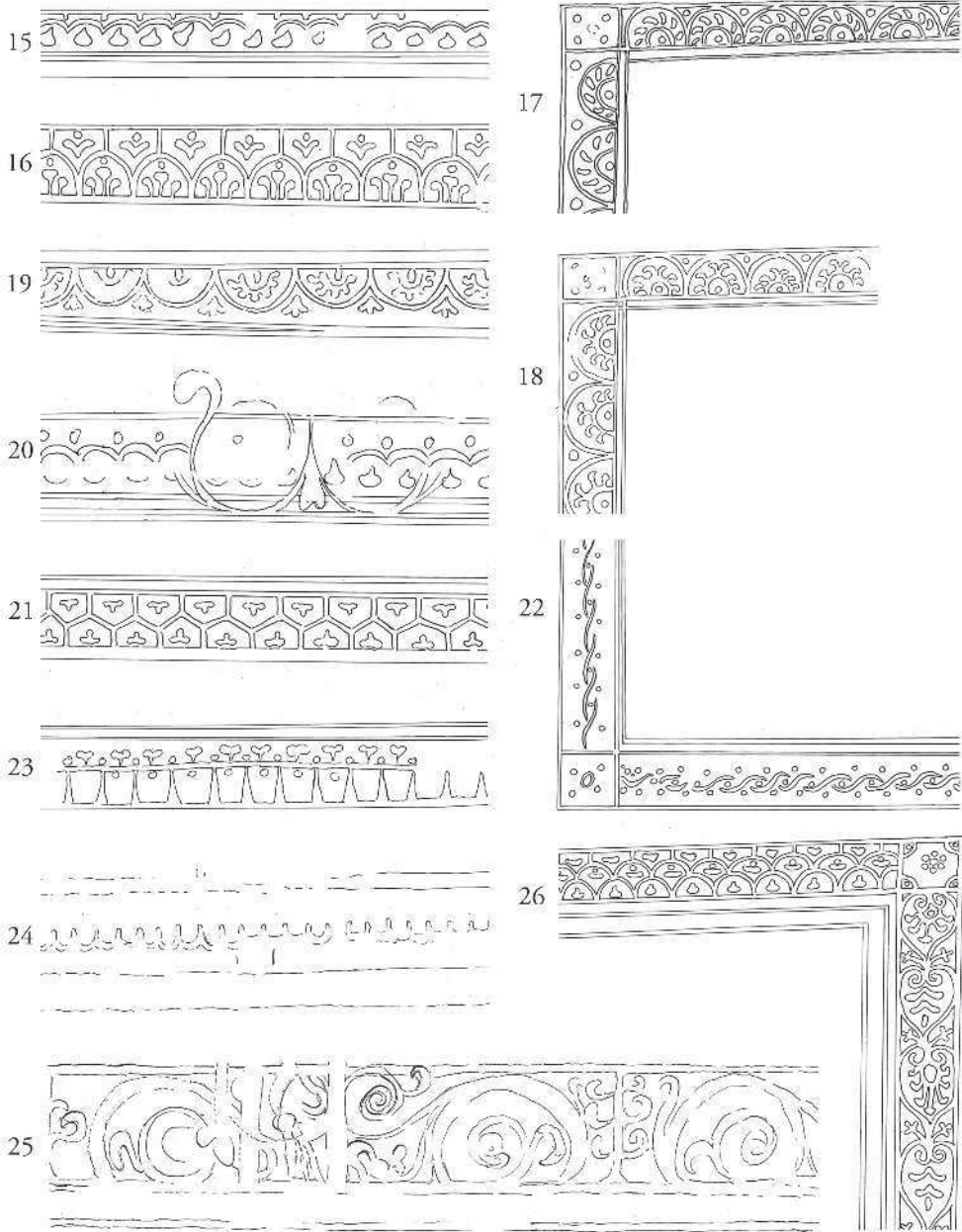
Appendix 1

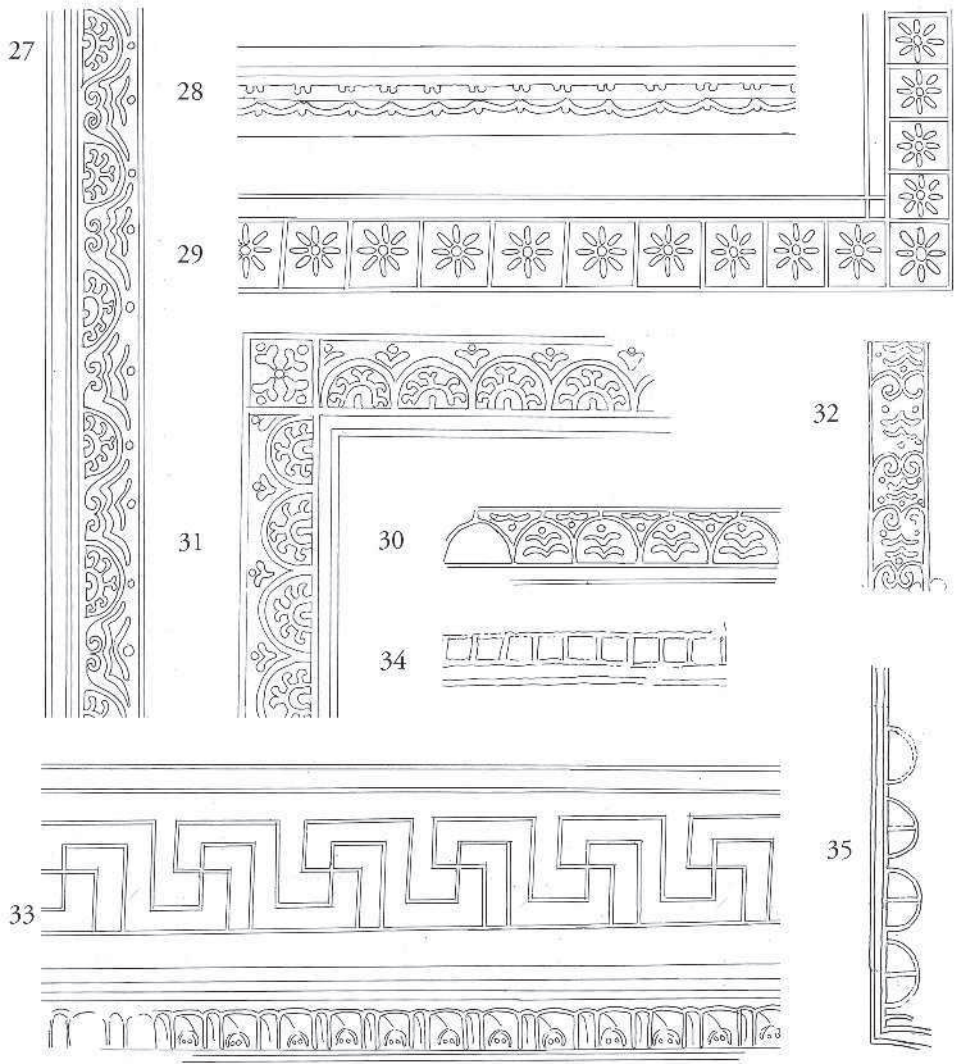
Embroidery borders

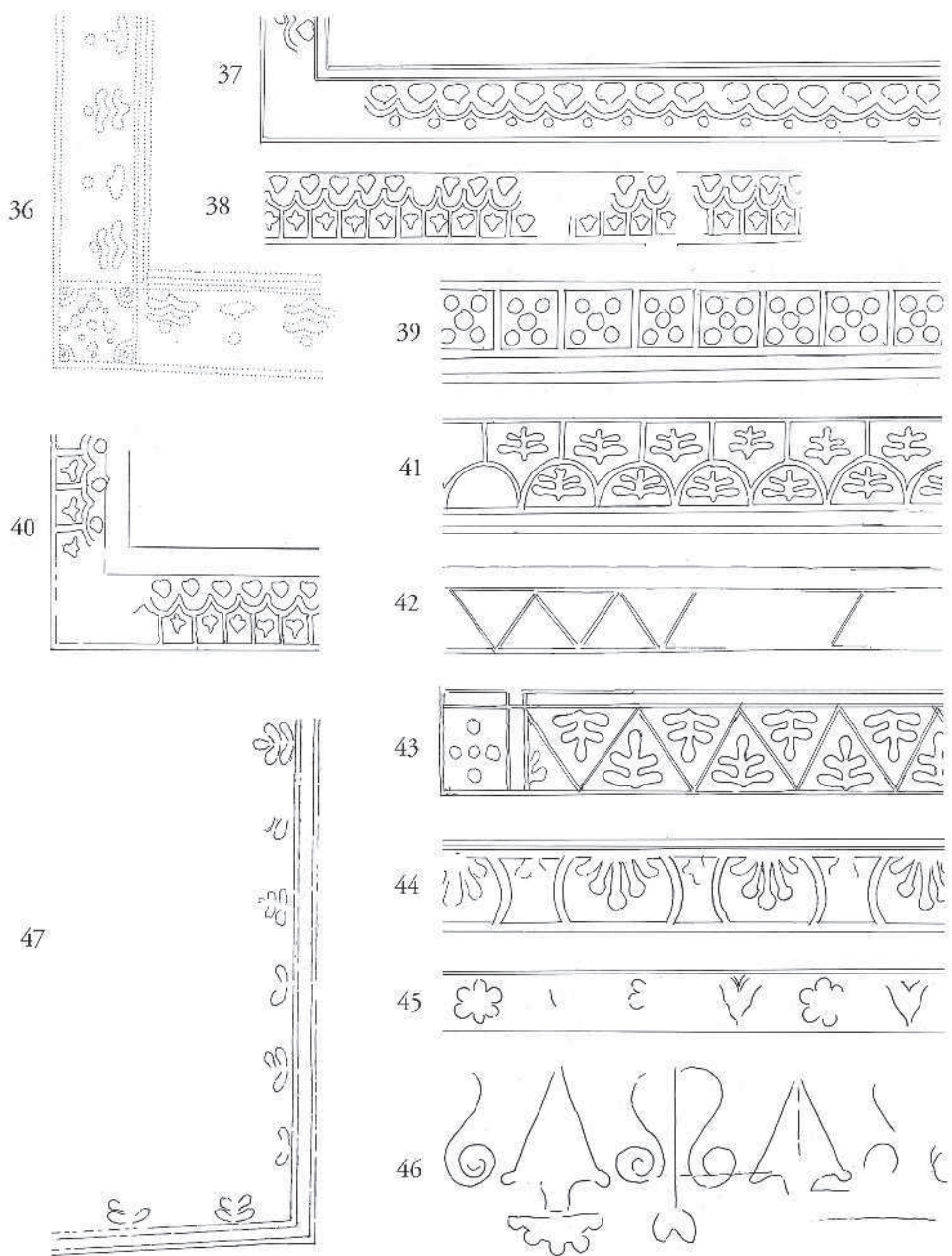
- Fig. 1: Room 1, south wall, upper zone.
- Fig. 2: Room 1, south wall, pilaster.
- Fig. 3: Room 2, lararium recess.
- Fig. 4: Room 4, east wall, main zone.
- Fig. 5: Room 4, west wall, main zone.
- Fig. 6: Room 4, south wall, main zone.
- Fig. 7: Room 4, north wall, main zone.
- Fig. 8: Room 4, east and west wall, socle.
- Fig. 9: Room 4, east and west wall, socle.
- Fig. 10: Room 5, east and wall wall, socle.
- Fig. 11: Room 5, north wall, main zone.
- Fig. 12: Room 5, east and west wall, main zone.
- Fig. 13: Room 5, west wall, main zone.
- Fig. 14: Room 5, south wall, main zone.
- Fig. 15: Room 5, west wall, upper zone.
- Fig. 16: Room 5, east wall, socle.
- Fig. 17: Room 6, north and east wall, main zone.
- Fig. 18: Room 6, south wall, main zone.
- Fig. 19: Room 7, west wall, main zone.
- Fig. 20: Room 7, north wall, upper zone.
- Fig. 21: Room 7, north wall, main zone.
- Fig. 22: Room 7, north wall, main zone.
- Fig. 23: Room 7, east and west wall, main zone.
- Fig. 24: Room 8, south wall, upper zone, and Room 16, south wall, main zone.
- Fig. 25: Room 8, south wall, upper zone.
- Fig. 26: Room 8, east wall, main zone.
- Fig. 27: Room 8, south wall, main zone.
- Fig. 28: Room 8, south, west, east wall, predella.
- Fig. 29: Room 8, south wall, main zone.
- Fig. 30: Room 9, east wall, socle.
- Fig. 31: Room 9, north wall, main zone.
- Fig. 32: Room 9, west wall, socle.
- Fig. 33: Room 16, east wall, between socle and main zone.

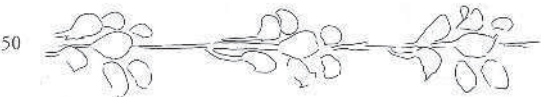
- Fig. 34: Room 16, south wall, upper zone.
Fig. 35: Room 16, south wall, main zone.
Fig. 36: Room 17, north wall, main zone.
Fig. 37: Room 19, north wall, main zone.
Fig. 38: Room 20, north wall, socle.
Fig. 39: Room 20, east wall, socle.
Fig. 40: Room 20, north wall, main zone.
Fig. 41: Room 20, north wall, main zone.
Fig. 42: Room 21, east wall, main zone.
Fig. 43: Room 109, west wall, main zone.
Fig. 44: Room 109, north wall, main zone.
Fig. 45: Room 112, north wall, upper zone.
Fig. 46: Room 112, west wall, upper zone.
Fig. 47: Room 137, west wall, main zone, alcove.
Fig. 48: Room 6, north wall, main zone.
Fig. 49: Room 7, north wall, main zone.
Fig. 50: Room 7, east and west wall, main zone.











Appendix 2

The Wall Paintings in Insula IX 3, as recorded by W. Helbig and A. Sogliano.

W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* (Index, 482, with numbers of wall paintings).

House IX 3, 1–2:

Peristyl (room 51): *Laren* 69b.

Zimmer l[inks] vom Peristyl (room 48): *Hesione* 1130; *Parisurtheil* 1282.

House IX 3, 5.24:

Prothyron (room 1): *Komödienscene* 1469; *Drei weibliche Figuren* 1399; *Schwebende Mädchen* 482, 1919, 1945.

Erstes Zimmer l[inks] vom Atrium (room 6): *Pan und Mädchen* 562; *Aphrodite und Erogen* 820b; *Narkissos* 1354; *Erogen* 603, 605, 606, 607.

Auf Sims der Architekturmalerie: *Aegyptische Figuren* 1100, 1102.

Ueber den Wandfeldern: *Mädchenfiguren* 932, 1798b, 1820. 1947.

Ueber dem Felde der l[inken] Wand: *Muränen und Muscheln* 1657.

Zweites Zimmer l[inks] vom Atrium (room 7): *Fischerin* 354; *Polyphem* 1049; *Phrixos* 1253; *Büsten* 99, 159, 269, 277; *Bewaffnete Erogen* 624.

Ueber den Wandfeldern: *Nike* 939, *Jüngling, Mädchen auf Globus* 453, 471; *Eros mit Füllhorn* 687, *Psychen* 830. *Thierstücke* 1521, 88.

L[inke] Ala (room 9): *Scenae* 1466, 1474; *Elephantenkopf* 1599.

Erstes Zimmer r[echts] vom Atrium (room 4): *Endymion* 950; *Nereide* 1029; *Cheiron* 1294; *Bewaffnete Erogen* 624.

Ueber den Wandfeldern: *Melpomene* 876, *Thaleia* 880.

Zweites Zimmer r[echts] vom Atrium (room 5): *Kyparissos* 219; *Nereide* 1037; *Polyphem* 1051; *Erogen* 778, 792; *Psychen* 845; *Schwebende Jünglinge* 1847; Ueber den Wandfeldern: *Mädchen mit Tympanon, mit den Exuvien des Elephanten, mit Hasen* 474, 1116, 1851.

R[echte] Ala (room 8): *Dichter und Schauspieler* 1455; *Schauspieler und Schauspielerin* 1458; *Eros* 647; *Psychen* 835, 839, 840; *Attribute des Dionysos*

593, 598.

Auf Cornische: Seekentaur 1066.

Atrium (room 2): Auf den Cornischen der Architekturmalerei: *Kentauren* 504c.

Triclinium (room 16): *Dionysosknabe* 379; *Tropaion* 565; *Omphale* 1140; *Eroten und Psychen* 757, 759, 760, 766–768.

Fauces (room 17): *Göttermasken* 111, 167, 302, 1121.

Erster Raum l[inks] vom Peristyl (room 19): *Paris und Helena* 1312; *Eroten* 624.

Zweiter Raum l[inks] vom Peristyl (room 20): *Brief* 1722.

Erstes Zimmer (von links) hinter dem Peristyl (room 21): *Daphne* 207; *Narkissos oder Aphrodite* 304 (1365b).

Exedra r[echts] vom Peristyl (room 25): *Eroten als Winzer* 801; *Spielende Knaben* 1477; *Eros* 737b; *Mädchen* 1936.

Uncertain location:

[Schwebende Eroten] 687. *Bekränzt, in der L[inken] Füllhorn, in der R[echten] Traube.*

[Apparate und Thiere aus dem bacchischen Kulte] 599. *L[inks] steht ein Gefäss, um welches sich eine Schlange ringelt; r[echts] liegt auf einer Basis ein Tympanon.*

House IX 3, 7:

(room 56) *Isisfortuna und Deus Lunus* 78.

A. Sogliano, *Le pitture murali campane scoperte negli anni 1867–79.*

House IX 3, 10–12:

(room 61) *Genio familiare* 9, 10 & *Penati* 41.

House IX 3, 13:

(room 69) *Genio familiare e Lari* 16 & *Gladiatori* 668.

Between Houses IX 14 and 15:

(facade) *Mercurio* 1.

House IX 3, 19–20:

(room 113) *Genio familiare e Lari* 26; (room 123) *Penati* 44; (room 112) *Trittolemo* 99; (room 110) *Artemide* 111 & *Donna volante con attributi bacchici* 219, 220; (room 112) *Arianna e Dioniso* 538; (room 110) *Figure muliebri* 801, 802, 835, 836.

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 Fig. 23. Room 123, west wall with the recess under the stairs. EPUH. ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.
 Fig. 24. Room 123, east wall, lararium painting. Drawing: Geremia Discanno, in *GdS* 1873, pl. 5.

House IX 3, 23

- Fig. 1. Room 126, north wall. EPUH. ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.
 Fig. 2. Room 128, view towards west. EPUH. ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.
 Fig. 3. Room 128, north wall. Drawing: Kirsi Murros.
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 Fig. 7. Room 130, threshold. EPUH. ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.
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 Fig. 9. Room 132, west wall recess. EPUH. ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.
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 Fig. 12. Room 133, west wall. EPUH. ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.
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 Fig. 14. Room 133, north wall. Drawing: Kirsi Murros.

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- Fig. 1. Room 137, north wall, socle. EPUH. ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.
 Fig. 2. Room 137, west wall. Drawing: Kirsi Murros.
 Fig. 3. Room 137, west wall, alcove, detail. EPUH. ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

Fig. 4. Room 137, east wall with two decorative phases. EPUH. ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

P. 00 Background colours of the main zones. Map: Maija Holappa.

Central Pictures Removed to Naples

Fig. 1. Cubiculum 6, Narcissus, MANN 9381. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 2. Cubiculum 7, Phrixus and Helle, MANN 8896. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 3. Ala 8, The Poet and the Muse, MANN 9030. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 4. Ala 8, The Poet and the Actor, MANN 9038. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 5. Ala 8, Psyche with a Basket and a Pedum, MANN 9344. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 6. Ala 8, Psyche Carrying a Sprig, MANN 9345. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 7. Ala 8, Cupid with a Club, MANN 9341. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 8. Ala 8, Psyche with a Floral Wreath, MANN 9346. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 9. Ala 8, Cupid with a Rabbit and a Pedum, MANN 9343. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 10. Triclinium 16, Hercules and Omphale, MANN 8892. Mika Seppälä EVTEK-Metropolia. ©MANN.

Fig. 11. Triclinium 16, Banquet in front of Bacchus, MANN 9207. Mika Seppälä EVTEK-Metropolia. ©MANN.

Fig. 12. Triclinium 16, Banquet in front of Hercules, MANN 9193. Mika Seppälä EVTEK-Metropolia. ©MANN.

Fig. 13. Triclinium 16, The Triumph of the Infant Bacchus, MANN 9285. Mika Seppälä EVTEK-Metropolia. ©MANN.

Fig. 14. Triclinium 16, A Citharode with her Entourage, MANN 9206. Mika Seppälä EVTEK-Metropolia. ©MANN.

Fig. 15. Triclinium 16, Cupids and Psychae Preparing for a Musical Performance, MANN 9191. Mika Seppälä EVTEK-Metropolia. ©MANN.

Fig. 16. Triclinium 16, Preparation for a Theatrical Performance, MANN 9255. Mika Seppälä EVTEK-Metropolia. ©MANN.

Fig. 17. Triclinium 16, Banquet in front of Psyche, MANN 9208. Mika Seppälä EVTEK-Metropolia. ©MANN.

Fig. 18. Recess 20, *Instrumentum scriptorium*, MANN 9818. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 19. Oecus 21, Apollo and Daphne, MANN 9536. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 20. Triclinium 25, Harvesting Cupids, MANN 9198. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 21. Triclinium 25, Harvesting Cupids, MANN 9338. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 22. Triclinium 25, Harvesting Cupids, MANN 9340. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 23. Triclinium 25. Playing children (MANN 9103). Drawing: Michele Mastracchio ca. 1848. ADS 1078 ©MANN.

Fig. 24. Passage 41, Still-life, MANN 8642. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 25. Passage 41, Still-life, MANN s.n. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 26. Passage 41, Backside of the still-life, MANN s.n. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 27. House IX 3, 7, lararium painting, MANN 8836. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 28. Narcissus, a painting of uncertain origin, MANN 9380.

Bacchic Themes

Fig. 1. Garden 18 with the fountain. Coloured albumen print ca. 1870 ("74. Pompei: fontana nel giardino Marco Lucrezio"). Private collection.

Fig. 2. Triclinium 25, Playing Children, MANN 9103. EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 3. Triclinium 16. Lecanomancy, detail (MANN 8992). Photo: EPUH. ©MANN.

Fig. 4. Triclinium 16. Lecanomancy, detail (MANN 8992). Drawing: Michele Mastracchio ca. 1848. ADS 1070. ©MANN.

Fig. 5. Villa dei Misteri, Room of the Mysteries, east wall, detail. EPUH ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

Fig. 6. Ala 8, west wall. Still-life. Drawing: Giuseppe Abbate 1847. ADS 1051. ©MANN.

Fig. 7. Cubiculum 4, east wall. Thaleia holding a mask. Drawing: Antonio Ala 1850. ADS 1050 ©MANN.

Fig. 8. Ala 8, south wall. An actor with a seated poet. Drawing: Michele Mastracchio ca. 1848. ADS 1045 ©MANN.

Fig. 9. Fauces 1, south wall. An ivy-wreathed man with a tibicen and a torchbearer. Drawing: Nicola La Volpe 1853. ADS 1000 ©MANN.

Fig. 10. Herculaneum. An older man, an ivy-wreathed young man and a tibicen (MANN 9035). Drawing: Nicola La Volpe, in *Quaranta* 1831 (*MB* 7), pl. 21.

Fig. 11. Ala 9, west wall, central picture. Medea. Drawing: Kirsi Murros.

Fig. 12. Casa del Centenario (IX 8, 3). Medea. Drawing: Geremia Discanno, the late 19th century. ADS 1109 ©MANN.

Fig. 13. Fauces 1, north wall, right side field. A maenad. EPUH ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

Fig. 14. Triclinium 16, north wall. Bacchus erecting a tropaeum. Drawing: Giuseppe Abbate, in *Minervini* 1856 (*MB* 15), pl. 32.

Fig. 15. Triclinium 112, east wall, central picture. Bacchus and Ariadne. Drawing: Geremia Discanno 1871. ADS 1095 ©MANN.

Fig. 16. Triclinium 16, south wall, central picture. The triumph of the infant Bacchus (MANN 9285). Drawing: Giuseppe Abbate, in *Niccolini* 1854, pl. II.

Birds in the Sidelines

Fig. 1. Tablinum 15, floor. Drawing: Giuseppe Abbate, in *Niccolini* 1854, pl. IV:8.

Fig. 2. Tablinum 15, floor. Drawing: Maija Holappa.

Fig. 3. Tablinum 15, floor, detail. EPUH ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

Fig. 4. Tablinum 15, view towards southeast. EPUH ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

Comprehensive Non-destructive Chemical Characterization of the Wall Paintings

Fig. 1. Excavated samples stored in triclinium 16. ©APUV.

Fig. 2. Fauces 1, south wall. ©APUV/©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

Fig. 3. Tablinum 15, preparation for the pigment analysis. ©APUV/©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

Fig. 4. Fauces 1, south wall, the DRIFT instrument in use. ©APUV/©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

Fig. 5. Triclinium 16, east wall, the micro-Raman measurements are taken. ©APUV/©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

Fig. 6.–8. Micro-Raman, DRIFT, and XRF spectra. ©APUV.

The Upper Floors: Space and Status

Fig. 1. Plan of the house IX 3, 5.24 with room numbers and upper floors (1:400). EPUH.

Fig. 2. Kitchen 14, north wall. James Andrews. ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

Fig. 3. Upper storey above rooms 19 and 20. James Andrews. ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

Fig. 4. North wall above room 19. James Andrews. ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

Fig. 5. View from room 19 towards rooms 17 and 10. James Andrews. ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

Fig. 6. Staircase in room 26. James Andrews. ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

Fig. 7. Room 23, east wall. James Andrews. ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

Fig. 8–9. Rooms 4 and 21, column fragments from the upper floor. James Andrews. ©Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

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