Roman Wall Paintings from Boscotrecase: Three Studies in the Relationship Between Writing and Painting

ELFRIEDE R. KNAUER

DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THOMAS NIPPERDEY (1927–1992)

THE ROMAN VILLA RUSTICA at Boscotrecase is recognized as a key monument for the understanding of Roman wall painting. It originally belonged to Augustus's friend and aide M. Vipsanius Agrippa and his wife, Julia, the princeps' daughter.[1] The surviving decoration can be dated to about 10 B.C.[2] When the fifteen panels from the villa were reinstalled at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1987 and Peter von Blanckenhagen's fundamental study of all of the preserved wall paintings in New York and Naples, originally published in 1962, was reissued with color illustrations, a fresh evaluation of the panels became possible.

Here we shall be concerned with exploring the ways and degrees in which several specific objects and features that are integrated into the highly complex decorative system reflect reality. In each of the three preserved rooms it is now possible to understand more completely a specific ingredient of the decoration. In the process of elucidating each of these elements, one enters into the larger orbit of Roman history, culture, and language. The third part of this study is, in fact, primarily philological and takes one beyond the usual realms of art-historical investigation. The ramifications of our consideration of the word *vitrum*—glass—yield insights into the geographical and cultural expansion of the world that occurred under Augustus. The result is a better understanding of what these paintings may have conveyed to their patrons and to contemporary viewers.[3]

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I. THE EGYPTIAN *PINAKES*

We shall begin by concentrating on the two *pinakes,* that is, framed pictures, supported by delicate candelabra in the niches that flank the central *aedicula* of the north wall of the Black Room (Figures 1–5).[4] These niches differ markedly from the decoration of the central *aedicula,* where an airy gable at the top rests on colonnettes crowned with Corinthian capitals that incorporate framed roundels with the cameo-style profiles of male and female heads, probably Apollo and Artemis.[5] By contrast, the stylistic ambience of each flanking candelabrum is patently different. Instead of the classical elements, the shafts display a succession of Egyptianizing calyxes and culminate in a lotus finial bearing an elegant lidded vase, also of Egyptian ancestry. From the topmost florals on each side, two shoots emerge, and the *pinakes* are balanced on the vases and these shoots. It has been rightly suggested that the *pinakes* are of papyrus framed in wood.[6] Their intense yellow hue might provoke doubts about the nature of the substance, but it is known that papyrus was treated with cedar oil to extend its longevity.[7] The color may indicate such a treatment. In accordance with the precarious position of the pictures, but unlike the few frames that have survived from antiquity, these frames seem extremely lightweight, as if made of bamboo or some similar material.[8] In spite of their modest size and some damage, the pictures can be deciphered, and they clearly show cult scenes.

Because of their exotic subject these paintings have been subjected to repeated analyses over the last two decades.[9] However, their poor state of preservation and the concomitantly imperfect legibility seem to have militated against an interpretation

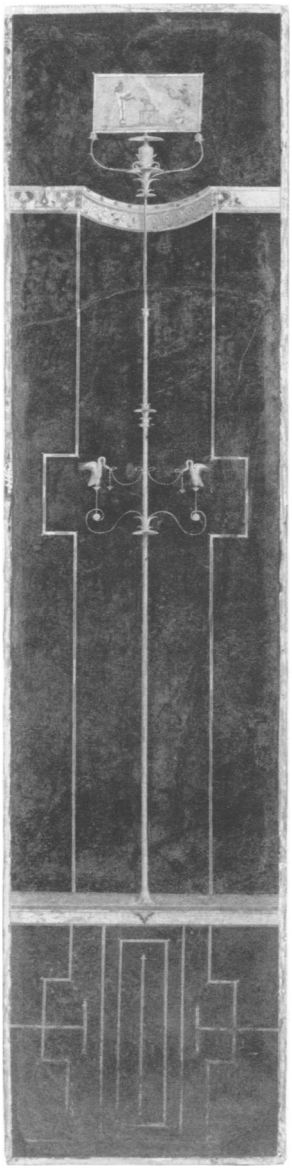


Figure 1. Black Room, north wall, left panel. Roman, ca. 12 B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 20.192.2

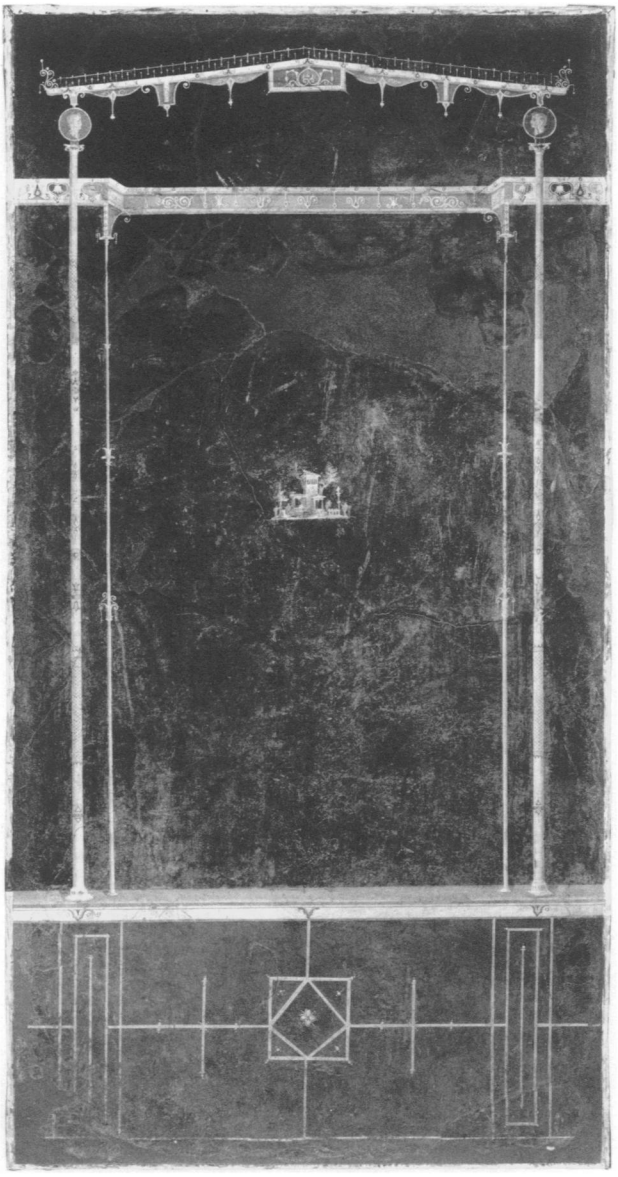


Figure 2. Black Room, north wall, central panel. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 20.192.1

that could be generally accepted. Scholars strove to identify the Egyptian deities rather than explore the possible significance of a specific iconography in the context of the building and its owners. The most recent restoration has now revealed the original depiction and it is well worth reexamining the paintings.

The *pinax* on the left has in its center a four-legged table, apparently placed on an ocher hillock. On the table, drawn in perspective,[10] stands a young horned animal. Damage has eradicated most of its hindquarters. Whether a bull or a cow—that is, whether the Apis bull or Hathor's cow—is intended, we cannot say. Both animals were often represented with the sun disk between their horns, a feature missing here. Originally a symbol of fertility and renewal, Apis was also, during the late period, thought of as receiving the soul of the deceased Osiris, the divine consort of Isis. The Apis bulls were kept and revered in Memphis, the old royal city, and were buried in the Serapaeum at nearby Saqqara.[11] In the Egyptian creation myths, Memphis was thought of as one of the loci of the Primeval Hillock.[12] On the knoll under the table a uraeus, the cobra-shaped protector of kings, rears its hooded head.[13] A long-necked amphora on a stand appears on the far left.[14] Between the amphora and the animal stands a female[15] votary of Isis in cultic garments, with feathers[16] on her queenly vulture headdress.[17] Her left hand, presumably with an at-

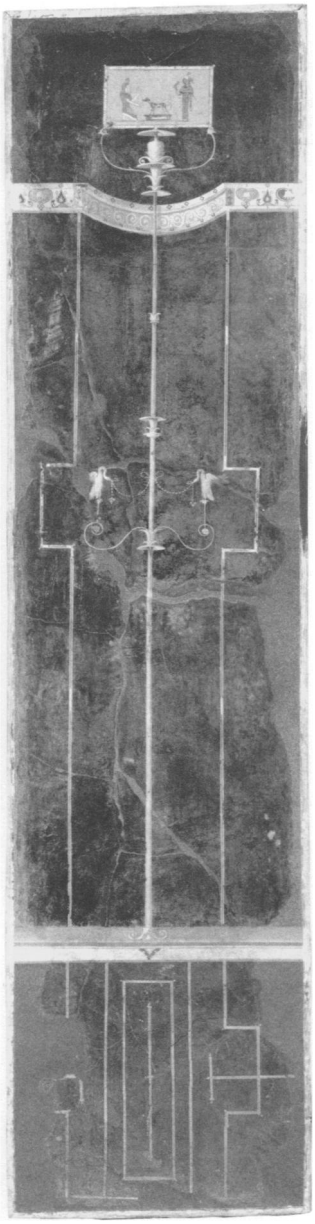


Figure 3. Black Room, north wall, right panel. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 20.192.3

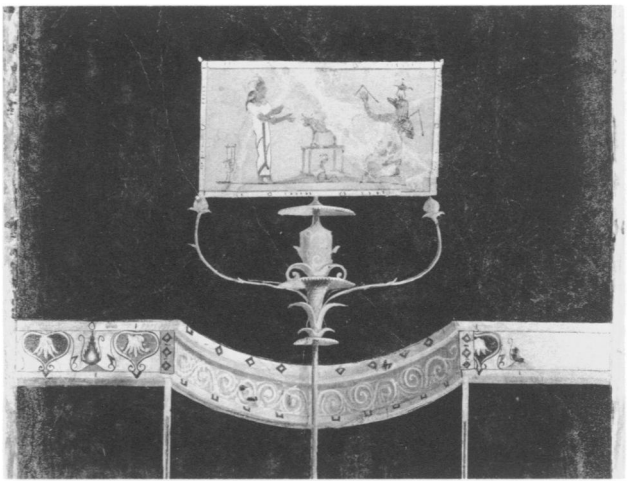


Figure 4. Detail of Figure 1

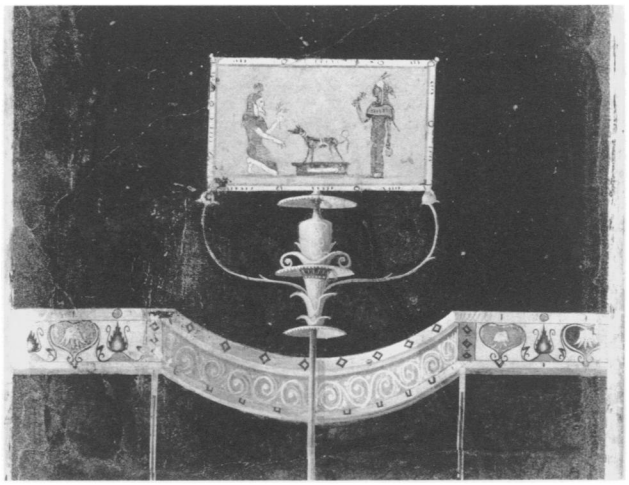


Figure 5. Detail of Figure 3

tribute, is missing. On the right, a kneeling male on a low blue base appears in the guise of the crocodile god Sobek with sun disk and Hathor horns atop his head.[18]

The cult of Sobek, or Suchos, was centered in the Fayum. It became enormously popular during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, when Sobek was conceived of as an "All-Gott," combining the qualities of many of the major gods of the Egyptian pantheon. After Alexander's conquest, Greeks—and after Octavian's victory over Egypt, Roman veterans—settled in the rich farmlands of the Fayum;[19] the newcomers enthusiastically adopted the local cults, among them that of Sobek. The British Museum has a perfectly preserved late Roman crocodile-skin suit of parade armor, consisting of helmet and cuirass, found in a burial cave at Manfalût (near Asyût, in the Lykopolis nome) and worn in religious processions by Roman soldiers who were followers of the cult (Figure 7).[20]

The worshiping pose of the priest of Sobek suggests that he is a ruler. Throughout its history, Egyptian art, especially on monumental temples, abounds with such formal scenes showing kings on their knees revering their gods.[21] We may thus conclude that the *pinax* represents a princely couple worshiping at a specific site. One feature, however, requires further attention. The kneeling votary shoulders what may be a whip and ostentatiously lifts a mason's square (*hss/kheses*),[22] which seems to

Figure 6. Relief from the temple of Kom Ombo, showing the crocodile-headed god Sobek (photo: George Holton)

rest on the fingertips of his raised right hand. It has been said that in such Egyptianized *pinakes*, Roman copyists tended to contaminate specific attributes that were no longer understood, elaborating them haphazardly or suppressing them altogether.[23] This charge, however, could be and has been made with equal justification against monuments in Egypt itself, or objects produced there by native artisans of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Although the traditional iconography still held sway, it was, indeed, occasionally misunderstood or corrupted by adjustments to and combinations with Hellenistic motifs.[24]

The set square as a hieroglyph can mean a building's corners or the establishment of those corners at the laying of the foundation stone. Interestingly, this hieroglyph is recorded at three temples, Edfu, Dendara, and Kôm Ombo, all of which date from Graeco-Roman times.[25] The kneeling figure's gesture is so specific that the Romans responsible for the decoration at Boscotrecase must have had a more than casual understanding of the Egyptian models (Figure 8).[26] The kneeling ruler displaying the set square is clearly a devotee of Sobek, but the meaning of the representation here must remain hypothetical. An intimate knowledge of Egypt and her ways, however, is evident throughout the wall paintings from Boscotrecase.

The following can be inferred from the details of Agrippa's career. He owned the villa at Boscotrecase until he died in Campania in 12 B.C. at the age of 51. The property passed to his son Agrippa Pos-

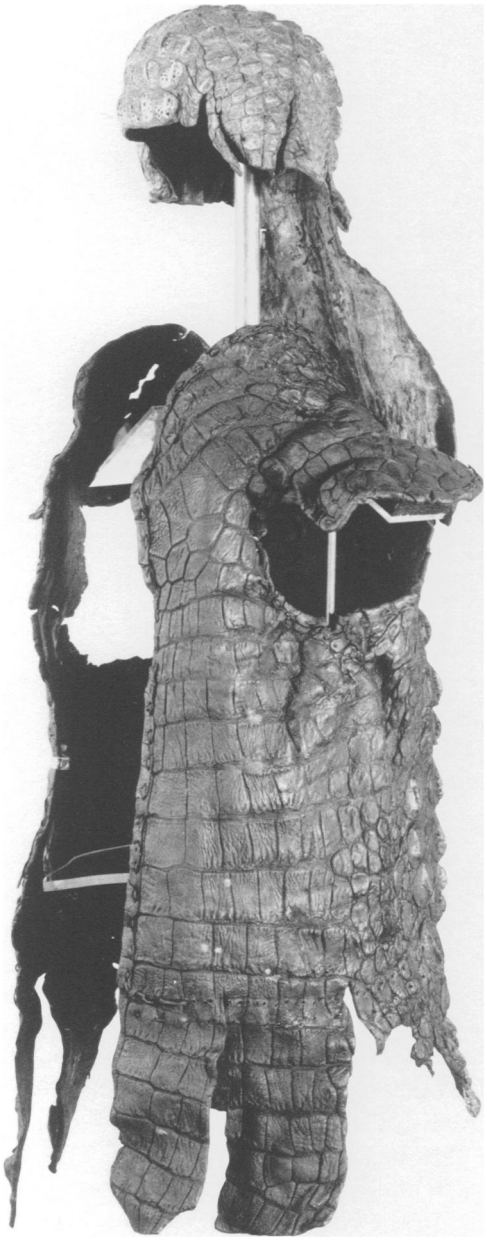


Figure 7. Crocodile-skin suit of parade armor, from Manfalût, Egypt. London, British Museum, EA 5473 (photo: British Museum)

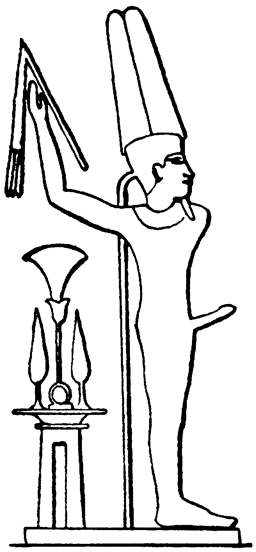


Figure 8. The god Amon raising a flail (from Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte,* fig. 11)

tumus, born shortly after his father's demise. The wall paintings in the three *cubicula* are stylistically the latest in the villa and are thought to have been produced soon after Agrippa's death by a Roman atelier that had, about ten years previously, created the murals and stuccos of the palatial structure under the Villa Farnesina in Rome, on the north bank of the Tiber. This may have been the *villa suburbana* of Agrippa and Julia, whom Augustus had just united in matrimony.[27] Not only was Agrippa the quasi-coregent and most trusted commander to whom Augustus owed the decisive victories of his early career, but Agrippa had also advised him at Actium and been presented, after the defeat of Cleopatra, with vast latifundia in Egypt.[28] Agrippa must have been perfectly familiar with the sophistication and elegance of late Ptolemaic court life in Alexandria and elsewhere. That would account for the deliberate and very refined allusions to Egypt in both villas. To suggest, moreover, a link between Agrippa and the cult of Sobek is not sheer caprice. Greek troops who had fought in Egypt and been disbanded after Actium were settled in Nemausus (Nîmes). A series of coins—the so-called crocodile coins—were minted in this new colony. They had, on the obverse, the heads of Octavian and Agrippa and, on the reverse, a crocodile chained to a beribboned palm frond (Figure 9).[29] The scene on the *pinax* may metaphorically record the foundation of Agrippa and Julia's home under the protection of propitious divinities.

The second *pinax,* on the right side of the north wall of the Black Room, shows another cult scene. A kneeling ruler, characterized by the ceremonial beard and the *nemes,* the regal headcloth, proffers an olive branch[30] to an image of Anubis on a shrine, while a standing female in a linen garment officiates with a sistrum and a container of holy water as a priestess of Isis (cf. Figure 10).[31] Again, one might imagine Agrippa in the guise of an Egyptian king extending the symbol of peace to Anubis, the *latrator,* the jackal-shaped barker that served the Roman

Figure 9. Roman coin showing Agrippa and Octavian and a crocodile chained to a palm frond (from *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Coins.* Numismatics Fine Arts Auction 27 [Los Angeles, 1992] fig. 1076)

Figure 10. Mural from the House of Loreius Tiburtinus at Pompeii, showing priest of Isis: (from V. Spinazzola, *Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell'Abbondanza [anni 1910–1923],* fig. 489)

poets of the period as a figure, by synecdoche, for Egypt and its pantheon.[32] Again, there is Julia as a priestess, undoubtedly of Isis. The popularity of the goddess need not be emphasized. Her cult had already spread over the Mediterranean before she became hellenized. Isis, too, was an "All-Göttin" during the late period.[33] Although Augustus and Agrippa prohibited the cult of Egyptian gods around Rome and within its *pomerium*,[34] the prominence of Isis is impressively demonstrated by, for example, the Aula Isiaca on the Palatine[35] and her temple in Pompeii.[36] The fact that Agrippa should here appear twice as a king cannot be a surprise. From 23 B.C. on he was given the *imperium* over the eastern part of the Mediterranean, which meant that he virtually shared the princeps' rulership. Julia, who became his consort in 21 B.C., resided with him in the East between 17 and 13 B.C. There he accepted the honors customary in the cult of the imperial house.[37] The decoration of the *cubicula* was commissioned either by Agrippa, while he and his consort were still away in the East, or by his widow after Agrippa's death. Their heir, Agrippa Postumus, might have been the patron, although that would require dating the frescoes somewhat later.

The poses of the figures on the two *pinakes* have justly been called stiff and the coloration hard and flat, especially when compared with the supreme renditions of the swans that flank the candelabra below the Egyptian pictures (Figure 11).[38] I believe that the rendering attests to their authenticity.

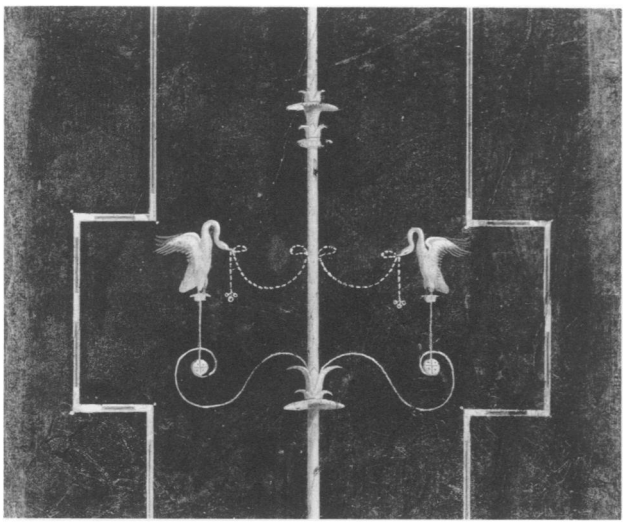


Figure 11. Detail of central section of Figure 1, showing swans with jewelry

Figure 12. Vignette from a Ptolemaic papyrus. The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, Inv. 42/88 (photo: Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum)

When compared with illustrations from some of the contemporary late Ptolemaic Egyptian funerary papyri, the *pinakes* prove very similar iconographically, stylistically, and coloristically. The illustrations usually accompany funerary texts from the Book of the Dead. For comparison, see the vignette—one of two —from a papyrus given by Bonaparte to Vivant Denon, a participant in the Egyptian campaign (Figure 12).[39]

If one steps back from the detail to consider the north wall of the Black Room as a whole, one becomes all the more aware of a subtle interplay between motifs from the classical and those from the Egyptian world. There is a clear indication of the very special role Egypt played in the princeps' circle. Theirs was a generation bruised by decades of civil war. After the hostilities had ended, Egypt with its age-old culture, its bewitching scenery, and its cosmopolitan atmosphere must have evoked feelings of happiness and of an elated existence. No wonder that Octavian's companions wanted to recall and perpetuate them, though in a very different climate, by artful substitutes on their walls.[40]

II. The Scroll Holders

The three wall surfaces of the Red Room, today in the Naples Museum, are dominated by three large sacro-idyllic landscapes.[41] The paintings appear to be mounted on easels framed by shallow *aediculae*, and the dreamlike sceneries seem to float on the white atmospheric background of their "canvases."

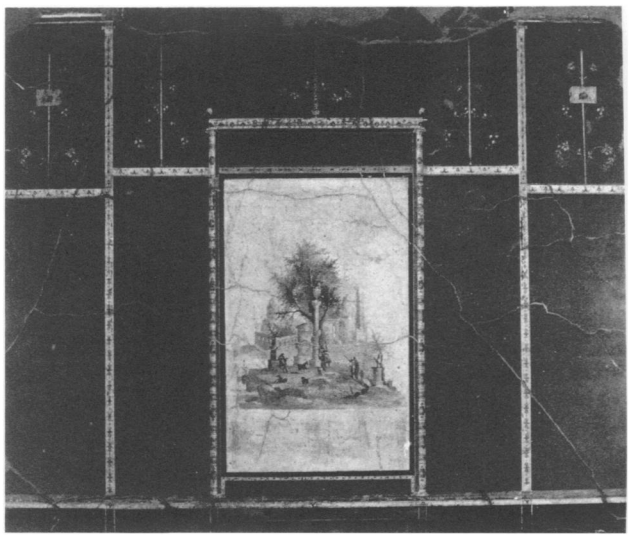


Figure 13. North wall of the Red Room. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. 147501 (from Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pl. 21.2)

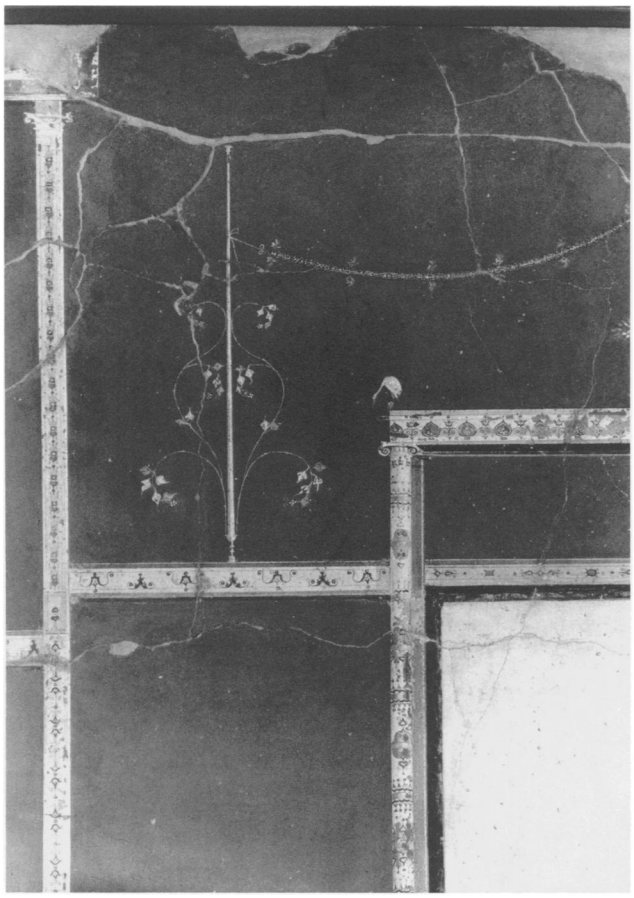


Figure 14. Detail of Figure 13 (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)

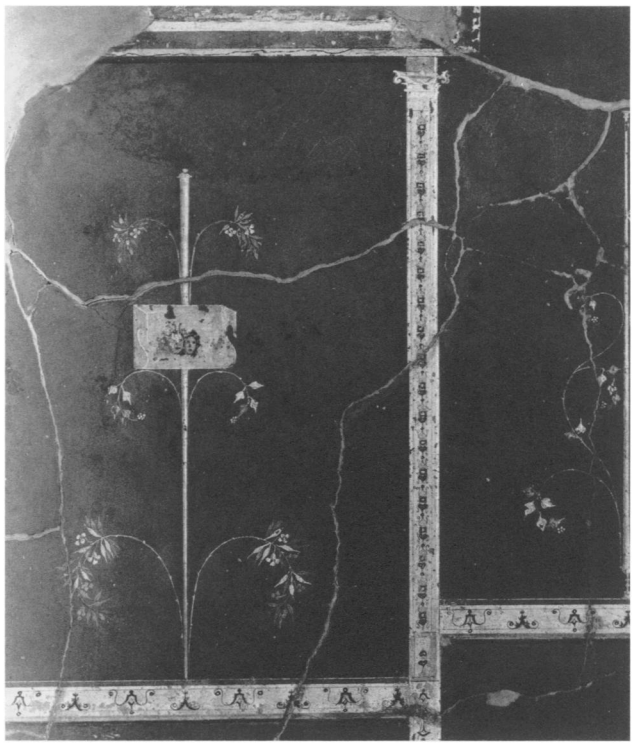


Figure 15. Detail of Figure 13 (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)

Figure 16. Detail of Figure 13 (from Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pl. 28.1)

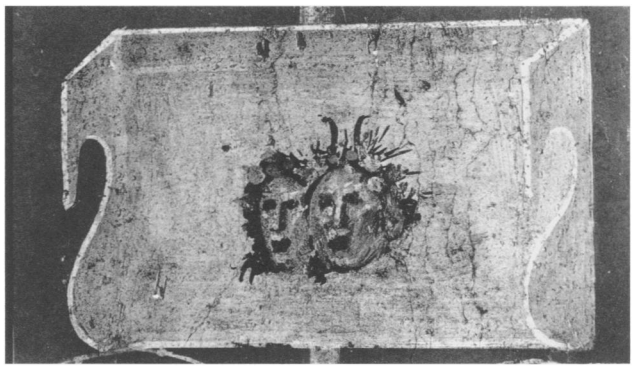


Figure 17. Detail of Figure 13 (from Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pl. 23.2)

The prominence of these superb pictures somewhat eclipses the other components of the walls. Again, let us begin with the central, or north, wall of the *cubiculum* (Figures 13–15). Unlike the black background of the first room, which is so suggestive of depth, the red walls convey the impression of a more substantial medium: the textile panels, as it were, of a large cinnabar-colored tent. The structure is so high that it seems to require a subdivision into two stories. What appears to be a rather straightforward edifice, propped up by a wooden framework, reveals itself on closer inspection as defying coherent architectural logic. The upper section of the tripartite north wall imparts the illusion of a roof garden animated by two ibises, which crane their necks at the corners of the *aedicula.* While intensely lifelike in detail, the vegetation is disposed in puzzlingly heraldic patterns. Delicate boughs of blooming ivy and oleander sprout from slim turned shafts or are combined with the elaborate central flower-candelabrum and its swags, as if nature were grafted onto the products of elegant crafts. Once attuned to the "magic realism" of this orderly cosmos, which corresponds to similar horticultural figments on the dark dado, the eye is caught by the two strange boxlike objects attached to the tapering staves in the upper sections of the side panels of the north wall (Figures 16, 17).

Because the muralist foreshortened these "boxes," what they are made of is very clear. Constructed of a lightweight material, probably wood, the boxes have a back wall with a slim horizontal ledge near the bottom that continues into the two side walls jutting out at right angles. The sides are elegantly S-shaped below and form a kind of hook above. The contours are not merely decorative but are primarily functional; we shall see that their purpose may be to secure an object. Each box is embellished with the masks of a satyr and a maenad painted on the back wall; each is the mirror image of the other. Both masks are wreathed; the horned satyr's complexion is reddish, the maenad's a pale grayish-blue. The masks cast shadows, again mirror-image fashion, which is perfectly logical, since they are on the north wall of the room, which receives its light from the one door in the south wall. Leaving aside the features represented in the landscape panels, these small rectangular boxes are—because of their three-dimensionality—the only "tangible" objects on the wall. We therefore need to establish their character in order to comprehend the sense of the ensemble. Even a brief survey of the body of recorded wall paintings reveals that such boxes are

Figure 18. Stucco painting of a victorious actor from Herculaneum. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, Inv. 9019 (from C. L. Ragghianti, *Pittori di Pompei* [Milan, 1963] pl. 23)

Figure 19. Detail of Figure 19 (from C. L. Ragghianti, *Pittori di Pompei,* pl. facing p. 71)

neither as rare nor as neglected by scholars as might appear; however, no convincing attempt at an identification of their purpose has been made so far.[42]

The comparative examples to be examined are Pompeian; they all figure in more crowded compositions than those of the Red Room and may thus have escaped closer scrutiny. Most are also somewhat later than the Boscotrecase examples, which are distinguished by their sober elegance and the plain, natural color of the wood. Closest in design is the box in a well-known stucco painting from Herculaneum, in Naples, with a victorious actor (Figures 18, 19). It is to the right of the seated performer, and stands on the pillar at which a muse (or some other personification) busies herself with an honorific inscription. The simply curved sides of the box reveal it as an early example within our *stemma*. The object is painted light blue; white *taeniae,* or scarves, are draped over it; and the inside is fully covered with the image of a tragic mask. The many descriptions of this scene assume that a real mask, in fact the mask worn by the victorious actor, is depicted on the support.[43] If this were the case, the mask would jut out and overlap the lower edge of the box. Often, when a painted mask is intended to be understood as a three-dimensional object, its hair is rendered as hanging down and over the edge of the box or its support. But here the mask clearly remains within the box. It must be a painted rendition, depicted with consummate artistry. The actor himself wears regal attire, with a sword in his lap and a long scepter; his noble features have been likened to the often replicated sculptural portrait of Menander. The Hellenistic original of this painting must date from about 300 B.C., the copy in Naples from about 25 B.C.[44]

In the House of Sulpicius Rufus at Pompeii, Room E has another box in the center of the upper section of the back wall.[45] As in Boscotrecase, the object is attached to a candelabrum and decorated with two painted masks. Wide *vittae* are slung across it, and a cord serves as an additional means of suspension.[46] It is worth noting that the sharply foreshortened room, apparently an atrium with *impluvium,* in whose axis the candelabrum stands, has two theatrical masks perched on ledges above the side doors. In contrast to the examples in the box, they are placed on the ledges and are meant to be perceived as three-dimensional.

From the frieze zone of the back wall of a room in the Casa dei Quattro Stili, dating from the Augustan to the Tiberian period, comes an example that is now in poor condition.[47] Nevertheless, it is

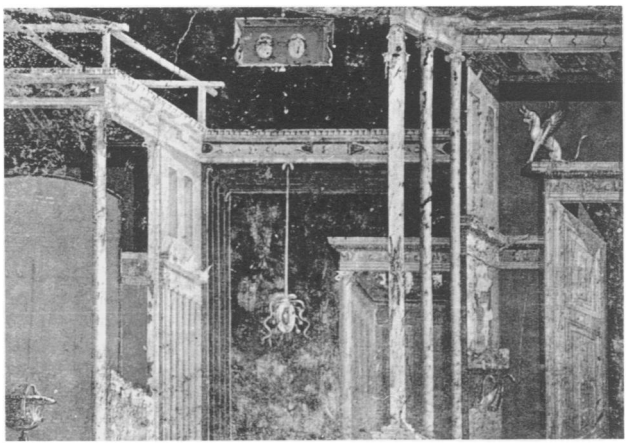


Figure 20. Detail of the south wall of the *tablinum* in the House of Lucretius Fronto at Pompeii (from Ragghianti, *Pittori di Pompei,* pl. facing p. 89)

clearly the same kind of object. High up on the wall and perched on a sculpted prop, it appears to be secured by a string. Curiously, the design of the side walls has been reversed. The S-curve is upside down, and the hooks below are more rounded. Three painted overlapping masks occur on the back wall.

A pair of boxes is in the frieze zone on the south wall of the *tablinum* in the House of Lucretius Fronto (Figure 20, detail of wall).[48] These splendidly contrived specimens of architectural illusionism have frequently been reproduced. Paired and foreshortened like those of the Red Room, the cases have two painted masks, each on a bright red ground. The rectangular boxes show an attenuated variant of the traditional design. However, the narrow ledge at the lower edge is now placed above, like a small protective roof for the painted masks. They appear high up and at the very back of deep recesses within a complex tripartite architecture whose focus is an immense tripod. The porches to either side contain large metal kraters. The presiding deities here seem to be Apollo and Bacchus.[49]

A rather hybrid example comes from the House of the Hermaphrodite. It sits above the main cornice and a splendid swag. The box has rather large and intricately shaped wooden sides and is green inside. Instead of the painted masks, it contains a three-dimensional tragic mask with corkscrew curls descending from the foreshortened lower ledge.[50] This variant brings to mind a marble object found in situ, together with other small-scale sculptures, aligned along the transversal *euripus,* or channel, in the garden of M. Loreius Tiburtinus's house in the

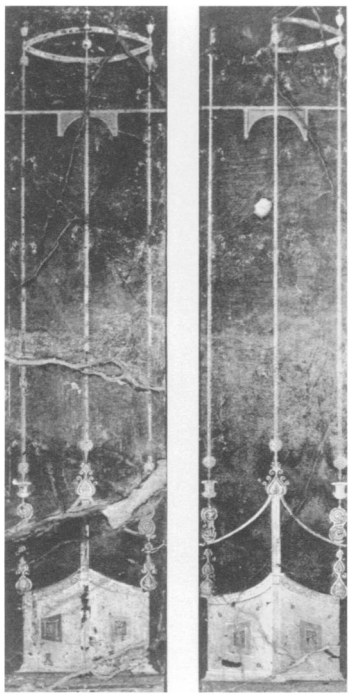


Figure 21. Panel from the east wall of the Black Room, showing a tripod. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. 138992 (from Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* pl. 14.1)

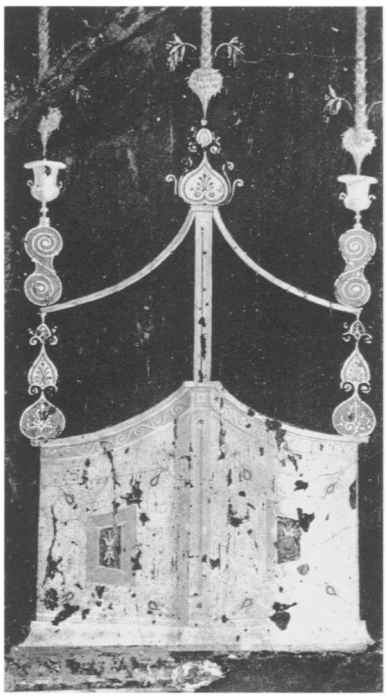


Figure 22. Detail of panel from the east wall of the Black Room (from Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* pl. 15.1)

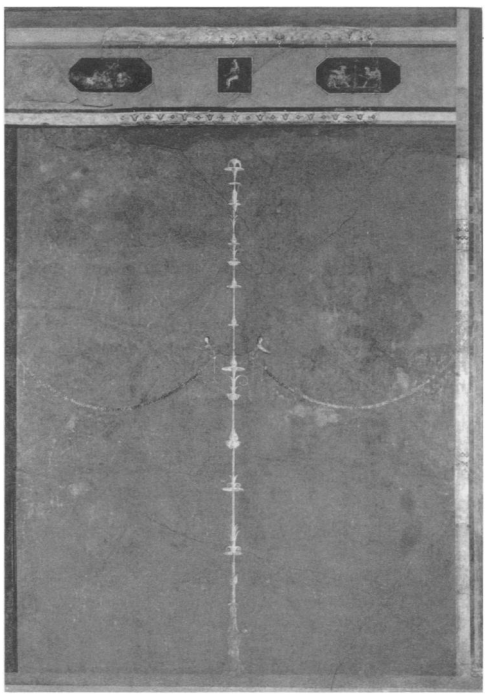


Figure 23. Panel with candelabrum and egyptianizing sirens from the east wall of the Mythological Room. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 20.192.13

Via dell'Abbondanza (Figure 24).[51] Wealthy and politically influential, this citizen of Pompeii seems to have been a devotee of Isis. Unlike the mask in the House of the Hermaphrodite, which appeared to rest on the lower ledge of the box, this one seems attached to the back wall, more like the painted masks in the boxes from Boscotrecase that opened our sequence. Obviously, these objects, though clearly of the same family, differ in details.

The series of examples we have just considered entitles us to assume that such objects really existed in antiquity, although the contexts in which they appear do not reveal their use or purpose. Since they are most often associated with masks, one might take them for containers or repositories of theatrical masks. But they do not seem particularly well designed for that purpose. Moreover, depictions exist of shelves on which masks are placed and of receptacles for the transportation of masks: both look quite different.[52]

Enlightenment comes from an unexpected chance find. Between 1971 and 1974, during the excavation of a tract of the late antique city walls of Roman Novum Comum (present-day Como) in the lake region north of Milan, four marble bases were found, together with a dedicatory inscription that mentions Pliny the Younger. They are now on exhibit in the Civico Museo Archeologico Paolo Giovio in Como. These supports—probably of columns or pillars from a public building—are each sculpted on all four sides. The architectonically framed reliefs

Figure 24. Marble "box" with mask, from the garden at the House of M. Loreius Tiburtinus at Pompeii (from Spinazzola, *Scavi nuovi,* fig. 455)

Figure 25. Relief on marble basis from Como, showing a young poet and Muse. Como, Civico Museo Archeologico Paolo Giovio (photo: Civico Museo Archeologico, Como, and Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia)

Figure 26. Relief on marble basis from Como, showing an old poet and Muse. Como, Civico Museo Archeologico Paolo Giovio (photo: Civico Museo Archeologico, Como, and Soprintendenza Archeologica della Lombardia)

show scenes from mythology, victorious athletes, horsemen, and two seated men of letters (one young, the other mature), each accompanied by a Muse (Figures 25, 26).[53] The pensive young poet, with a mantle draped about his lower body and a *scrinium,* or *capsa,* for his scrolls, is bent over a *rotulus* and seems to look at a passage that the Muse, who leans on his shoulder, points out to him. In front of the two figures stands a fluted pedestal supporting what is unquestionably one of our boxes. The provincial style of the reliefs does not allow for sophisticated perspective, and so the rather elaborately shaped side walls appear flattened. The side walls also seem to be upside down, with hooks pointing up, but there can be no doubt about the identity of the object. No mask is visible, but since the paint that originally articulated the reliefs has disappeared, we do not know whether the box was embellished with a mask. In view of our sequence, however, it is likely that it was.

We now suggest that the masks indicated the literary genre of the author's work. The Naples painting of the actor (Figures 18, 19) is so far the earliest instance of such a box, with Boscotrecase coming close on its heels. The notion of interpreting the mask in the box as the one actually worn by the actor in his role as a king can be dismissed as rather unlikely. His would have been the bearded mask of a mature ruler, not a generic tragic mask. Although we still have no clue as to the boxes' actual use, the relief of a youth and Muse in Como establishes a definite link with literature. Confirmation is provided by the relief in Como that depicts an older man of letters: he holds a stylus and writing tablet and attentively studies a passage in the roll that a Muse presents to him in one of our boxes or stands (Figure 26). The angle of one of the—less ornate—side walls is clearly visible.

Without a definitive publication of the reliefs in Como, scholarly opinion is divided over the exact interpretation of the scenes. They probably belonged to the decoration of a gymnasium or library, institutions often united under the same roof. The first brief descriptions of the finds suggested that the statue-base of identical marble mentioning Pliny the Younger, a native of Como who is known to have given a library to his hometown, might have been part of one and the same building.[54] The idea has recently been abandoned for stylistic and technical reasons.[55] The date of the Como reliefs with the boxes is likely to fall in the mid-second century A.D. or later. The significant evidence comes from

Figure 27. Left section of sarcophagus lid, from the Via Appia near Rome. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Inv. 844 (photo: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz)

Greek sarcophagi, especially the short ends that seem to have served as models for the framed reliefs. They were not imported into the artistically rather barren northern provinces before A.D. 160, and Pliny died about A.D. 114. Because of the scarcity of models and the lack of an artistic tradition in northern Italy, the construction or decoration of Pliny's library could have been delayed for half a century. Among the reliefs, the intimate group of the young poet and his Muse has been singled out as an iconographically unusual scheme, especially in the cultural ambiance of the province.[56] It is in fact based on a type to be found on the lid of the sarcophagus with Muses in Berlin: there it appears with a seated elder whom a Muse assists as a living lectern, exactly as in the Como reliefs (Figure 27).[57]

Virgil and Homer have been proposed as candidates for the two literati on the reliefs, but the established iconography of both does not favor the idea.[58] The two men might be Pliny the Elder, Pliny the Younger's revered uncle, who had adopted and educated his nephew, and Pliny the Younger himself, though no portrait of either is known. Iconographic qualms may rule out the suggestion, because the chiton and mantle worn by the bearded man are considered the trademark of philosophers, while the young man's Greek attire is that of a poet. Neither author is traditionally thought of as having been a philosopher or a poet.

However, Pliny the Younger, whose career as an orator, lawyer, military man, and administrator is amply documented, tried his hand at poetry as a youth; he may have taken his early activities more seriously than posterity has.[59] One could object that a Roman citizen and magistrate would hardly be represented in Greek dress; but the role Pliny might have wished to assume demanded it, especially in the sphere of the late classical models that these reliefs follow. There exist, moreover, contemporary depictions in Roman wall paintings of youthful poets wearing the same classicizing garb. A contemporary fresco from Stabiae in the British Museum shows two youthful poets, wreathed and mantled, each with a beribboned laurel branch in one hand and a folded-over scroll and a stylus in the other (Figure 28).[60] The elder Pliny's literary production was also wrung from an extremely busy official existence.[61] His working habits are well known. Taking notes on tablets while a slave read to him was the first step, drafting and dictating the second; the finished work then went out into the world on papyrus scrolls. As the author of the *Naturalis historia*, Pliny may have qualified as a philosopher and been entitled to the costume. Who the assisting Muses are is not easy to ascertain, but they need not concern us here. What matters is that we now know the use to which the boxes or stands were put. They served as portable lecterns.[62]

One might ask whether the sinuous side walls of the stands are decorative or functional. The Como reliefs inform us that the side walls held the scroll (*rotulus*) securely in place when it was partly unwound for reading. But what purpose was served by the deep, rounded indentations or cutouts in the side walls? In the early examples (cf. Figures 16–19) they may have facilitated the actual and simultaneous unscrolling and rolling up of the manu-

Figure 28. Roman wall painting from Stabiae, showing two youthful poets. London, British Museum, GR 1867.5–8.1357 (photo: British Museum)

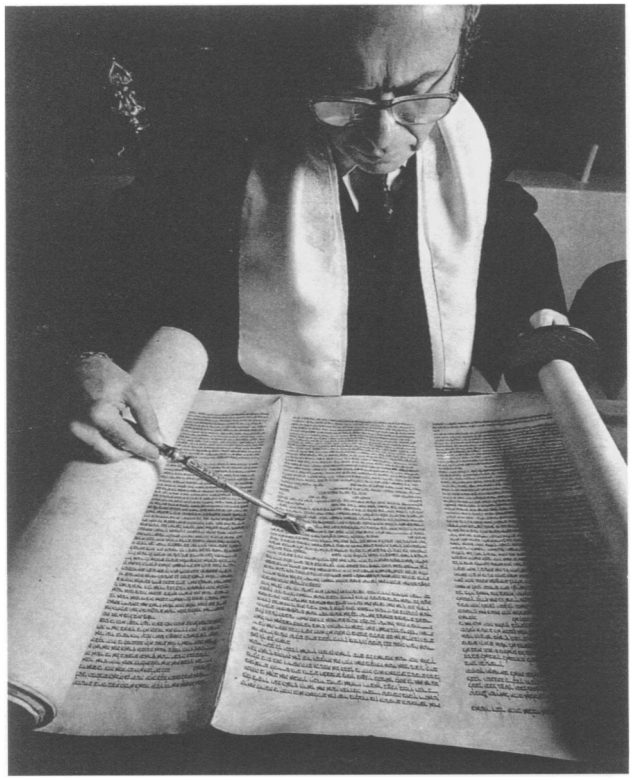


Figure 29. Reading a scroll (from *Marie Claire Aktuell* [Dec. 1991] p. 83)

script while it was being read on the stand. Papyrus rolls were normally wound around *umbilici,* sticks of wood or more precious materials that served as spines and protruded slightly from the scrolls.[63] Occasionally these projections were curved, and therefore called *cornua,* "horns"; they presumably helped prevent the wound-up rolls from slipping off their *umbilici.*[64] Once a reader had finished with a roll and wanted to take it along, he may have used the box or stand as a carrying device. The scroll would be put into it lengthwise, with the *cornua* secured in the cut-out side walls. Here an epigram of Martial comes to mind. It is found in the book named *Apophoreta,* a title denoting the kind of gifts a host gives his guests to take home: the epigram is entitled *Manuale:*

Ne toga barbatos faciat vel paenula libros,
Haec abies chartis tempora longa dabit.

(A Wooden Book-Holder
To prevent your toga or cloak making your books frayed, this fir-wood will give long life to your paper.)[65]

Lightweight fir seems to be a very suitable material for these multipurpose objects that could serve as lecterns for manuscripts and as protective carriers when single scrolls had to be handled. While the Greek terms for the lecterns (*analogeion, anagnosterion*) have long been known from glosses and were connected with a handful of late and rather crude representations, we can now see them as belonging to one family. The funerary stela of the ten-year-old Avita from the Roman imperial period, now in the British Museum, shows the girl seated on a stool and writing in tablets or on a scroll in her lap (Figure 30).[66] She may be copying from a roll propped up in one of our boxes or lecterns. Whether the object has been put on top of the columnlike support and would thus qualify as a *manuale,* or whether it is of a piece with it, we cannot say.

The *analogeia,* or *anagnosteria,* seem to have been of the one-piece kind, that is, stand and lectern combined. Besides Hellenistic terracottas depicting a seated man and a boy next to a lectern with an apparently turned-wood support,[67] the best-known, although fragmentary, example is on the fine relief with Menander and a Muse(?) in the Lateran/Vatican (Figure 31),[68] which dates from the first half of

Figure 30. Roman funerary stela of Avita. London, British Museum, Inv. 1805.7–3.187 (photo: British Museum)

Figure 31. Marble relief of Menander and a Muse(?). Rome, Lateran/Vatican (from K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker* [Basel, 1943] p. 164,3)

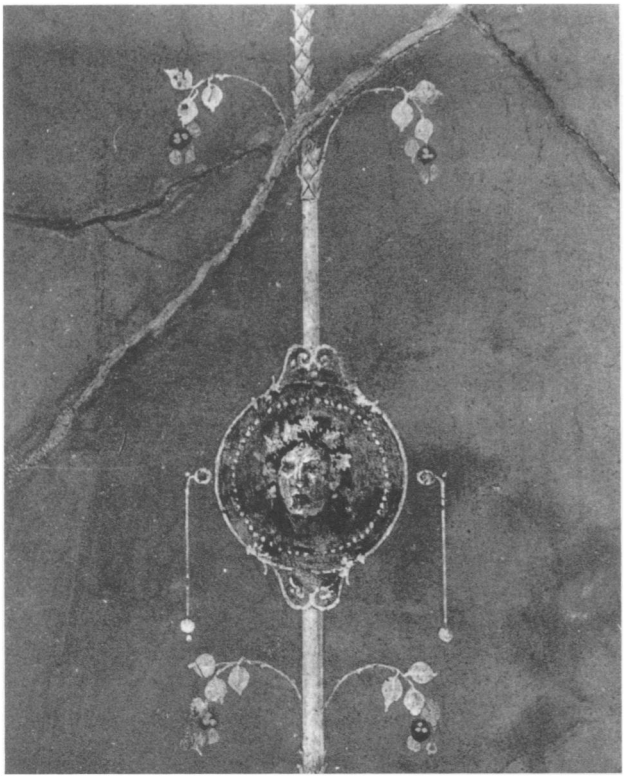
the first century A.D. and may elaborate on a Greek model. The poet has picked up a character mask, leaving two others on the table before him, which also has a scroll hanging over its edge.[69] On a slim, turned column behind the table is a flat box containing a scroll; the right half of the box broke off at some point and was smoothed down, and in the process the original features were almost obliterated. The slight indentations in the left side wall are evidently damage, not cut-out contours.

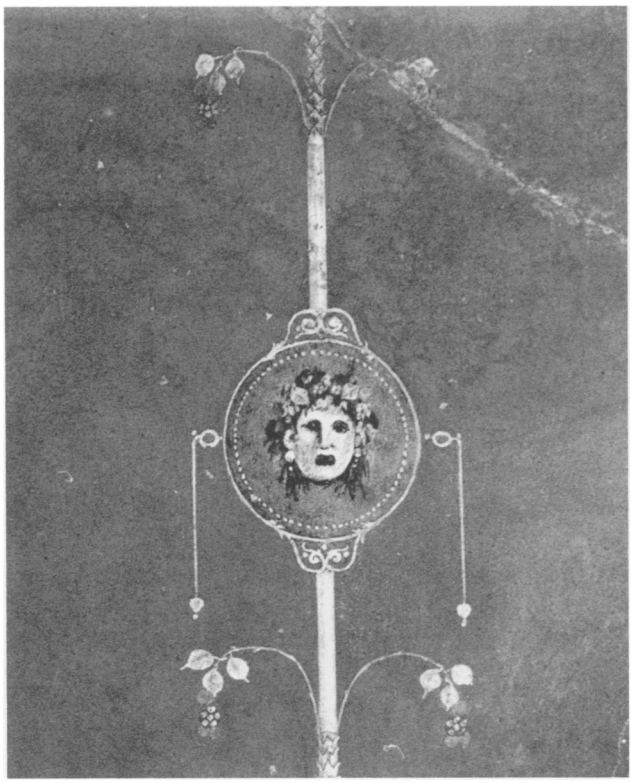
The elegant *manualia* of the Red Room, perhaps made of fir, are therefore among the earliest representations known. They could well have been a Hellenistic invention, as is suggested not only by the stucco painting in Naples, but also because their more massive Hellenistic predecessors must have proved cumbersome and were replaced by a more lightweight contraption. The *manualia* must have received their name because of their handiness and manageability. Since reading and writing while seated at a desk or table do not seem to have been generally favored before the Carolingian age,[70] adults as well as schoolchildren held the *manualia* in their hands, as attested by a fragmentary relief from Neumagen, now in Trier.[71] They were undoubtedly objects of daily use. When depicted on Roman walls, however, they required a further specification to establish their meaning in the context of the room. We have already proposed that the painted masks inside the *manualia* might indicate the literary genre of the manuscript.

On walls of the Second Pompeian Style, large theatrical masks, rendered as real three-dimensional objects, figure prominently. Strategically positioned on sturdy partition walls or on ledges, or occasionally suspended, they accord well, in their stern, almost menacing presence, with the severe architecture depicted and must have been intended to indicate the character of the locale: sacred precinct, palace, or stage. The totally different nature and function of the walls of the Third Style has no use for such massive things. Masks still abound, but they are smaller in size and often suggestive of different, more refined substances than the heavy wooden objects of old. But has their function changed, too?[72]

To return to the north wall of the Red Room at Boscotrecase and to its sacro-idyllic landscape, it seems appropriate to ask which divinity might be depicted enthroned next to the central column (Figures 13 and 32). Persephone, Demeter, Tyche, Cybele, and Isis have been proposed instead of Bacchus, because of the alleged femininity of the statue.[73] However, besides the *thyrsoi,* the long garment with its full sleeves points to Bacchus, and the bronze vessel atop the column provides further evidence. So do, to my mind, the two *manualia* (Figures 16, 17) with the masks of satyrs and maenads that flank the landscape panel, as well as the two *oscilla,* bearing arrestingly accomplished maenad masks, that are suspended on sprouting shafts in the center of the lateral walls of the Red Room (Figures 33, 34).[74] The prevailing vegetation on the red panels of this room, namely blooming ivy, is clearly Bacchic. The thyrsuslike staves of the upper portion of

Figure 32. Detail of landscape from the north wall of the Red Room. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. 147501 (from Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* pl. 25.2)





Figures 33, 34. Details of the right and left side panels of the west wall of the Red Room. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. 147504, 14705 (from Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* pls. 29.3, 29.4)

the walls not only generate ivy tendrils, but they—tellingly—emerge from bronze kraters (Figure 35).

In the Red Room the sacred landscapes undoubtedly take visual precedence over the rest of the decoration, but the viewers' delight must have been enhanced when they perceived the felicitous references to the appropriate literature, bucolic poetry. As noted, pertinently decorated *manualia* and *oscilla* replace the theatrical masks that previously embodied the required literary genre in conjunction with the given locale. Compared to such ponderous mise-en-scènes on Second Style walls, the decorations on early Third Style walls display an ever-growing allusive sophistication that is most interesting to follow. Indications of locale and genre

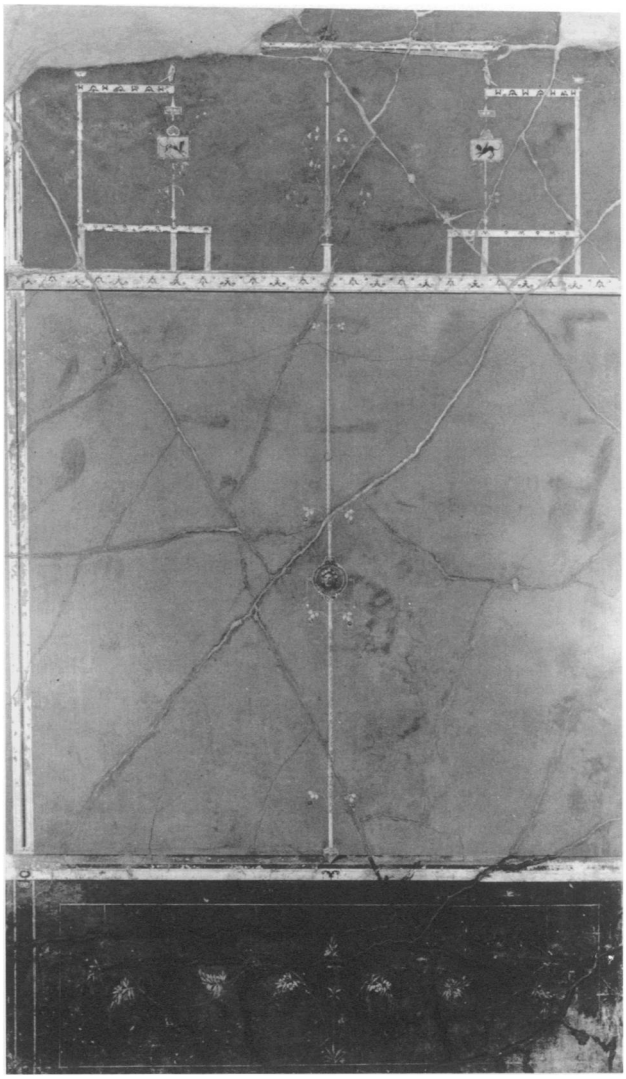


Figure 35. Detail of the left side panel of the east wall of the Red Room. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Inv. 147505 (photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome)

Figure 36. Detail of the west wall of the Mythological Room, showing landscape with Polyphemus and Galatea. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 20.192.17

Figure 37. Detail of the east wall of the Mythological Room, showing landscape with Andromeda rescued by Perseus. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 20.192.16

were, naturally, still vital. But they were increasingly relegated to less prominent sections of the walls, for instance the frieze.

The villa under the Farnesina in Rome, decorated by the same workshop that later created the Boscotrecase frescoes, provides an illuminating parallel. The White Ambulatorium G, in the Museo Nazionale Romano, has—above a sober white dado—a restrained colonnade in front of a plain white background. The slim shafts are topped by swag-bearing caryatids that support the frieze. Here still lifes alternating with sacro-idyllic landscapes consist of assemblages of masks. Although they are rendered very realistically, propped up at various angles and shown in perspective, they lack the intimidating corporeality of the Second Style specimens. Their casual display suffices to evoke the genre.[75] The artist of the Red Room goes one step further. The sacred landscapes have now become easel paintings, deliberately at one remove from reality, and the masks are reduced to mere two-dimensional renditions. They embellish either carriers of literary products (the *manualia*) or decorative objects from the Bacchic sphere (the *oscilla*). A higher degree of sophistication is scarcely attainable. It is certainly indicative of the consummate refinement of Octavian's circle.[76]

III. Glass and Pigment

The color scheme of the third *cubiculum* from Boscotrecase, the so-called Mythological Room, strikes one as the most vivid of the three that are preserved. Although it is the most fragmentary room —the painting on the back wall of the *cubiculum* has not survived—enough is preserved to visualize the contrasts of the various sections of the walls (Figures 36, 37). Dark, rich, at times greenish, blues are the

dominant hues of the two extant pictures. Both of their subjects, Polyphemus and Galatea and Perseus and Andromeda,[77] have seascape settings. The atmospheric wedding of air and sea in them has been supremely realized. Within the extant body of Roman wall paintings there are few landscapes that attain their degree of persuasiveness through purely pictorial means.[78] Infinite shades of blue define the space and yet they defy analysis. Inscrutable as they are, the paintings' inky depths would absorb the viewer's total attention were they not counterbalanced by the strong colors of the surrounding sections of the walls. The scenes are flanked by red side panels and topped by a yellow frieze that supports trelliswork on a black background (Figure 38).[79]

During the recent restoration, the pigments were analyzed and the methods of their application studied. Good greens and blues are the most fugitive of the ancient colors, because the pigments used to produce them were minerals, coarsely ground to achieve a refractive effect. Unlike the earth colors made from ocher, red ochers, umber, and also organic black, Egyptian blue was, according to classical texts, not only difficult and expensive to obtain, but the pigment had to be applied thickly in order to adhere well and to achieve luster. Christel Faltermeier points to these facts and records that "individual particles of blue can be distinguished with the naked eye in the Polyphemus and Andromeda panels."[80] The composition of the pigment that produced the color known as Egyptian blue intrigued scientists from the early nineteenth century on. It was known to be a vitreous substance, but only recently was its chemical composition proved to be $CaCuSi_4O_{10}$.[81] Research intensified after the large-scale discoveries of murals and faience artifacts in Egypt throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The ever-closer collaboration between archaeologists and other scientists has recently led to a number of sophisticated studies in the field. They provide insights that were not available even a decade ago.[82] In addition to the objects themselves, ancient texts raise some fundamental questions concerning the production, composition, and use of blue paint in antiquity and its kinship with glass. This unexpected revelation will lead us to an examination of the—as yet unexplained—etymology of the Latin noun *vitrum*,[83] "glass," and terms denoting related substances. Pursuing this line of investigation may also bring us closer to resolving some puzzling and age-old misunderstandings about *vitrum* as matter and as color.

Figure 38. Detail, probably from the north wall of the Mythological Room, showing frieze and trellis.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920, 20.192.14

When surveying the development of the art of painting, Pliny the Elder first of all discusses the nature of painters' colors (*Naturalis Historia*—henceforth *N.H.*—35.29ff.). As the most costly pigments, he lists the various shades and intensities of purple (35.44); they are followed by the—apparently equally expensive—best blue, namely indigo from India, which he rightly, if somewhat vaguely, describes as a plant product. Pliny also records cheaper substitutes for expensive pigments, especially for indigo (35.46):

qui adulterant, vero Indico tingunt stercora columbina aut cretam Selinusiam vel anulariam vitro inficiunt.

(People who adulterate it [scil. indigo] stain pigeons' droppings with genuine indigo, or else color earth of Selinus or ring-earth with woad.)[84]

What he means by "ring-earth" or "ring-white" he explains a little farther on (35.48):

Anulare quod vocant, candidum est, quo muliebres picturae inluminantur; fit et ipsum e creta admixtis vitreis gemmis e volgi anulis, inde et anulare dictum.

(The other color is that called "ring-white," which is used to give brilliance of complexion in paintings of

women. This itself also is made from white earth mixed with glass stones from the rings of the lower classes, which accounts for the name "ring-white.")

We learn, first, that—apparently in order to stretch the precious substance—genuine indigo was either mixed with pigeon droppings or replaced altogether by combining (white) earth of Selinus or (white) ring-earth with *vitrum*.[85] Pliny does not explain whether *vitrum* means glass or a blue pigment extracted from a plant, namely woad,[86] a common weed used in dyeing. Second, we are told that *anulare* (from *anulus,* "finger-ring"), or "ring-white," was used to highlight the female complexion in paintings and that it was produced by mixing white earth with (presumably ground-up) glass imitation gems (*vitreis gemmis*) from cheap rings. Traditionally, in 35.46, *anulariam vitro inficiunt,* the word *vitrum* has been translated as "woad." We would rather suggest from the context and from parallel passages, as well as from the archaeological evidence, that crushed blue glass was mixed with white earth. Pliny seems to expect this interpretation to be self-evident. His mention of glass as a coloring agent presupposes an established practice. Considerable numbers of gems and ring stones of clear glass must have been recycled commercially to satisfy the demand of Roman workshops for white paint. As will become apparent, we suspect that blue glass was also being recycled to produce durable blues.

Since Pliny was a scholar and not a practicing artist or craftsman, it is natural that his information for the *N.H.* would have been derived mainly from literary sources rather than from personal experience.[87] Mainly, but not entirely. He was stationed in Germany, more specifically in the lower Rhine Valley, on various military missions between A.D. 47 and 58 and must have gained a profound knowledge of the country. Though his twenty books on the Germanic Wars are lost, a wealth of information survives in the *N.H.* The other region he knew very well from a stay as procurator was Spain, rich in silver and other minerals, where he apparently took a great interest in mining techniques.

One of Pliny's sources was Vitruvius's *De architectura,* although Vitruvius's background—he was a professional architect and contemporary of Augustus—was different. In our particular context it is interesting to remember that, as a man of rather conservative tastes, Vitruvius sharply disapproved of the vagaries of the Third Style (7.5.3–8). At the same time, he had unquestionably mastered the practical side of his avocation. In a chapter on artificial colors (7.14.2) he writes as follows on the subject of blue paint:

Item propter inopiam coloris indici cretam Selinusiam aut anulariam vitro, quod Graeci isatin appellant, inficientes imitationem faciunt indici coloris.

(Also, because of the scarcity of indigo they make a dye of chalk from Selinus, or from broken beads, along with woad [which the Greeks call *isatis*], and obtain a substitute for indigo.)[88]

While stated more briefly than in Pliny's account, the facts seem to be the same. Vitruvius's idiosyncratic style is not always clear, and this is magnified by the ambiguity of traditional translations. Does Vitruvius say that the substitute for indigo is composed of either (white) earth from Selinus or of a substance made of crushed beads of (clear) glass (*anulare,* "ring-white"), each with an admixture of vegetable blue from a plant that the Greeks call *isatis,* or does he say that the (white) chalk from Selinus or "ring-white" is tinged blue by mixing it with (ground) blue glass, a color that the Greeks call *isatis* (because of similar hues)? I would argue for the latter, especially since in the three occurrences of the word in Vitruvius and in the more than fifty passages in Pliny, *vitrum* undoubtedly means glass. The most instructive mention is the following (*N.H.* 36.198):

Fit [scil. vitrum] et album et murrina aut hyacinthos sappirosque imitatum et omnibus aliis coloribus, neque est alia nunc sequacior materia aut etiam picturae accommodatior.

(There is, furthermore, opaque white glass and others that reproduce the appearance of fluor-spar, blue sapphires or lapis lazuli, and, indeed, glass exists in any color. There is no other material nowadays that is more pliable or more adaptable, *even to painting* [my italics].)

By Pliny's time, glass was already a multipurpose commodity,[89] and one could hardly ask for a more explicit statement of its use in painting. In view of the majority of the references, we can, with some confidence, interpret those ambiguous passages discussed above as meaning glass and not woad. The small number of occurrences of the word *vitrum* in Latin literature before Pliny concur, except for one from Caesar's *Gallic War* (5.14.2):

Omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod caeruleum efficit colorem, atque hoc horridiores sunt in pugna aspectu.

(All the Britons, indeed, dye themselves with woad, which produces a blue color, and makes their appearance in the battle more terrible.)[90]

Vitrum in this passage has always been understood as a clear reference to woad. The notion had to be abandoned recently because of the dramatic discovery, in 1984 and 1987, of the well-preserved upper body of a young man and the complete body of another in Lindow Moss, a peat bog near Wilmslow, Cheshire.[91] Through extensive scientific investigation, it could be ascertained that the first man (Lindow II), who to judge from his well-groomed appearance must have been a member of the upper class, was killed about the time of the Roman invasion of Britain in the second half of the first century A.D. as a sacrificial victim of some Celtic rite and seems to have been buried in a sacred spring. The victim may have died to assuage the gods in a period of great uncertainty for Celtic Britain. The second man (Lindow III), equally young and of high social status, has not attracted quite so much attention, since complex investigations are still in progress. However, a special exhibition at the museum of Manchester University in the summer of 1991 presented the available evidence in the context of Celtic religious life and archaeology.[92] At the same time a publication, of the utmost importance in our context—"Non Isatis sed Vitrum, Or the Colour of Lindow Man," in the *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*—addressed the questions raised by Caesar's statement quoted above.[93]

Electron-probe X-ray microanalysis revealed that, besides being tanned by the acids and minerals in the peat, fragments of Lindow III's skin showed the presence of, mainly, aluminum, silica, and copper, apparently the residues of a clay-based pigment containing various colorants in addition to copper. A variety of shades in the range of green, blue, and black could thus have been achieved: in view of Caesar's report on Celtic battle habits, blue seems to have been the most likely hue. The conclusion that may be drawn, therefore, is that the Lindow man's skin was not dyed with a vegetable substance but rather with mineral colorants.[94]

In the second part of the article J. R. Magilton and P. C. Buckland discuss Caesar's crucial passage on Celtic body paint, as well as some of Pliny's comments, and the impact of these authors' observations on other Roman writers, including poets. They also establish that woad (*Isatis tinctoria* L.) as a colorant does not seem to have been used in Britain before Anglo-Saxon times. Imported as a dyestuff, mostly from France, during the Middle Ages, it was later grown extensively in England until imported indigo replaced it during the early seventeenth century.[95] The authors also pursue Pliny's notion that a plant used as a dye, *glastum* (which he compares to the plantain, *plantago*), might be woad, but they remain baffled by this passage. I here suspect a confusion to which Pliny himself fell victim. In the present context we cannot pursue this matter in detail. Only some aspects will be considered, in the hope that specialists in the fields involved may address the problems afresh.

To emphasize the necessity of understanding Caesar's use of the word *vitrum* to denote a mineral pigment, the authors cite part of the Pliny passage on adulterating indigo (35.46) quoted above; they conclude that since "both *creta Selinusia* and *creta anularia* are unknown" one might deduce that "blue glass may have been intended"[96]; they draw into the argument another passage (34.123), where Pliny lists the natural occurrence of copper sulfate—a mineral from which a brilliant blue can be produced,

color [scil. atramenti sutorii] est caeruleus perquam spectabili nitore, vitrum esse creditur.

(Its color is an extremely brilliant blue, and it is often taken for glass.)

Now we have already seen that *anularius, -a, -um* (adjective) and *anularis, -e* (adjective) are technical terms employed by Vitruvius and Pliny as a matter of course, namely for crushed ring stones of cheap white (or blue) glass as coloring agents in painting. Here, we must look at a particularly perplexing passage in Pliny (22.2), cited only in part by the authors[97]:

inlinunt certae aliis aliae faciem in populis barbarorum feminae, maresque etiam apud Dacos et Sarmatas corpora sua inscribunt. similis plantagini glastum in Gallia vocatur, Britannorum coniuges nurusque toto corpore oblitae quibusdam in sacris nudae incedunt Aethiopum colorem imitantes.

(At any rate among barbarian tribes the women stain the face, using, some one plant and some another; and

the men too among the Daci and the Sarmatae tattoo their own bodies. In Gaul there is a plant like the plantain, called *glastum;* with it the wives of the Britons, and their daughters-in-law, stain all the body, and at certain religious ceremonies march along naked, with a color resembling that of Ethiopians.)

Book 22 deals exclusively with plants and their properties. In Latin literature the word *glastum* is found only here and in Tacitus. The rare occurrence of a word always requires special caution. In the light of the evidence reviewed so far, I would suggest that Pliny has, as is his habit, copied a source without questioning it. Ironically, he does not see a relationship between *glastum* and another word he was the first to use in Latin: *glaesum* or (better) *glēsum,* namely, amber. The connection between *glaesum* and *glastum* was made by linguists long ago.[98] When speaking at length about amber and the high esteem it enjoys as a luxury substance, Pliny employs a generic term for it: *sucinum,* "sap" (37.30); but of its best-known deposits he says (37.42):

Certum est gigni in insulis septentrionalis oceani et ab Germanis appellari glaesum, itaque et ab nostris ob id unam insularum Glaesariam appellatam, Germanico Caesare res ibi gerente classibus, Austeraviam a barbaris dictam.

(It is well established that amber is a product of islands in the Northern Ocean, that it is known to the Germans as *glaesum,* and that, as a result, one of these islands, the native name of which is Austeravia, was nicknamed by our troops Glaesaria, or Amber Island, when Caesar Germanicus was conducting operations there with his naval squadrons.)

Tacitus (*Germ.* 45), who probably drew on Pliny, reports on German amber-collecting tribes who call the substance *glaesum. Glaesum* is clearly a Germanic word that also occurs in Anglo-Saxon. At its root seems to be the Indo-Germanic *ghlêso,* "the shining," and in both these Germanic languages its variant forms over time have borne the meanings "amber," "resin," and "glass." Now as we saw, Gaulish-Latin *glastum* is understood by Pliny, in its single occurrence, as the name of a plant used by barbarian tribes as a body pigment. In other Celtic languages, such as Irish, *glass* means "green," "gray," "blue"; in Welsh *glas* means "blue"; in Breton *glaz* means "green." Related Celtic words cover a similar range, e.g., Irish *glan,* "pure" and *glain,* "glass," "crystal"; but Welsh *glain,* "precious stone." In modern insular Celtic languages *glasto-* becomes *glas.*[99] I would surmise that the authority Pliny relies upon mistook *glastum* for a plant with which to stain the body, instead of a mineral compound, which, as we saw, was used on the skin of Lindow III. Indeed, *glastum* was probably commonly used for that purpose in the Celtic realm, whereas there seems to be no evidence for the use of woad in the north before late Anglo-Saxon times.[100]

By contrast to *glastum,* the etymology of *vitrum* is obscure, as is that of *woad.*[101] A recent attempt to link *vitrum*—by way of Middle-Iranian words for glass—with **wed-r-,* "water," remains to be discussed by experts.[102] Although unquestionably much later than the first finds of glass in Italy,[103] the majority of these literary references are quite clear as to the meaning of the word *vitrum.* Once the blowpipe had been introduced from the eastern Mediterranean about the time of Augustus, glass became an inexpensive commodity,[104] and the word *vitrum* was used to describe it as a substance; it also served as a metaphor for translucent, shiny objects.

To come full circle in our consideration of *vitrum,* one more step remains to be taken. If we accept the results of the Lindow III investigation, that the surviving body paint was of a mineral nature, we must ask as of when and in what way did the Celtic tribes familiarize themselves with, import, or even produce glass? Luckily, a considerable number of recent studies on the subject exist. Moreover, the comprehensive exhibition The Celts, shown in Venice in 1991, offered an unparalleled opportunity to survey a huge inventory of important and rarely seen Celtic artifacts from an area encompassing Central Europe and extending as far as Turkey and Spain, as well as the British Isles and Italy.[105]

Among the most striking features of the exhibition were the intricately wrought blue glass armlets. These came mostly from women's and children's burials but also from settlements, in the transalpine regions from the former Yugoslavia, from northern Italy, and from as far south as Umbria and the Marche (Figure 39).[106] They date from the second third of the third to the first century B.C.; later specimens exhibit lighter hues, of honey-colored, purple, greenish, and clear glass. More than fifteen hundred of them, complete and in fragments, have been recovered.[107] Scholars largely agree on their amuletic character. Even today, the intense blue commands the viewer's attention. Local variations in the shape and color of the bracelets occur in the

Figure 39. Armlets and necklace of blue, greenish, yellow, and clear glass from Manching. Second century B.C. Munich, Prähistorische Staatssammlung (photo: Prähistorische Staatssammlung)

Czech and Slovak republics, Germany, Switzerland, and northern Italy, where they may have been produced first. It is worth noting that many of the dark blue examples of second-century date are embellished with yellow and white zigzagging trails that seem to imitate features of small Hellenistic *unguentaria* (perfume bottles), ultimately of Egyptian inspiration and imported from the eastern Mediterranean.[108] Fragments of such blue *unguentaria* with white and yellow decoration have been found in Celtic settlements north of the Alps.[109] The bracelets attest to the amazingly adaptive creativity of the Celtic artisans, but the highly sophisticated method of manufacturing the armlets has yet to be properly understood.[110] Moreover, actual glassmaking installations for the production of raw glass remain to be clearly identified. Although chunks of raw glass have been recovered from several Celtic sites (*oppida*) where glass was doubtlessly worked, it is not known with absolute certainty whether it was produced locally or imported from the Mediterranean.[111] By the fourth century B.C., Celtic mercenaries were in the service of Greek rulers, principally in Sicily and Italy,[112] where they could have gained access to the primary material. Even if proof, in the strictest sense, for independent production of raw glass is still missing, considerable evidence points to a sophisticated mastery of glass technology in the Celtic realm.[113] In any case, sufficient amounts of cullet were surely available to provide the basic material for ritual blue body paint.[114]

Glass armlets are rare in Britain, where blue glass is less common than on the Continent. However, there is evidence for the production of beads of faience, a substance with a vitreous component, as far back as the late Bronze Age in Britain as well as on the Continent. Powdered blue glass is a prerequisite for the manufacture of faience. Again, in the absence of proven glassmaking establishments, the question of local production or importation can as yet not be positively decided. What matters in our context is that blue vitreous substances were available in Britain long before Caesar's time.[115] The evidence of Lindow III should thus not be a surprise, since it represents long-standing technical knowledge.

This essay should conclude with a few thoughts on a historical and cultural hypothesis that might throw some light on the possible etymology of Latin *vitrum*. It is now generally accepted that from the early Iron Age Hallstatt period—long before the movement of Gaulish tribes into Italy and the Balkans began about the beginning of the fifth century B.C., during the La Tène period—Paleo-Celtic tribes settled in the western Alps, specifically around Lake Maggiore and Lake Como.[116] Thus, contrary to what the Roman historians might make us believe, the Gauls did not suddenly appear out of the blue to sack Rome in 387 B.C. Their thrust into the Italian peninsula had instead been preceded by long cohabitation between Celtic and Italic tribes in northern Italy. The Celts had developed various writing systems of their own, modeled on the Etruscan script. One of them, the Lugano alphabet, was adopted by the Gauls. A number of inscriptions survive, among them bilinguals. Published in exemplary fashion recently, they do not furnish a technical vocabulary because of their dedicatory nature.[117] The word *vitrum* does not occur.

However, these texts attest to Gaulish as a current language in Italy down to the second and first centuries B.C. Technical terms tend to be the first to be taken over into other languages, and close proximity surely favors such borrowing. *Gladius*, "sword," is one of the better-known examples: the Romans appropriated this Celtic weapon together with its name.[118] Pliny (*N.H.* 33.40) somewhat disdainfully records a related case: there are (Roman) men who, in an outlandish fashion, wear gold bracelets, called *viriolae* in Celtic and *viriae* in Celtiberic. These Celtic words belong to the root *uei*, "bend, twist" (cf. English *wire*).[119] The suggestion that *vitrum* might also be a Celtic word that entered Latin in the period when Gaulish and Italic tribes coexisted in ancient Italy seems eminently possible, especially in view of

the amazing dexterity of Celtic artisans in glass- and metalworking.

We have taken a long journey from the rich and diverse blues found in the two mythological frescoes from Boscotrecase, pigments that owe their brilliance and luminosity to the admixture of crushed glass. These properties must have suggested to Celtic and other tribes magic and protective qualities as fragments of dark blue Celtic armlets have been recovered in Migration-period tombs of the Alamanni in Bavaria. Whether chance finds or items actively sought out in ancient cemeteries, they were treasured as amulets hundreds of years after their manufacture.[120]

In this article we have embarked on problems to which there are no answers as yet; but our peregrinations demonstrate the necessity, and complexity, of giving things their proper names.[121] Our voyage included the realm of philology and linguistics, and as we have seen, the visit proved not unprofitable, since the influence of languages from outside the classical world on Latin technical terms was strong.[122] Let us, however, end where we began, with the frescoes. Seemingly modest as objects, the features we chose to explore in these wall paintings provided unexpected vistas on many and very diverse constituents of Roman reality in the Augustan age. Part I focuses on Egypt, Part III on the Celtic realm, territories which became integral parts of the empire under Augustus. The cultural impact of these regions had already made itself felt for some time, but it culminated in the reign of the Princeps. Part II enlarges our understanding of the ethos of those who owned villas such as Boscotrecase—who commissioned the paintings, decided the subject matter, and made them a reflection of their intellectual aspirations. In this set of panels, of the highest artistic quality, multiple influences from the vast expanse of the empire are gathered; not only gathered but, more significantly, integrated into an entirely balanced, discrete whole, as the components in a crucible would be. Unprecedented, scintillating products are the result. To have achieved this fusion is Rome's supreme accomplishment and lasting legacy.

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NOTES

1. See Peter H. von Blanckenhagen and Christine Alexander, *The Augustan Villa at Boscotrecase,* with contributions by Joan R. Mertens and Christel Faltermeier (Mainz, 1990).

2. Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* pp. 1–3 and 47–49. See also F. L. Bastet and M. De Vos, *Proposta per una classificazione del terzo stile pompeiano* (The Hague, 1979) pp. 8ff.; also Umberto Pappalardo, "Der Dritte Stil," in *Pompejanische Wandmalerei,* Giuseppina Cerulli Irelli et al., eds. (Stuttgart/Zurich, 1990) p. 227.

3. For a previous attempt to explain a feature in the Black Room of the villa, see E. R. Knauer, "Wind Towers in Roman Wall Paintings?" *MMJ* 25 (1990) pp. 5–20. For a colorplate of the "wind tower," see Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* pl. 1.

4. See the colorplates in Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* pls. 4; 8.1; 9.1; cf. also pls. 2.1 and 3.1 for the position of the *pinakes* within this room. Good colorplates are to be found in Jacqueline and Maurice Guillaud, *Frescoes in the Time of Pompeii* (Paris/New York, 1990), where, sadly, the *pinakes* (figs. 205 and 206) are reversed.

5. See the colorplates in Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* pls. 5–7.

6. Mertens in Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* p. 53.

7. See Charles Daremberg and Edmond Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* III.2 (1904), s.v. "liber," p. 1179 (G. Lafaye). The intense perfume kept insects at bay. A comprehensive study of papyrus as writing material is N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1974).

8. A similar lightweight and cream-colored frame with small knobs at the corners can be seen in a panel from a house found in 1979 (Pompeii, *Insula Occidentalis* VI 17,42) and decorated in

later Third Style; the panel forms part of the frieze in the *oecus* with garden paintings. See *Rediscovering Pompeii,* exh. cat., IBM Gallery of Science and Art, New York City, July 12–Sept. 15, 1990 (Rome, 1990) no. 163, p. 233. See also below, note 75. For antique frames see Werner Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen im Altertum* (Leipzig, 1954). His chapter "Einfache viereckige Rahmen," pp. 90–93, offers no close parallels. There is a well-preserved second-century Romano-Egyptian framed picture from Hawara on exhibition in the Life Room of the British Museum. The painting, on a wooden panel and now almost obliterated, was apparently protected by a glass pane or a wooden board. That, at least, is suggested by this complex piece of joinery. See Roger P. Hinks, *Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum* (London, 1933) no. 85; Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen,* pp. 83–87. Unlike the Boscotrecase *pinakes,* most depictions of antique frames show the ends of the wooden ledges crossing each other at the corners (Ehlich, "Achtendenrahmen," pp. 80–87); see, e.g., the examples in a painter's studio represented on the inside of a first-century A.D. sarcophagus from South Russia in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, not mentioned by Ehlich but illustrated in Victor Gajdukevich, *Das bosporanische Reich* (Berlin, 1971) fig. 126 and p. 432 and in *Gold der Steppe: Archäologie der Ukraine,* Renate Rolle et al., eds. (Schleswig, 1991) p. 194, fig. 8.

9. The most thorough analysis, incorporating previous attempts at interpretation, is by Mariette De Vos, *L'Egittomania in pitture e mosaici romano-campani della prima età imperiale* (Leiden, 1980) no. 3, pp. 5–7 and pl. II.2. The line drawing of the Anubis panel (the fifth of her fig. 3) is reversed.

10. De Vos, *L'Egittomania,* pp. 6ff., draws attention to this un-Egyptian feature; cf. a similar table in fig. 12, pp. 23ff. (pl. E and fig. 5, right) from Herculaneum, in Naples.

11. For Apis, see Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952) pp. 46–51; cf. ibid., s.v. "Tierkult," pp. 812–824; see also ibid., s.v. "Hathor," pp. 277–281. More recent is *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I, W. Helck and E. Otto, eds. (Wiesbaden, 1975) s.v. "Apis," pp. 338–350 (Vercoutter); see also ibid., s.v. "Hathor," pp. 1027–1033 (Daumas), and s.v. "Hathorkuh," p. 1041 (Arnold). For the iconography of Apis in Egyptian art, see Erich Winter, "Apis in der hellenistischen Welt," in his *Der Apiskult im alten Ägypten* (Mainz, 1978) pp. 34ff. For Graeco-Roman representations of Apis, see G. J. F. Kater-Sibbes and M. J. Vermaseren, *Apis* (Leiden, 1975–77): vol. I, *The Monuments of the Hellenistic-Roman Period from Egypt;* vol. II, *Monuments from Outside Egypt;* vol. III, *Inscriptions, Coins and Addenda,* in Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain. See also the recent survey by László Kákosy, "From Fertility to Cosmic Symbolism. Outlines of the History of the Cult of Apis," *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debrecensis* 26 (1990) pp. 3–7.

12. See *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI (Wiesbaden, 1986) s.v. "Urhügel," pp. 873–876 (K. Martin).

13. See *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* IV (Wiesbaden, 1982) s.v. "Ornat," pp. 613–618 (E. Staehelin). The article covers the main royal attributes, among them the uraeus.

14. De Vos, *L'Egittomania,* p. 7 n. 5, lists examples of such amphorae on stands.

15. In a genuine Egyptian painting, dark skin would denote males; however, this convention was occasionally neglected in the late period; see, e.g., the female deities on the set of four polychrome Egyptian wood panels, ca. 2nd century B.C.–1st century A.D., nos. 147–150 in Jerome M. Eisenberg, *The Age of Cleopatra, The Art of Late Dynastic and Graeco-Roman Egypt,* exh. cat., Royal-Athena Galleries (New York/Beverly Hills) Art of the Ancient World, vol. V, Part II, Oct. 1988. The panels are now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

16. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II (Wiesbaden, 1977) s.v. "Federn und Federkrone," pp. 142–145 (I. Grumach-Shirun).

17. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II (Wiesbaden, 1977) s.v. "Geierhaube," p. 515 (E. Brunner-Traut).

18. Sobek, without that symbol, appears in the same attitude on one of the four panels with single Egyptianizing figures from Boscotrecase; it is not reproduced in Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* but in De Vos, *L'Egittomania,* end of top row in fig. 3. For the god see Bonnet, *Reallexikon,* s.v. "Suchos," pp. 755–759, and *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* V (Wiesbaden, 1984) s.v. "Sobek," pp. 995–1031 (Brovarski); esp. pp. 1013ff. for the colonization of the Fayum by Greek mercenaries and its prosperity in Graeco-Roman times. Our Figure 6 shows a relief of the god Sobek in the temple at Kôm Ombo, dating from the Roman period.

19. See E. Van't Dack, "L'Armée romaine d'Egypte de 55 à 30 av. J.-C.," essay XI in *Ptolemaica selecta: Études sur l'armée et l'administration lagides* (Louvain, 1988) pp. 185–213.

20. Inv. no. EA 5473. The suit has been radiocarbon dated to the 3rd or 4th century; see also I. Jenkins in *British Museum Magazine* 6 (Summer 1991) p. 7. In Egypt desegregation seems to have been a matter of course, and Roman soldiers, many of them of oriental origin themselves, actively participated in the civic and religious life of the natives.

21. E.g., the relief in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos, shown in Hans Schäfer and Walter Andrae, *Die Kunst des Orients,* Propyläenkunstgeschichte II (Berlin, 1925) fig. 315. The king is kneeling before Amon, who presents him with multiple Sed festivals, symbols of longevity and stability of tenure; see below, note 25.

22. For the actual object cf. the hardstone amulets in the form of a miniature set of architect's tools, among them a set square, in Charles Ede Ltd., *Small Sculpture from Ancient Egypt* (n.p., n.d., unpaginated; London, 1991) no. 5d, and pictured at the bottom of the page, with references.

23. De Vos, *L'Egittomania,* pp. 79ff.

24. Our Figure 6 provides a good example: although conceived in the classic Egyptian style, the relief mistakenly depicts the left end of Sobek's royal headcloth (*nemes*), which should emerge below his lower jaw, as appended to his necklace. For the contamination of styles see, e.g., Sami Gabra, "La Maison 21," in *Rapport sur les fouilles d'Hermoupolis ouest (Touna el-Gebel)* (Cairo, 1941) pp. 39–50, esp. p. 44, and pl. XII.1 and 2. The female deceased is rendered in Hellenistic fashion, her face in three-quarter view, while the gods ministering to her, although lacking in the customary elegance, follow the Egyptian tradition. The bright patterns of their garments are alien to classical Egyptian fashion; they are

noteworthy because such patterns are frequently met with in Egyptianizing Roman wall paintings, among them the *pinakes* and the small panels with single deities from Boscotrecase; see Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* pls. 8, 9, 35, and 41.1. Cf. De Vos's remarks on garment patterns, *L'Egittomania,* p. 80. See also "Die Gräber des Petubastis and Petosiris," in *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla,* Aus dem Nachlass von Ahmed Fakhri, Jürgens Osing et al., eds. (Mainz, 1982) pp. 71–101, pls. 20–44, esp. pl. 32. The *Mischstil* of these tomb paintings is close to that of the previous example. The reference to both I owe to David O'Connor. The contamination of styles is particularly noteworthy in the decoration of funerary shrouds; see Sue d'Auria et al., *Mummies & Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt,* exh. cat. (Boston, 1988) nos. 153, pp. 203ff., and 154, pp. 204ff.; cf. also nos. 158 and 165 (reference kindly supplied by David Silverman). See also the blue glass flutes with enameled scenes in Meroitic/Hellenistic *Mischstil* from the Sudan discussed by Robert H. Brill, "Scientific Investigations of Some Glass from Sedeinga," *Journal of Glass Studies* 33 (1991) pp. 11–28. A particularly striking case is the iconography of the second-century A.D. sarcophagus of the lady Teüris in Amsterdam. It exhibits not only features that have been characterized as un-Egyptian when met with in Egyptianizing Roman wall paintings (De Vos, *L'Egittomania,* p. 8), namely a capelike piece covering the shoulders, but also traits so far known almost exclusively from Roman monuments documenting the cult of Isis outside of Egypt, namely a peculiar beaked pitcher that is being handled by a priest with cloth-covered hands; see Dieter Kurth, *Der Sarg der Teüris: Eine Studie zum Totenglauben im römerzeitlichen Ägypten* (Mainz, 1990), where the traditional collars assume capelike proportions, e.g., scene II 1–2; cf. also the similar sarcophagus in the museum in Minia (Egypt) pls. 5–10. For the priest with pitcher see scene II 2, pl. B and 2.1, also pl. 7.1. For Roman examples of such beaked pitchers see the frieze in the Aula Isiaca on the Palatine, discussed in Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome, the Centre of Power: Roman Art to A.D. 200* (London/New York, 1970) fig. 129, and the two priestesses from a Third Style frieze in Naples (Inv. 8972) in *Pompeji: Leben und Kunst in den Vesuvstädten,* exh. cat., Villa Hügel, Essen (Recklinghausen, 1973) no. 222; for an Egyptian priest officiating with covered hands see the wall painting from Herculaneum in Naples. Kurth, p. 13 n. 147, recognizes that this type of vessel does not occur within the range of ancient Egyptian shapes, but he fails to connect it with examples found in Italy of the cult of Isis, which seems to have influenced the practice in Roman Egypt during the late period. Kurth comments on the unusual attitude of the priest, but seems unaware of the numerous parallels; see the materials collected by Robert A. Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis* (Leiden, 1981).

25. See Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, "Ecken eines Gebäudes: sie festlegen (bei der Grundsteinlegung)," in *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* III (Berlin, 1971) p. 400.9, and idem, *Die Belegstellen* III (Berlin, 1951) pp. 81ff. I am greatly obliged to David Silverman for discussing the possible meaning of the pinax with me and for suggesting this possibility. The scene may have conveyed more than one meaning: with his left hand Sobek seems to shoulder a flail, one of the traditional scepterlike attributes of gods and kings. See *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II (Wiesbaden, 1977) s.v. "Geissel," pp. 516ff. (Fischer) and ibid., IV (1982) s.v. "Ornat," pp. 613–618 (Staehelin), and, for an illustration of the actual object, Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, *Die Hauptwerke des Ägyptischen Museums in Kairo* (Mainz, 1986) no. 116. Beginning with the Old Kingdom, there are many representations extant of the king running, with shouldered flail and crook, during a ritual performed at the royal jubilee. Originally this so-called Sed festival appears to have been celebrated at the occasion of the king's 30th regnal anniversary. Later, especially from the Ptolemaic era on, it seems that no more Sed festivals were observed; however, down into the Roman period kings were addressed as the recipients of Sed festivals, awarded by the gods, clearly as symbols of prosperity and continuity. For the festival see *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* V (Wiesbaden, 1984) s.v. "Sedfest" (ḥb-sd), pp. 782–790 (Martin); cf. the remark on p. 786 on the increasing prominence of the queen in representations of the Sed festival from the New Kingdom. See also Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin, *Studien zum Sedfest* (Geneva, 1974; reference to the book kindly supplied by David O'Connor); for a late example see p. 88 n. 17: Caesarion, son of Caesar and Cleopatra, as recipient of the jubilee. Since the hieroglyph for the Apis bull, hp (Coptic: hape), comprises two stacked squares, as does hp, to run (e.g. to sacrifice), and since hp is phonetically close to hb = festival (see Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* [Oxford, third ed., 1957] p. 540.4 and Adolf Erman and Herman Grapow, *Ägyptisches Handwörterbuch* [Hildesheim, 1987] p. 107), it may have suggested the celebration of a jubilee in the Boscotrecase *pinax.* I am very grateful to Jeffrey Spencer for suggesting this possibility.

26. For other examples of this specific display of an attribute, cf. Bonnet *Reallexikon,* figs. 11 (our Figure 8), 57 (the god Amon-Re), and 105 (a lion god); our Figure 8 shows the ithyphallic god Amon from a relief of the time of Amenophis III in Luxor. Cf. also the stele from Tanis, in London, with the ithyphallic god Min being revered by Ptolemy IV (222–205 B.C.) and his consort, in *Kleopatra: Ägypten um die Zeitwende,* exh. cat., Munich, 1989 (Mainz, 1989) no. 13.

27. For the evidence, see above, note 2.

28. For Agrippa, see *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 9A1, Nachträge 2 (1961) s.v. "M. Vipsanius Agrippa," pp. 1226–1275 (Rudolf Hanslik); for the Egyptian estates (*ousia Agrippiané*) see pp. 1246ff. See also the contributions on various aspects of Agrippa's career in Università di Genova, Facoltà di lettere, Dipartimento di archeologia, filologia classica e loro tradizioni, *Il bimillenario di Agrippa* (1990) and Jean-Michel Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa,* vol. CCLIII, *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* (Paris, 1984). For Agrippa's *latifundia,* see pp. 188f.; for his and Julia's interest in the new Third Style and his employment of artists oriented on Hellenistic, specifically Alexandrian models, see pp. 249–251.

29. For a discussion of the coins see Hanslik, s.v. "M. Vipsanius Agrippa," p. 1255, and Konrad Kraft, "Das Enddatum des Legionslagers Haltern," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1955/56 (1955/56) pp. 95–111, pls. 15ff. For our example, see *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Coins,* Numismatic Fine Arts, Auction XXVII, Spring Mail Bid Sale 1992, Los Angeles, Closing Date April 23, 1992, no. 1076. Agrippa and Octavian face in opposite directions as if to symbolize their respective rule over the eastern and the western part of the empire. See also M. Grant, "Agrippa's Coins," in Università di Genova, *Il bimillenario di Agrippa,* pp. 9–17, no. 3

(the type is not pictured). See also Ulrich-Walter Gaus, "Der Quellbezirk von Nimes," *Römische Mitteilungen* 97 (1990) pp. 93–125, esp. p. 124, for the Egyptianizing acanthus bases of the nymphaeum at Nîmes as a natural consequence of the resettlement of Greeks from Egypt in that city under Augustus.

30. Erich Winter, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (Vienna, 1968) pp. 98–102, draws attention to the reversal of a traditional scheme on reliefs of the Graeco-Roman period: now it is the king who presents cultic or symbolic objects to the god, not the other way around.

31. The same traditional cultic objects, in addition to a *patera*, are held by a clean-shaven priest of Isis, by the name of Amulius Faventinus Tiburs, depicted in the shrine of Diana-Isis in the House of Loreius Tiburtinus in Pompeii; see Vittorio Spinazzola, *Pompei alla luce degli scavi nuovi di Via dell'Abbondanza (anni 1910–1923)* (Rome, 1953) fig. 489 and pp. 428ff. See also *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* V (Wiesbaden, 1984) s.v. "Sistrum," pp. 959–963 (C. Ziegler) and s.v. "Sistrum, diffusion gréco-romaine," pp. 963–965 (N. Genaille); also Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, s.v. "Sistrum," pp. 716–720.

32. For the Egyptian deity see Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, s.v. "Anubis," pp. 40–45 (Kees); *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I (Wiesbaden, 1975) s.v. "Anubis," pp. 327–333 (B. Altenmüller). For the god's role in the later periods see Jean-Claude Grenier, *Anubis alexandrin et romain* (Leiden, 1977); the Boscotrecase *pinax* is no. 240, and cf. pl. XXVII. For the *latrator Anubis*, see Servius's commentary (pp. 355–410) on *Aeneid*, VIII.696–700), and cf. "Sources mythographiques et littéraires," in Grenier, *Anubis alexandrin*, p. 59, no. 18, also p. 60, no. 19 (Propertius, *Elegies*, III, XI.39–42) and p. 61, no. 20 (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IX.688–695). Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI.11 (Grenier, p. 71, no. 33), describes the dog-headed god as carrying a caduceus and a palm branch. In the Pharaonic period canine-shaped Anubis invariably appears lying on a chest; his standing position on the *pinax* is unusual, as is his tail; but cf. the various types on late *Mischstil* stelae: Abd el-Hafeez et al., *Stèles funéraires de Kom Abu Bellou* (Paris, 1985), e.g., pls. 10, 11, 30ff., and the discussion of iconographic problems on pp. 64–66 and 78–85. However, there can be little doubt about the animal's identity on the *pinax*, because of the characteristic neckband of the jackal. Anubis, master of the necropolises and son of Osiris, benefited from the triumphal expansion of the cult of Isis in the Mediterranean world during the Hellenistic age. The anubophores, participants in the Osiris drama, wore canine masks. (See the terracotta example in the Roemer und Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim, *Suche nach Unsterblichkeit: Totenkult und Jenseitsglaube im alten Ägypten* [Hildesheim, 1990] inv. no. 1585, pp. 34ff., ascribed to the "6th–4th century B.C. or later." The mask is provided with slits to provide better vision for the wearer.) How commonplace the sight of such masked believers must have been in the late Republic is proved by the stratagem, reported in detail by Appian (*Bell. Civ.*, 4.200), of the proscribed aedile M. Volusius, who disguised as a mendicant Isiac, safely reached the camp of Pompey. See *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 9,1 (1961) s.v. "Volusius": 4) M. Volusius, p. 903 (A. Lippold); Grenier, *Anubis alexandrin*, p. 74, no. 36; and R. E. Witt, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World* (Ithaca, 1971) pp. 204ff. Cf. the wall painting of an isiac wearing an Anubis mask from the temple of Isis in Pompeji in *Alla ricerca di Iside. Analisisi, studi e restauri dell'Iseo pompeiano nel Museo di Napoli.* Soprintendenza Archeologica per le Province di Napoli e Caserta (Rome, 1992) cat. no. 1,36 and pl. VII. See also K.A.D. Smelik and E.A. Hemelrijk, " 'Who knows not what monsters demented Egypt worships.' Opinions on Egyptian animal worship in antiquity as part of the ancient conception of Egypt," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II, 17,4 (Berlin/New York, 1984) pp. 1852–2000. I have not seen R.A. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Anoebis de blaffer," *Vereniging van Vrienden Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam. Mededelingenblad* 51 (1991) pp. 17–20.

33. For the goddess in Pharaonic times see *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* III (Wiesbaden, 1980) s.v. "Isis," pp. 186–203 (Beinlich); for her part in the ideology of kingship, ibid., p. 197; for the late period p. 199. Her main temple on the island of Philae was closed as late as A.D. 537, under Justinian. The goddess's complex role in Graeco-Roman times as bestower of Sed festivals; as mother, consort, and wisdom of kings (one of her attributes is the throne); as mother of Apis (apart from her relationship with Osiris and Horus); as mistress of Memphis; as "Ur-" and "All-Göttin," is skillfully explored by Jan Bergman, *Ich bin Isis: Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretalogien* (Upsala, 1968). For her role in the royal city of Memphis, together with the human-bodied Ptah, see *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* IV (Wiesbaden, 1982) s.v. "Memphis," pp. 24–41 (C. M. Zivie) and s.v. "Ptah," pp. 1177–80 (H. teVelde). See also Witt, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World.* For the role of women in her cult see *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (1916) s.v. "Isis," pp. 2084–2132 (Roeder). Arresting documents of her cult are the numerous funerary monuments of female initiates made in Athens under Roman rule from the late 1st century B.C. to the early 4th century A.D.; see E. J. Walters, *Attic Grave Reliefs That Represent Women in the Dress of Isis* (*Hesperia:* suppl. XXII, Princeton, N.J., 1988). I thank Homer Thompson for the reference. J. Eingartner's study *Isis und ihre Dienerinnen in der Kunst der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Leiden, 1991) partly overlaps with Walters's work. Also important for the history of the diffusion of her cult is a study by V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai sur le culte d'Isis à Pompéi* (Paris, 1964). See also idem, *Le Culte des divinités orientales à Herculanum* (Leiden, 1971); idem, *Le Culte des divinités orientales en Campanie* (Leiden, 1972); and the comprehensive studies by Michel M. Malaise in *Conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie* (Leiden, 1972) for the iconography of Roman Isis, pp. 176–181; cf. also Anubis, pp. 208–211; Apis, pp. 212–214; and his sections "Pénétration des cultes égyptiens en Italie: itinéraires et agents" and "La Diffusion des cultes égyptiens sur le sol italien"; also Ladislav Vidman, *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern* (Berlin, 1970), based on the inscriptional evidence, especially chap. 2, "Die Anfänge des Kultes bei den Griechen," pp. 27–47, and chap. 5, "Die Anfänge des Kultes bei den Römern"; and Anne Roullet, *The Egyptian and the Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome* (Leiden, 1972). More recent works are *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI (Wiesbaden, 1986) s.v. "Verehrung ägyptischer Götter im Ausland, bes. griech.-röm. Zt.," pp. 920–969 (Hölbl). Karl Schefold, *Vergessenes Pompeji* (Berlin/Munich, 1962) pp. 64ff., interprets the scene on the *pinax* as a prince, perhaps Agrippa Postumus, and a queen engaged in the service of Isis and her circle.

34. The perplexing problem of the official interdiction of the cult and the simultaneous appeal of *aegyptiaca*, verging on a fixation, within the circle of Augustus is discussed by Tran Tam Tinh in *Essai sur le culte*, pp. 21ff. The cult, which reached Italy with the maritime trade, had already taken root in the coastal cities in the 2nd century B.C. Under the Triumvirs Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus a temple of Isis was erected in Rome and paid for by the state in 43 B.C., the political and personal bonds with Egypt then being strong. The cult was shunned by the aristocracy and embraced by the lower classes and the slaves. For Octavian's refusal to visit the Apis bull when in Egypt, see Suetonius, "Augustus" in *The Twelve Caesars*, 93. As princeps, he instituted a program of renewal of the autochthonous cults, which must have required the restriction of foreign ones. See also Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai sur le culte*, pp. 8–11, and Malaise, *Conditions de pénétration*, the chapter "Les Romains face aux dieux égyptiens," pp. 282–311.

35. See Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome, the Centre of Power*, pp. 123–125, figs. 128ff.

36. See Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai sur le culte*, pp. 30–40 n. 33, and *Alla ricerca di Iside: Analisi, studi e restauri dell'Iseo pompeiano nel Museo di Napoli*. Soprintendenza Archeologica per le Province di Napoli e Cuserta (Rome, 1992).

37. See *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 9A, Nachträge 2 (1961) s.v. "M. Vipsanius Agrippa" (Rudolf Hanslik); p. 1260. In Egypt, the cult of Augustus was installed as a direct continuation of the cult of the Ptolemaic kings; see Dorothy J. Thompson, "The High Priests of Memphis under Ptolemaic Rule," in *Pagan Priests*, Mary Beard et al., eds. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990) pp. 97–116, esp. pp. 115ff.

38. Mertens in Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, p. 53.

39. See P. J. E. Boddens Hosang, *De Egyptische verzameling van Baron van Westreenen/The Egyptian Collection of Baron van Westreenen* (The Hague, 1989) pp. 68–70, and pp. 16–18 for the history of the collection. The papyrus (from the "Book of Breathings") is exhibited in the Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum in The Hague; cf. also Vivant Denon, *Voyage dans la basse et la haute Egypte*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1804), where the piece is pictured on an unnumbered, tripartite plate. Another late Ptolemaic example is on exhibition in the British Museum: the papyrus of Ker Asher (inv. no. 9995) containing text from the "Book of Breathings" and vignettes from the Book of the Dead. Too few such papyri are as yet published; see Luc Limme, "Trois *Livres des morts* illustrés des Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire à Bruxelles," *Artibus Aegypti, Studia in honorem Bernardi V. Bothmer* (Brussels, 1983) pp. 81–99. See also *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI (Wiesbaden, 1986) s.v. "Totenbuch," pp. 641–643 (M. Heerma van Voss). See also Paolo Ronsecco, "The Funerary Books of the New Kingdom," in *Egyptian Museum of Turin, Egyptian Civilization. Religious Beliefs*, Anna Maria Donadoni Roveri, ed. (Milan, 1988) pp. 188–197.

40. See the excellent discussion of the phenomenon by De Vos, "L'inquadramento storico-culturale," in *L'Egittomania*, pp. 75–95. See also Elena Walter-Karydi, "Die Entstehung der Groteskenornamentik in der Antike," *Römische Mitteilungen* 97 (1990) pp. 137–152, who characterizes this aspect of the Third Style as "Gattungsstil" and "Otiumskunst" and as deliberately contrasting the official "Staatskunst." Plutarch (Antonius 80) interestingly cites three grounds for Augustus's sparing the city of Alexandria after his victory: the reputation of its founder, Alexander; its size and beauty; and as a favor to his friend, the philosopher Arius (Didymus).

41. See Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, pls. 24ff., and 30–33, and pp. 12–27; cf. also Joan Mertens' analysis of the room's elements and character, ibid., pp. 57–59, and 63ff.

42. Ludwig Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis: Eine Einführung in ihr Verständnis* (Darmstadt, 2nd ed., 1960) pp. 66 and 276 and figs. 33, 35, and 123, was the first to draw attention to such *Kästen;* he assumes that they already appear during the Second Style, and does not attempt an explanation. Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen*, pp. 98–100, takes the objects for framed pictures, see below, note 43. See also Agnes Allroggen-Bedel, *Maskendarstellungen in der römisch-kampanischen Wandmalerei* (Munich, 1974) cat. nos. 7, 10, 19, 47, 50, 51, 72, 79, and 87. She lists the twin masks from the north wall of the Red Room (cat. no. 7, 1–2, text pp. 38–40) as painted on *kleine Pinakes* with curved side walls, but also calls such objects *Maskenschreine* (pp. 42, 56–58, 62ff.), without analyzing their function. Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, p. 7, describe one of the objects as "a box-like bracket holding two theatrical masks."

43. E.g., Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, p. 276; Karl Schefold, *Pompeji: Zeugnisse griechischer Malerei* (Munich, 1956) p. 37; Allroggen-Bedel, *Maskendarstellungen*, p. 42 n. 154, rightly takes the *Maskenschrein* of the actor as "frühestes Zeugnis für solche Schreine," because of the picture's Hellenistic model, but she apparently thinks of an actual mask placed in the box. Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen*, p. 100, takes the object for a framed panel painting. He subdivides his catalogue of seven examples into "I. Rahmen mit plastischen Theatermasken als Inhalt" and "II. Rahmen mit Maskentafelbildern als Inhalt," pp. 99ff. See also his comment on "Bilder mit Weihebändern," pp. 113ff.

44. See *Enciclopaedia dell'arte classica e orientale* VI (1965) s.v. "pittura," p. 216 (R. Bianchi Bandinelli).

45. See Wolfgang Ehrhardt, *Stilgeschichtliche Untersuchungen an römischen Wandmalereien von der späten Republik bis zur Zeit Neros* (Mainz, 1987) pp. 106ff., pl. 71, fig. 291. Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen*, pp. 99ff., II, 4; he takes it as a *Maskentafelbild*. See also Allroggen-Bedel, *Maskendarstellungen*, cat. no. 72, "Pinakes mit geschwungenen Seiten."

46. But cf. the *taeniae* decorating the box on the panel with the victorious actor, Figures 18, 19. Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen*, pp. 113ff., describes them as "Bilder mit Weihebändern." In a similar central position in the frieze is a box in the Casa di Sirico in Pompeii (VII 1.25–47); see Bastet and De Vos, *Proposta*, pl. LVIII.

47. See Ehrhardt, *Stilgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, p. 78, pl. 84, fig. 332. The object is termed a *Maskenbild*.

48. See Schefold, *Vergessenes Pompeji*, pl. 48 (complete wall); Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, fig. 35 (part of the wall); Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti, *Pittori di Pompei* (Milan, 1963) pl. opp. p. 89; Ehrhardt, *Stilgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, pl. 63, fig. 264 (part of the wall) pp. 96–100. Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen*, p. 99, II.2, has a photo (fig. 88, p. 245) of a wooden copy of the "frame" of one of these *Maskentafelbilder*, manufactured by himself. See too Allroggen-Bedel, *Maskendarstellungen*, cat. no. 50, *Maskenschreine*.

49. Here a digression is called for, because this particular combination is already prefigured in all three *cubicula* from Boscotrecase (see Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* pls. 2 and 3, for the overall design of the walls and 4, 5, 8–12, and 14–17 for details of the Black Room). Griffins atop the *aediculae* of the side walls, the superb swans holding strings of jewels in their beaks (fig. 11) and flanking the central aedicula, and the huge tripods on the side walls (figs. 21 and 22)—all attest to a prevalently Apollonian atmosphere. However, Dionysiac hints are not altogether absent: sprouting ivy and tiny golden kraters and jugs built into the tripod legs that, in turn, are shaped like thyrsoi. The third ingredient, the Egyptian elements, has already been discussed. The perched Horus falcons of the side walls of the Red Room (pls. 26–28) should be added. As mentioned (see Knauer, "Wind Towers"), the tower of the central landscape vignette of the Black Room has also been shown to have an Egyptian ancestry. This complex reference system can only be mentioned here. It brings to mind two points. First, Alexandria had been the locus of the legendary procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus at the first celebration of the Ptolemaia, an event that took place in the middle of winter, most likely in 279/8 B.C. (see Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists,* vol. II of the Loeb Classical Library ed., with Eng. trans. by Charles B. Gulick [London/Cambridge, Mass., 1967] and E. E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* [Oxford, 1983] esp. for the date, pp. 182–187). The description of the pavilion set up for the guests within the citadel mentions columns "shaped like palm trees, but those which stood in the middle had the appearance of Bacchic wands [*thyrsoi*]" (V.196c; p. 389), and also the lavish decoration of "the outer side of the enclosing curtains" with various branches, and the floor "entirely strewn with all sorts of flowers. For Egypt, both because of the temperate quality of its atmosphere, and also because its gardeners can grow plants which are either rare or found at a regular season in other regions, produces flowers in abundance and throughout the whole year. . . ." (V.196d; p. 389). One is reminded of the flower-decked, tentlike structure of the Red Room, where the seasons for roses, ivy, and figs miraculously coincide (see Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* pls. 18–22, 26–29, and 31). Even more striking are the details reported of the giant "Delphic" tripod being carried about (among other somewhat smaller ones) in the ensuing procession in the city stadium: one "of forty-five feet; on this were figures in gold . . . , and a vine-wreath of gold encircled it" (V.205c; p. 415). The tripods in the Black Room (Figures 21, 22) appear like variants of those in that description. If we add the figures (*zoa*) on the tall tripodal candelabra in the Mythological Room (Figure 23; cf. Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* pls. 36–41)—a chamber containing the same ever-so-subtle references to both the Apollonian and Dionysiac realms, interspersed with *aegyptiaca* as in the Black and the Red Rooms—there seems little doubt that the decorators of Boscotrecase must have had a thorough knowledge of the fantastic and yet real appurtenances displayed during Ptolemaic pageantry. The horticultural blending of seasons also occurs in the Third Style *oecus* with splendid garden paintings in the house found in Pompeii in 1979 (*Insula Occidentalis,* VI 17.42); see *Rediscovering Pompeii,* no. 163. It is described there (p. 232) as dreamlike and without basis in reality, whereas to my mind it clearly refers to the climatic circumstances of Egypt so graphically described in the account of Ptolemy's tent mentioned above. The second observation concerns the artful compositional links among the three main strands of motifs, within the single walls as well as among the three walls in each room. One is reminded of certain rhetorical figures current at the time; see, e.g., Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* I (Munich, 1960) paragraphs 443–452, pp. 241ff., on *dispositio* of the *inventio* in three parts (*tria loca*), and paragraph 462, pp. 253ff. on the four modifying categories of the *elocutio,* esp. no. 3, *per transmutationem* (*metathesis*): a) *anastrophe,* b) *hyperbaton.* Suetonius, in his life of Augustus (86), calls the emperor's literary style pure, elegant, and concrete. As we shall see, attention to these features, namely the degree of reality we must attribute to the sceneries of the Third Style and the high degree of literacy of their patrons, will help us to establish the character and the meaning of the objects studied here.

50. See Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis,* fig. 123, and Karl Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis* (Berlin, 1957) p. 100. Unlike the example from the House of Lucretius Fronto, no "roof" can be seen at the upper edge of the box. One must assume that this indispensable part is thought of as being at the lower edge where it is hidden by the shelf, since the object is seen from below, or that this shelf itself is the part in question. Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen,* p. 99, I, 2, lists the object under his "Rahmen mit plastischen Theatermasken als Inhalt." Cf. also Allroggen-Bedel, *Maskendarstellungen,* cat. no. 51: *Maskenschrein.* For a similarly positioned box in the Casa dell' atrio a mosaico in Pompeii, see *Pompejanische Wandmalerei,* Giuseppina Cerulli Irelli et al., eds. (Stuttgart/Zurich, 1990) pl. 127 and Allroggen-Bedel, cat. no. 19, "Schrein."

51. See Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai sur le culte,* pl. 2, giving the original arrangement, and p. 44. Joan Mertens kindly referred me to fig. 455.2, p. 399 in Spinazzola, *Scavi nuovi.* Spinazzola thinks of the object as the closure of a vent or of a small niche. The marble box is of simple design. The S-shaped side walls are again inverted, so that the hooks point upward: on the back wall, in high relief, there is the mask of a young woman.

52. A gabled shelf, or doorless cupboard, containing masks is pictured in Cod. Vat. Lat. 3868 (Terence), see fig. 1091, *Enciclopaedia dell'arte antica e orientale* IV (1971) s.v. "maschera teatrale," pp. 910–918 (G. Krien-Kummrow). A receptacle with a mask inside is on the floor on the mosaic with actors in Naples, see ibid., I (1958) s.v. "attore," pp. 909ff. (P. E. Arias), colorplate opp. p. 910; the actors, dressed up as satyrs, surround a seated old man, clad only in a mantle, with a scroll in his hand. Another mask is on a table. In view of the Pompeian marble box from the reign of Vespasian, one might imagine that by that time, painted masks at the back wall of such boxes might have been replaced, for the greater effect the Fourth Style required, by masks done in relief or by real masks, such as are found in the wall painting from the House of the Hermaphrodite mentioned above. More such instances from walls could be adduced, although with less elaborate frames. They may have led to the notion of "Maskenschrein" found in some authors. Masks were, indeed, occasionally dedicated. The first visual records (vase-paintings and reliefs) date back to the beginning of the 5th century B.C., cf. J. Richard Green, "Dedication of Masks," *Révue archéologique* (1982) pp. 237–248, but in the context of theatrical performances. Therefore, prior to creating new terms, like *Maskenschrein,* for want of a better explanation, we should try to establish the character of such objects first.

53. See the brief account, "le basi di Como," by A. C. M. in Soprintendenza archeologica della Lombardia, 1977–81, *Restauri archeologici in Lombardia* (Como, 1982) p. 63; Bianca Maria Scarfì, "Recenti rinvenimenti archeologici in Lombardia," *Annali Benacensi,* no. 3, *Atti del III convegno archeologico Benacense* (1976) pp. 11–18; Scarfì, the excavator, also gave a talk entitled "Le scoperte archeologiche urbane: L'arte figurativa" at a meeting (*Novum Comum 2050*), celebrating the foundation of Como in A.D. 59, and held in that city on Nov. 8–9, 1991. The last two references are owed to Fabrizio Slavazzi, who also kindly supplied a copy of the article and notes on the meeting, as well as a copy of the important study by Antonio Frova, "Temi mitologici nei rilievi romani della Cisalpina," in *Scritti in ricordo di Graziella Massari Gaballo e di Umberto Tocchetti Pollini* (Milan, 1986) pp. 173–193, esp. pp. 177–186, part of which deals with these reliefs. There are more references to be found on p. 177 n. 18.

54. See Scarfì, "Recenti rinvenimenti," pp. 17ff. She suggests as names for the two poets Virgil and Homer and dates the reliefs from about A.D. 100. A. C. M., in *Restauri archeologici,* p. 63, basically shares Scarfì's opinion but prefers a date early in the 2nd century.

55. Scarfì, "Le scoperte archeologiche."

56. Frova, "Temi mitologici," pp. 185ff., critically summarizes the literature on the iconography of the Muses, individually and in conjunction with poets and philosophers; he reaffirms the lack of a coherent system of their symbols up to the late period and the growing importance of the pairing of the deceased with a Muse (*mousikos aner*) on sarcophagi, especially during the 3rd century. He leaves open the question whether we have to do with two poets or a poet and a philosopher, and he calls the attitude of the Muse with the younger man "insolito." For the date of the reliefs (middle of the 2nd century) and Pliny the Younger's role in the intellectual history of Como see pp. 192ff. For a summary of the recent literature on the tardy and restricted acceptance of classical models in the sculpture of provincial northern Italy see Fabrizio Slavazzi, "Il *Satiro in riposo* di Prassitele: una nuova replica della testa da Bergamo," *Arte lombarda* 96/97 (1991) pp. 67–72.

57. See Max Wegner, *Die Musensarkophage,* Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs 5,3 (Berlin, 1966) no. 16, p. 13, pls. 22, 23; 41a; 142a. Wegner speaks of *Schulszenen* on the lid, but singles out the two first scenes to the left of the inscription as showing Muses (with feathers on their heads) in conjunction with poets. The first scene has the Como group reversed and adds two more figures: an additional bystander and a second Muse, who sits next to the young man while he studies his scroll with the help of a Muse leaning over his shoulder. The second group to the left of the inscription has the seated older poet (here clad with but a mantle) to whom a Muse presents a rectangular object, perhaps a scroll on a stand, as on the Como relief. Although the scale is too small to decide on this detail, the types in these two groups match those in Como and must go back to a common model.

58. See Karl Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker* (Basel, 1943); for Homer, pp. 62ff., 78ff., 88ff., 142–145, 148ff., 158ff., and 172ff.; for Virgil, pp. 168ff. and 170ff.

59. See *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 21,1 (1951) s.v. "C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus": 6), pp. 439–456; for Pliny as a poet, p. 447; the important inscription (*CIL* V 5262), attesting to his dedication of a library, is transcribed on p. 439 (M. Schuster).

60. See Hinks, *Catalogue,* no. 53; the poet on the left is erroneously described as holding a *patera.* A neat distinction according to dress between poet and philosopher does not seem possible. There are further representations of men of letters extant in Roman wall paintings; see, e.g., that of Menander, in the Casa di Menandro at Pompeii, in Schefold, *Bildnisse,* p. 164,1, seated, with a scroll and clad in a mantle; the statue of a seated writer, ibid., p. 164,2 ("Plautus"), shows him with scroll, but with tunic and mantle. For a later example of an elderly poet dressed in only a mantle see Irina I. Saverkina, *Römische Sarkophage in der Eremitage* (Berlin, 1977) no. 25, pp. 51ff., pl. 55. For a survey of the forty-eight painted representations of poets in Pompeii and Herculaneum (eighteen of which are of the Third Style), see Mariette De Vos, "Pavone e poeta: Due frammenti di pittura parietale dell'Esquilino," in *Le tranquille dimore degli dei: La residenza imperiale degli horti Lamiani,* Eugenio La Rocca et al., eds. (Rome, 1986) pp. 67–75 and pl. 8. I would like to thank Ann Kuttner for drawing my attention to this exhibition catalogue.

61. See *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 21, 1 (1951) s.v. "C. Plinius Secundus der Ältere": 5) pp. 271–285, his life (K. Ziegler) and p. 439, his works (Kroll); for comments on uncle and nephew, see the following essays in Ronald Syme, *Roman Papers* VII, Anthony R. Birley, ed. (Oxford, 1991): "Consular Friends of the Elder Pliny," pp. 496–511; "Pliny's [the Younger's] Early Career," pp. 551–567; and "The Acme of Transpadana," pp. 635–646 (esp. p. 646 for Pliny's own literary judgment).

62. Frova, "Temi mitologici," p. 178, describes the object as follows: "un liscio riquadro incorniciato da un motivo fogliaceo[?], forse leggio."

63. The reading of scrolls is still practiced in the synagogue. The rolls were initially wound about a single rod, but two became customary in the 16th century. Kept in an upright position in the Torah shrine, the rolls are put on a pulpit for reading. Since the script may not be touched by human hands, a hand-shaped pointer is used to follow the lines; cf. Figure 29.

64. Still useful, in particular for the technical details, are Theodor Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen in seinem Verhältnis zur Literatur: Mit Beiträgen zur Textgeschichte des Theokrit, Catull, Properz und anderer Autoren* (Berlin, 1882; repr. Aalen, 1974) and idem, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst: Archäologisch-antiquarische Untersuchungen zum antiken Buchwesen* (Leipzig, 1907). See also *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 3,1 (1897) s.v. "Buch," pp. 939–971 (Dziatzko); Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités,* s.v. "liber," pp. 1177–1188; *Enciclopaedia dell'arte antica e orientale* V (1963) s.v. "papiro," pp. 943–947 (V. Bartolotti); ibid., VI (1965) s.v. "rotulo," pp. 1031–1036 (C. Bertelli); Colin H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (Oxford, 1983); Eric G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1971), esp. the commentary to illus. 9 and 10 and the 2nd ed., rev. and enl. by Peter J. Parsons (London, 1987). The reference to this edition is owed to the kindness of Peter Parsons. In the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge there is a contraption of ivory that can be assembled and disassembled (GR.25a/k-1980, part of the Lester

Collection); allegedly found together with other ivory objects in a Roman lady's tomb, it has been interpreted as an apparatus to rule papyrus scrolls. Such objects are also attested from Nîmes, Ostia, and Pompeii. Little is known about that step in the preparation of rolls. See Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, *The Annual Reports of the Syndicate and of the Friends of the Fitzwilliam, for the Year Ending 31 December 1980*, p. 13 and pl. III, and *Palladion: Antike Kunst, Katalog 1976*, pp. 100–102. The actual mounting at the museum is more suggestive than the photos. I thank David Gill for kindly supplying the references. For a similar object see Beate Schneider, "Zwei römische Elfenbeinplatten mit mythologischen Szenen," *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 23 (1990) pp. 255–272; Schneider has no knowledge of the piece in Cambridge and wants to reconstruct the object in Cologne as either a cart or a suspended receptacle.

65. Martial, *Epigrams*, 14.84 (in vol. II of Loeb Classical Library ed., with Eng. trans. by Walter C. A. Ker [London/New York, 1968]). Cf. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* VIII (Leipzig, 1966) s.v. "manuale, -is" n., p. 335 (Bömer). Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, pp. 77 and 83ff., in attempting to see a logical link between the disparate *apophoreta* paired by Martial (*manuale* appears next to a back scratcher, *scalptorium*), sees it in the concept of *manus*. The *manuale lectorium* (Greek: *analogeion, anagnosterion*) is defined as a wooden lectern. Birt, *Die Buchrolle*, pp. 175–181, lists, besides the sources, a good number of representations, all of them, however, showing lecterns attached to solid stands. He abstains from deciding whether the *manualia* took their name from being easily transportable (p. 176). Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, p. 7, connects the Greek terms (*analogeion, anagnosterion*) with Martial's term *manuale*, but omits this passage in the 2nd ed.

66. Inv. 1805.7–3.187. The relief serves as frontispiece in both editions of Turner, *Greek Manuscripts;* cf. his comments, p. 7; p. 6 in 2nd ed. See also Wolfgang Binsfeld, "Lesepulte auf Neumagener Reliefs," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 173 (1973) p. 201, fig. 2. For an even more provincial example, see the funerary stela of the philosopher or poet Stratonikos from Kertch, of the first century A.D. (here four scrolls are naively placed on top of the stand and yet there can be no doubt as to the character of the object) in Victor Gajdukevich, *Das Bosporanische Reich* (Berlin, 1971) pp. 419ff and fig. 115.

67. See Birt, *Die Buchrolle*, p. 172, fig. 108. For another related example see Franz Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* II (Berlin/Stuttgart, 1903) p. 405, ill. 8; the original, from Priene, is in Berlin, Antiquarium, inv. no. 8558.

68. Wolfgang Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* I (Tübingen, 4th ed., 1963) no. 1069. See Birt, *Die Buchrolle*, pp. 178ff., fig. 113, who lists further examples under the heading "Lesepulte"; Schefold, *Die Bildnisse*, p. 164, 3. Ehlich, *Bild und Rahmen*, pp. 145ff., thinks the object is a framed mirror, a necessity for an actor.

69. That does not mean that scrolls were written or read at a table, cf. Birt, *Die Buchrolle*, p. 178. Not before the 8th or 9th century is there evidence for scribes seated at desks; see Bruce M. Metzger, "When Did Scribes Begin to Use Writing Desks?" *Historical and Literary Studies, Pagan, Jewish and Christian* (Leiden, 1968) pp. 123–137, and Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 2nd ed., p. 6 n. 17.

70. See Metzger, "When Did Scribes Use Desks?"

71. See Binsfeld, "Lesepulte," pp. 201–206; Binsfeld also discusses the relief in the British Museum (our Figure 30) p. 201 and fig. 2, and he connects the "Handpult" (*manuale*) of the Neumagen relief, fig. 1, with Martial's distich (14.84). The sides of the schoolboy's (fragmentary) *manuale* are straight and show no cutouts. Cf. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 2nd ed., p. 6 n. 17.

72. For a persuasive characterization of masks of the Second to Fourth Style see Allroggen-Bedel, *Maskendarstellungen*, pp. 28–35, and esp. pp. 38–43. The author contrasts the corporeality of Second Style masks with the less expressive abstraction of Third Style walls (p. 42): "Es drückt sich darin ein anderes Verhältnis zur Realität des Dargestellten aus; die Dekorationen stellen nicht eine weitere, über die Wirklichkeit hinausgehobene Realität dar, sondern die Wand ist zur Bildfläche geworden, auf der die Gegenstände als Motiv erscheinen. Sie sind vom Betrachter als System von Anspielungen zu verstehen." See also W. Ehrhardt's remarks on the difference in the concept of space in Second and Third Style walls, dictated by an ideological change, "Bild und Ausblick in Wandbemalungen Zweiten Stils," *Antike Kunst* 34 (1991) pp. 28–64, esp. p. 63. See also Pappalardo, "Der Dritte Stil," pp. 223–232, esp. p. 229.

73. See Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, p. 13.

74. Joan Mertens (in Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa*, p. 52) has aptly described the grillwork of the north wall *aedicula* in the Black Room, with its rising and hanging pendants, as evoking the goldsmith's art. This also holds true for these *oscilla*. They leave one in doubt whether the masks are painted on metal—or possibly glass—disks, studded with pearls and hung with precious pendants. To the best of my knowledge, no such jewelry has survived. One is, however, reminded of the pair of black obsidian skyphoi found near Stabiae that are inlaid with bright-colored Egytianizing cult scenes placed within *aediculae*—a coloristic effect not unlike that found in the Black Room. The priestly or regal figures on the skyphoi present jewelry to theriomorphic idols—jewelry that is close in character to the Boscotrecase pendants. Egyptian spoils embellished the statue of Victory in the Curia Julia in Rome after the battle at Actium (Dio Cassius 51.22.2). Although the Greek term used (*ta laphyra*) is generic, meaning booty, plunder, spoils of war, it seems more likely that the statue was hung with jewels rather than with heavy weapons. However this may be, models for such ornaments were certainly available to the muralists. For a good color reproduction of one of the two skyphoi, kept in the National Museum in Naples, see *Encyclopaedia dell'arte classica e orientale* VII (1966) facing p. 460; Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome, the Centre of Power*, fig. 218; Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren, *Apis*, II, no. 308, pl. lix ff.; De Vos, *L'Egittomania*, p. 93. Although we do not have evidence for the actual use of jewels in architectural settings during the reign of Augustus, it can be documented for the early imperial period. Gilded copper ornaments studded with precious stones, rock crystal, or glass and nailed to wooden beams, thus forming friezes, were found during the later 19th-century excavations on the grounds of the imperial villa of the horti Lamiani in Rome; see Maddalena Cima, "Il 'prezioso arredo' degli horti Lamiani," pp. 104–144; for the jewels, see color pls. 11–24, 27–43, 46–50; for parallels in wall painting, see color pls. 25f. and 44f. and the

black-and-white photographs and drawings in the catalogue section, pp. 129–144. Cima seems to think of these ornaments as decorations of pieces of furniture, esp. a throne. La Rocca, however, leaves no doubt about their having served as architectural fittings.

75. See Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* pl. 60.1, and p. 20; Allroggen-Bedel, *Maskendarstellungen,* pp. 36–38. One step further in the Third Style tendency to tone down three-dimensional effects occurs in the *oecus* with garden paintings in the Pompeian house found in 1979; see *Rediscovering Pompeii,* no. 163, p. 233. Above the "all-seasons-garden," in the center of the frieze, there are lightly framed *pinakes* with paired masks of a satyr and a maenad, three-quartered and slightly overlapping, on a red background, much reminiscent of those painted on the *manualia* of the Red Room. A good color photo is in *History Today* 42 (April 1992) p. 2. If one looks for iconographic sources for such cheek-to-cheek masks, the coins of Istrus come to mind; see R. Stuart Poole, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, The Tauric Chersonese, Sarmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Thrace, & C.* (London, 1877) p. 25, 1–14; however, one of the heads is always inverted.

76. For a summary of the intellectual atmosphere of that urbane circle see De Vos, *L'Egittomania,* pp. 75–95: "Inquadramento storico-culturale"; Tran Tam Tinh, *Le Culte à Herculanum,* pp. 8–11, and Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* pp. 25ff.

77. Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* pls. 42–47 and pp. 28–40; Blanckenhagen has traced the influence of both compositions on later Roman wall paintings, esp. on pp. 37–40, and he hints at the Hesione myth as a parallel to that of Andromeda (p. 35). The repercussions were obviously also felt in other media, see, e.g., the relief with Hesione and the sea monster on a funerary altar from Acqui in the Archaeological Museum at Turin: Frova, "Temi mitologici," p. 173, with n. 2, and p. 175, with nn. 7ff., for iconographic parallels (reliefs and wall paintings). The article on Hesione has been relegated to a future supplement of *LIMC,* see *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* V, 1 (1990) p. 394.

78. See Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* pls. 42ff., and the analysis, pp. 28–35.

79. Ibid., pls. 34–41, and the reconstruction suggested by Mertens, pp. 59-63.

80. See her contribution in Blanckenhagen and Alexander, *Augustan Villa,* pp. 65–73, esp. p. 67.

81. A calcium-copper tetrasilicate mineral. In 1814 a small container with the pigment was found at Pompeii and analyzed by a number of scientists; see M. S. Tite et al., *The Technology of Egyptian Blue,* British Museum Occasional Paper 56 (London, 1987) pp. 39–46, esp. p. 39, where there is a brief historical survey of the study of the substance and an account of its positive identification as $CaCuSi_4O_{10}$. I am grateful to Andrew Middleton for a copy of this paper. See also the commentary to Pliny, *N.H.* 33.158 and 161 in *C. Plinius Secundus d. Ä., Naturkunde, Lateinisch-Deutsch,* Book XXXIII: *Metallurgie,* pub. and trans. by Roderich König, with Gerhard Winkler (Darmstadt, 1984) pp. 184–186; the blue pigment *caeruleum* is here identified as $CaCuSi_4O_{14}$. A very useful but somewhat neglected account of Egyptian blue is in Hugo Blümner, "Die Farben der alten Maler und ihre Bereitung," in his *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* IV (Leipzig, 1887; repr. Hildesheim, 1969) pp. 464–518, esp. pp. 503ff., which also includes a bit of *Forschungsgeschichte,* and the observation that the Egyptian artists' reason for using pulverized blue glass rather than crushed copper (the actual coloring agent for blue glass) when preparing Egyptian blue must have been their awareness of the greater durability of the color prepared by the more complex process. See now D. Ullrich, "Egyptian Blue and Green Frit: Characterization, History and Occurrence, Synthesis," *PACT. Revue du groupe européen d'études pour les techniques physiques, chimiques et mathématiques appliquées à l'archéologie* 17: *Datation—Caractérisation des peintures parietales et murales,* François Delamart et al., eds. (1987) pp. 323–332, and also A. Barbet, "L'emploi des couleurs dans la peinture murale romaine antique. Marqueurs chronologiques et révélateurs du 'standing' social?" in *Pigments et colorants de l'antiquité et du moyen-âge* (Paris, 1990) pp. 255–271. I have not seen E. Riedel, "Bibliographie über die Pigmente der Malerei," *Berliner Beiträge zur Archäometrie* 10 (1988) pp. 173–192.

82. Besides Tite et al., *Technology of Egyptian Blue,* see idem, "Characterization of Early Vitreous Materials," *Archäeometry* 29, no. 1 (1987) pp. 21–34; Julian Henderson, "Glass Production and Bronze Age Europe," *Antiquity* 62 (1988) pp. 435–451 (a copy of this paper is owed to the kindness of Andrew Middleton); idem, "The Scientific Analysis of Ancient Glass and Its Archaeological Interpretation," in idem, ed., *Scientific Analysis in Archaeology, and Its Interpretation,* Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 19, and UCLA, Archaeological Research Tools 5 (1989) pp. 30–62, with rich bibl.; idem, "The Evidence for Regional Production of Iron Age Glass in Britain," in *Le Verre préromain en Europe occidentale,* M. Feugère, ed. (Montagnac, 1989): pp. 63–72; idem, "Industrial Specialization in Late Iron Age Britain and Europe," *The Archaeological Journal* 148 (1991) pp. 104–148, especially the section "Glass Production: A Model for Later Prehistoric Specialized Industry," pp. 122–135, and idem and Richard Ivens, "Dunmisk and Glass-making in Early Christian Ireland," *Antiquity* 66 (1992) pp. 52–64. It was a windfall when utensils from a painter's workshop, that is, shards and shells filled with pigments, among them Egyptian blue, where discovered in the temple of Thutmosis III (1490–39 B.C.) at Karnak in 1984; see O. Rouchon et al., "Pigments d'Égypte: Étude physique de matières colorantes bleue, rouge, blanche, verte, jaune, provenant de Karnak," *Revue d'archéométrie* 14 (1990) pp. 87–97. See also Emma Angelini et al., "Plasma-source Mass Spectometric Analysis of Ancient Egyptian Pigments," in *Pigments et colorants de l'antiquité et du moyen âge: Teinture, peinture, enluminure, études historiques et physio-chimiques* (Paris, 1990) pp. 117–126, an investigation of pigments found during the 1903–5 Italian excavation at Heliopolis, now at the Egyptian Museum at Turin; the sample (suppl. 3603) of Egyptian blue ($CaCuSi_4O_{10}$) contained noticeable amounts of quartz and high concentrations of sodium and iron, with tin and lead as minor components; Daniel le Fur, "Les Pigments dans la peinture égyptienne," ibid., pp. 181–188, esp. the section "Les pigments bleus," pp. 184ff. I am grateful to Josef Riederer, who heads the Rathgen-Forschungslabor of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin at Charlottenburg, for his information about the limited possibility of distinguishing between Egyptian blue and blue glass under a mi-

croscope as well as by other kinds of analyses of antique wall paintings. Besides Egyptian blue, he has encountered azurite, in rare cases indigo and lapis lazuli, and in Egyptian specimens, cobalt as well. The chemical and microscopic properties of blue glass can apparently be confounded with those of Egyptian blue. Hansgeorg Bankel has kindly sent me a copy of the relevant passage in his book *Der spätarchaische Tempel der Aphaia auf Aegina* (Berlin/New York 1992) pp. 68–70 and 111–113, documenting the use of Egyptian blue and azurite (besides other pigments) as colorants of the architectural members of the 6th- to 5th-century B.C. temple. See also D. G. Ullrich, "Malpigmente der Klassik und des Hellenismus im östlichen Mittelmeer," *Akten des 13. internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie* (Mainz, 1990) pp. 615–617. I have not seen Fabienne Laveaex Vergès, *Bleus égyptiens: De la pâte autoémaillée ou pigment bleu synthétique* (Louvain, 1992); reference kindly supplied by Joan Mertens.

83. See A. Walde, and J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 3rd ed., 1954) s.v. "vitrum": 1, pp. 805ff. Although the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* has not yet reached the letter *v*, Ursula Keudel generously provided me with a list of references to the words *vitrum* and *vitreus* from its files, covering the period from the first occurrence late in the first half of the 1st century B.C. to the early 2nd century A.D. In addition, Georg Nicolaus Knauer and Vanessa Gorham kindly supplied an *Ibycus* printout of the relevant passages in Latin literature, thus permitting a reliable survey.

84. All translations of Pliny are taken from Pliny, *Natural History*, 10 vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass./London), vols. 1–5 and 9, with Eng. trans. by H. Rackham (1969–84); vols. 6–8 and 10, with Eng. trans. by D. E. Eichholz (1969–80). Translations of important passages of Pliny's books on minerals (33), bronze (34), painting (35), and marble (36) are to be found in J. Isager, *Pliny on Art and Society: The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* (Odense, 1991).

85. See the brief mention of *anulare* by Blümner, "Die Farben der alten Maler," p. 470.

86. See Walde and Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. "vitrum": 2, p. 806. But see my text above.

87. For Pliny see the references above, note 61.

88. Vitruvius, *On Architecture* (Loeb Classical Library ed., with Eng. trans. by Frank Granger [Cambridge, Mass./London] 1970). See also *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 9 A,1 (1961) s.v. "Vitruvius": 2, L. Vitruvius Mamurra, pp. 427–489 (P. Thielscher), see also Heiner Knell, "Vitruvs Kritik an Bau- und Kunstwerken seiner Zeit," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 39 (1989) pp. 281–288.

89. Still useful is *Enciclopaedia dell'arte classica e orientale* VII (1966) s.v. "vetro," pp. 1150–1157 (Donald B. Harden). See also Harden's introductory essays to the chapters in Part II of Donald B. Harden et al., *Glas der Caesaren* (Milan, 1988) with bibl.; the remarks by William Gudenrath, Kenneth Painter, and David Whitehouse, "The Portland Vase," *Journal of Glass Studies* 32 (1990) pp. 12–189; and Veronica Tatton-Brown, "The Roman Empire," in H. Tait, ed., *Five Thousand Years of Glass* (London, 1991) pp. 62–97. Two passages in Martial (1.41.3–5 and 10.3.3ff.) attest to a flourishing trade in broken glass. In Trastevere, vendors of brimstone matches bartered them for glass sherds, which were either mended with sulfurous glue or collected for recycling; see L. Friedlaender, *M. Valerii Martialis epigrammaton libri* (Leipzig, 1886) p. 189, with a reference to Statius' *Silvae* 1.6.73, describing the same routine. See also M. Sternini, "A Glass Workshop in Rome (4th–5th century A.D.)," *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 22 (1989) pp. 105–114, esp. p. 113. It was the adoption of the blowpipe that made mass production possible. Marianne Stern kindly tells me that the first blowpipes may not have been fashioned of iron—a technically difficult process—but were more likely made of clay.

90. Caesar, *The Gallic War* (Loeb Classical Library ed., with Eng. trans. by H. J. Edwards [Cambridge, Mass./London] 1979).

91. See Jan M. Stead et al., *Lindow Man: The Body in the Bog* (London, 1986); Anne Ross and Don Robins, *The Life and Death of a Druid Prince: The Story of Lindow Man, an Archaeological Sensation* (New York, 1989) pp. 128ff., for Lindow III and additional parts of Lindow II, recovered in 1988.

92. The public was provided with a folder, *Lindow Man: A Guide to the Exhibition* (Manchester, 1991).

93. See F. B. Pyatt et al., "Non Isatis sed Vitrum, Or the Colour of Lindow Man," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 10, no. 1 (1991) pp. 61–73.

94. Ibid., p. 65.

95. Ibid., pp. 66–70.

96. Ibid., p. 69.

97. Ibid., p. 67.

98. See Walde and Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. "glaesum," p. 604; *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* VI 2 (Leipzig, 1934) s.v. "glastum," p. 2035, and s.v. "glaesum," p. 2028; Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* IV 1,4 (Leipzig, 1949) s.v. "Glas," p. 7659; Eric Hamp (see next note) advises that caution be exercised in considering the connection. See also Eckhard Meineke, chaps. 6, "Gler," and 7, "Glas" in *Bernstein im Althochdeutschen, mit Untersuchungen zum Glossar Rb.* Studien zum Althochdeutschen, vol. 6 (Göttingen, 1984).

99. See Pyatt et al., "Non Isatis sed Vitrum," p. 68; Walde and Hofmann, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, II, p. 604, and *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru, A Dictionary of the Welsh Language*, fasc. 28 (University of Wales, 1976) s.v. "gwydr," p. 1751. This reference was provided by Eric P. Hamp, to whom I am greatly obliged. He generously shared his erudition and gave much of his time to my questions concerning the Celtic background. He draws attention to the necessity of relating Celtic *glas(s)* and *glan* and Irish *glain*, and he notes that Celtic colors seem to have been based more on intensity than on hue. It is useful to consult Hugo Blümner, *Die Farbezeichnungen bei den römischen Dichtern* (Berlin, 1892) pp. 217–220, "*vitreus, prasinus* u.a.," which he lists under "Grün," insisting that the word *vitreus* means glasslike, or better, greenish, like glass.

100. See Pyatt et al., "Non Isatis sed Vitrum," pp. 68–70; Cyril Stanley Smith and John G. Hawthorne, "Mappae Clavicula: A Little Key to the World of Medieval Techniques—An Annotated Translation Based on a Collation of the Sélestat and Phillipps-Corning Manuscripts, with Reproductions of the Two Manuscripts," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 64, no. 4

(1974) p. 51 n. 108, reference kindly supplied by Eric P. Hamp; for woad see also the excellent entry in *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 9 A,1 (1961) s.v. "vitrum" (Waid, Glastum, Isatis) pp. 1277–1280 (H. Gams); the production of woad is first reported in Germany (Swabia) in 1276, see *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie* XIX (1974) s.v. "Waid," p. 798. Cf. also Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* I (2nd ed., Leipzig/Berlin, 1912; repr. Hildesheim 1969) pp. 248–256. That woad and *glastum* were regularly confused in medieval times, too, is not surprising; see Hans-Friedrich Rosenfeld, "And. **rôda,* ahd. **matara,* mlat. *gaisto, gaisdo,* ahd. *retza,* frühmhd. *risza, rizza,* 'Färberröte, Krapp, Rubia tinctorum L.' und Verwandtes," *Festschrift für Gerhard Cordes zum 65. Geburtstag* II (Neumünster, 1976) pp. 257–293, especially "3. *gaisto, gaisdo* und der Austausch der Farbezeichnungen," pp. 269–276, reference kindly supplied by Terry Hoad. For indigo and woad see also Charles Singer et al., *A History of Technology:* vol. I, *From Early Times to the Fall of Ancient Empires* (Oxford, 1975) pp. 247 and 249, and F. Sherwood Taylor and Charles Singer, "Pre-Scientific Industrial Chemistry," in ibid., vol. II, *The Mediterranean Civilizations and the Middle Ages, ca. 700 B.C.. to A.D.* 1500 (Oxford, 1972) pp. 347–369.

101. See Walde and Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* II, s.v. "vitrum" 1. and 2. *The Oxford English Dictionary* XX (2nd ed., 1989), s.v. "woad," p. 473; J. and W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (1922) s.v. "Waid," pp. 1032–1034. However, an *Urverwandtschaft* between *vitrum* and *woad* (German *Waid*) is assumed by Gams in his treatment of *vitrum* in *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 9 A,1 (1961) pp. 1277–1280, and by Eric Hamp, who has kindly communicated his present view as follows: "*Waid* < Gmc. **u̯aiþa-* < **u̯óito-; woad* < Gmc. **u̯aida-* < **u̯oitó-*. Both of these reflect the IE *nomen instrumenti,* thematic **-to-*in *o*-grade best seen in Old Prussian *dalptān* 'chisel.' " Hamp exemplifies this type of word formation in "Varia 2," *Eriu* XXV (1974) pp. 255–261, with *Vesta*/hearth. See also below, note 122, Hamp's suggestion for *vitrum.* I would like to thank Terry Hoad for help in my search for more references to the etymology of *woad.*

102. See Oswald Szemerényi, *An den Quellen des lateinischen Wortschatzes,* Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 56 (Innsbruck, 1989) pp. 24–26, a reference kindly supplied by Alfred Bammesberger. I would like to thank Don Ringe for his critical scrutiny of Szemerényi's suggestion, which he takes to be possible but, for arguments too complex to report here, finds not altogether acceptable. Eric Hamp kindly informs me that he rejects Szemerényi's derivation. Equally questionable is the attempt to associate *vitrum* (as used in Cicero, *Rab. Post.,* 14,40, dated 54 B.C.) with *vitor* "basketmaker," giving it originally the meaning "translucent woven rush." See Louis Deroy, "D'où vient le nom latin du verre?" *Annales du 9e Congrès international d'étude historique du verre, Nancy (France) 22–28 mai 1983* (Liège, 1985) pp. 21–25; see p. 22 for the difficulties in the transmission of the text. For a straightforward translation of the passage as glass see *Marcus Tullius Cicero, Sämtliche Reden,* eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert von Manfred Fuhrmann (Zurich/Munich, 1980) p. 312. Besides passages in Lucretius (6.993), Varro (*Men.* 382), and in the *Appendix Vergiliana* (*Copa* 29) that unquestionably refer to glass, there are no earlier mentions of *vitrum* in Latin literature than Caesar's, discussed above, where it can no longer be understood to mean woad, and Cicero's (*Rab. Post.,* 14.40), where *vitrum* is most likely specified, together with paper and linen, as merchandise arriving by boat from Egypt at Puteoli. What seems clear, however, is the direct assumption of the Latin *vitrum* by British Celtic as *gwydr* "glass," a borrowing that has other parallels and must have occurred during the time of the Roman occupation of Britain. The word then found its way into Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. See above, note 99.

It is noteworthy that no blue glass seems to have been used in the manufacture of paint in medieval times. Lapis lazuli served as an (extremely expensive) pigment for the illumination of manuscripts as well as for wall paintings, even of such size as Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican. Chap. 10 to 33 of the famous 12th-century handbook by the monk Theophilus, *The Various Arts: De diversis artibus,* C. R. Dodwell, ed. and trans. (Oxford, 1986), deal with all aspects of the production and working of glass; purple and yellow, but no blue, glass is mentioned.

103. For early finds in Italy, see below, note 108.

104. See above, note 89. Pliny (*N.H.,* 36.114) characterizes the fact that the middle story of the stage of the theater of Scaurus (1st century B.C.) was decorated with glass as "an extravagance unparalleled even in later times," while Trimalchio, the social climber, surprisingly prefers glass vessels to ones of precious metal, in spite of their being inexpensive, because glass "does not smell" (Petronius, *Sat.,* 50.7.1).

105. The British Isles, especially early Ireland, were somewhat underrepresented. For a bibl., see *The Celts,* Sabbatino Moscati, ed., exh. cat., Palazzo Grassi, Venice (Milan, 1991) pp. 693–700, and for our purposes, the chapter by Natalia Venclová on Celtic glass, pp. 445–447; also Venclová, *Prehistoric Glass in Bohemia* (Prague, 1990). I have not seen the important exhibition catalogue *Das keltische Jahrtausend.* May 19–Nov. 1, 1993, of the Prähistorischen Staatssammlung München in Rosenheim (Mainz, 1993).

106. These specimens come from the *oppidum* of Manching in Bavaria, the richest findspot north of the Alps. Cf. also Moscati, *The Celts,* nos. 519, 522f., 526–529, 535, and 545, and photos on pp. 233, 247, 257, and 445-447.

107. See Rupert Gebhard, *Der Glasschmuck aus dem Oppidum von Manching,* Ausgrabungen in Manching XI, 11 (Wiesbaden/Stuttgart, 1989); Venclová, *Prehistoric Glass,* esp. the sections "The Chronology of Bracelets," pp. 131–135, "The Distribution of Celtic Glass and the Question of Production Centres," pp. 142–156, and "Celtic Glass: Its Use and Significance," pp. 156–158. The British Isles stand somewhat apart: see J. Price, "Romano-British Glass Bangles from East Yorkshire," in *Recent Research in Roman Yorkshire: Studies in Honour of M. K. Clark* (Oxford, 1988) pp. 339–366.

108. The Toledo Museum of Art has a vast collection of such vessels; see David F. Grose, *The Toledo Museum of Art, Early Ancient Glass* (New York, 1989) colorpls. 96–108 and chap. 3 ("Mediterranean core-formed bottles, 550 B.C.–A.D. 10"). For earlier imports of Egyptian frit objects into Italy see Günther Hölbl,

Beziehungen der ägyptischen Kultur zu Altitalien (Leiden, 1979) pp. 372ff. and the summary pp. 367–394. See also Grose, *Toledo Museum Ancient Glass,* pp. 81ff., "Italic and Etruscan core-formed and rod-formed vessels and objects," who puts the beginning of glassmaking in Italy into the 8th century B.C. Cf., however, Henderson, "Glass Production," pp. 448ff., who cites strong evidence for 11th- to 9th-century B.C. glassworking and possibly glassmaking at Frattesina, in Northern Italy.

109. A piece from Chalon-sur-Saône (6th–5th century B.C.) was on exhibit in Venice; see Moscati, *The Celts,* p. 118 (bottom).

110. See Gebhard, *Glasschmuck von Manching,* pp. 142–148.

111. See Venclová, *Prehistoric Glass,* p. 145. However, Henderson, "Scientific Analysis," p. 35, and pp. 44–53, "Aspects of Later Prehistoric and Early Historic Glass Production," not only convincingly posits a strong possibility that glass was manufactured in Iron Age Europe, he also adduces evidence for the production of, and trade in, European Bronze Age faience and glass (pp. 36–44); cf. also idem, "Regional Production of Iron Age Glass," pp. 71ff. A chunk of purple raw glass found at the *oppidum* at Manching was on exhibition in Venice; see Moscati, *The Celts,* cat. no. 545 and photo on p. 446, and Gebhard, *Der Glasschmuck von Manching,* p. 148 and pl. 37.

112. In 386 B.C. Dionysius of Syracuse made the Celts, who had just sacked Rome, his allies; they settled around Ancona. The tribe of the Senones was not defeated by the Romans until 283 B.C. and Sena Gallica (Sinigallia in the Marche) was made a Roman colony. For summaries of the Celtic presence in Italy, see Venceslas Kruta, "I Celti," in *Italia omnium terrarum alumna: La civilità dei Veneti, Reti, Liguri, Celti, Piceni, Umbri, Latini, Campani et Iapigi* (Milan, 1988) pp. 263–311. See also idem, "The First Celtic Expansion: Prehistory to History," Daniele Vitali, "The Celts in Italy," and Ermanno A. Arslan, "The Transpadane Celts," in Moscati, *The Celts,* pp. 195–212; pp. 220–235, and pp. 461–470. Also T. J. Cornell, "Rome and Latium to 390 B.C.," in *The Cambridge Ancient History* XII, 2, F. W. Walbank et al., eds. (Cambridge, 2nd ed., 1989) pp. 302–306, and map 4 on p. 304, "The Celts in Northern Italy," and Maria Teresa Grassi, *I Celti in Italia* (Milan, 1991). Familiar with the luxuries of courtly life, the Celtic chieftains cannot have failed to take note of such objects as the splendid Hellenistic blue glass footed bowl, cast, lathe-cut, ground, and polished, of the 3rd century B.C., illustrated in *NFA Classical Auctions, Inc., Egyptian, Near Eastern, Greek and Roman Antiquities,* cat. of an auction held in New York, Dec. 11, 1991, lot 108.

113. See Henderson, "Regional Production of Iron Age Glass," pp. 63–72, "Aspects of Later Prehistoric," pp. 44–53, and "Industrial Specialization," esp. the section "Glass Production: A Model for Later Prehistoric Spcialized Industry," pp. 122–135; E. Marianne Stern, "A Fourth-Century Factory for Gathering and Blowing Chunks of Glass?" *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 5 (1992) pp. 490–494, a review of Gladys Davidson Weinberg, *Excavations at Jalame: Site of a Glass Factory in Late Roman Palestine* (Columbia, Mo., 1988), appears to offer a solution for a number of unsolved questions concerning ancient glassworking. I can imagine that in the Celtic *oppida* as well, the absence of certain features heretofore believed indispensable for glassmaking could be explained by this novel view of ancient glassworking practices.

114. Pyatt et al., "Non Isatis sed Vitrum," p. 70, draw attention to a group of small bronze pestles and mortars, found in England and of Iron Age and early Roman date, but "without an unequivocal male context." There were surely a variety of methods available for crushing glass. For the meaning of colors in ancient societies, see Lia Luzzatto, Renata Pompas, *Il significato dei colori nelle civiltà antiche* (Milan, 1988) esp. chap. IV, "Il blu-azurro," pp. 127–151.

115. See the evidence in Henderson, "Glass Production," and R. G. Newton and Colin Renfrew, "British Faience Beads Reconsidered," *Antiquity* 44 (1970) pp. 199–206.

116. See Raffaele C. De Marinis, "Golasecca Culture and Its Links with Celts beyond the Alps," and Ludwig Pauli, "The Alps at the Time of the First Celtic Migration," in Moscati, *The Celts,* pp. 93–102 and pp. 215–218. Also G. Dobesch, "Zur Einwanderung der Kelten in Oberitalien: Aus der Geschichte der keltischen Wanderungen im 6. und 5. Jh. v. Chr.," *Tyche* 4 (1989) pp. 35–85; I. Wernicke, *Die Kelten in Italien: Die Einwanderung und die frühen Handelsbeziehungen zu den Etruskern* (Stuttgart, 1991); and O. H. Frey, "Como fra Etruschi e Celti," *Rivista archeologica dell'antica provincia e diocesi di Como* 171 (1989) pp. 5–26.

117. Michel Lejeune, *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises II 1, Textes gallo-étrusques, textes gallo-latins sur pierre* (XLVè supplément à *Gallia,* Paris, 1988) especially pp. 3–8, for the historic frame. The reference was kindly supplied by Eric P. Hamp. In response to this work and its concomitant volumes, Aldo L. Prosdocimi and Patrizia Solinas, "The Language and Writing of the Early Celts," in Moscati, *The Celts,* pp. 51–59, esp. p. 59, n. 1, plead for including "non-Gaulish Italian Celticity." See also E. P. Hamp, "Varia 2, The Lepontic Vergiate Epitaph," *Celtica* XXII (1991) pp. 34–38.

118. See Walde and Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch,* s.v. "gladius," pp. 603ff.; *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* VI 2 (Leipzig, 1934) s.v. "gladius," pp. 2011–2028 (Koch). The same holds true for much of the equestrian terminology as well as for specialized types of chariots; for the latter see Moscati, *The Celts,* p. 356. Eric Hamp kindly adduces the word *carpentum*—a two-wheeled carriage—and its dependents (*carpentarius*), and other products of artisans. See also P. F. Stary, "Die militärischen Rückwirkungen der keltischen Invasion auf die Apennin-Halbinsel," *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 13/14 (1986–87) pp. 65–117.

119. See Walde and Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* II, s.v. "viriae," pp. 799ff. Here, Pliny clearly states the linguistic background, something he fails to do in another, highly illuminating context. In book 33 (which deals with metallurgy), when describing methods of gold mining, he uses a number of technical terms of Celtiberian origin, apparently picked up during his time as procurator in Spain: *segutilum* (67), *talutium* (67), *apitascudis* (69), *tasconium* (69), *arrugiae* (70), *gangadia* (72f.), *urium* (75), *palagae/palacurnae/baluces* (77); see König and Winkler, *C Plinius Secundus Metallurgie,* commentary to the passages, pp. 147–151, and J. Kroll in his comments on Pliny's *Natural History, Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 21 (1951) p. 395. See also H. Hoenigswald, "Celtiberi: A Note," in *Celtic Language, Celtic Culture, Festschrift for Eric P. Hamp,* A. E. T.

Matonis and Daniel F. Melia, eds. (Van Nuys, Calif., 1990); Martin Almagro-Gorbea, "The Celts of the Iberian Peninsula," in Moscati, *The Celts*, pp. 389–405; and Francisco Barillo Mozota, "The Origin of the Celtiberians," *Mediterranean Archaeology* 4 (1991) pp. 65–90. I have not seen Majolie Lenerz de Wilde, *Iberia celtica. Archäologische Zeugnisse keltischer Kultur auf der Pyrenäenhalbinsel*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1991).

120. The Prähistorische Staatssammlung in Munich has a rich array of such fragments from tombs excavated recently at Munich-Aubing. For their use as amulets cf. Venclová, *Prehistoric Glass*, pp. 157f.

121. The method followed in this study has something in common with the approach of the journal *Wörter und Sachen, Kulturhistorische Zeitschrift für Sprach- und Sachforschung* 1–18 (Heidelberg, 1909–37), continued as *Zeitschrift für indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft, Volksforschung und Kulturgeschichte* 19–23 (1938–41/2). The demise of the journal left a gap in the field, but a renewed interest is clearly arising; see Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand, "Wörter und Sachen: Zur Bedeutung einer Methode für die Frühmittelalterforschung—Der Pflug und seine Bezeichnungen," in *Wörter und Sachen im Lichte der Bezeichnungsforschung*, by Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand, ed. (Berlin, 1981) pp. 1–41, esp. p. 2 n. 9. M. Foucault's *Les Mots et les choses: Une archéologie des sciences humaines* (Paris, 1966) is focused on different problems.

122. Linguists have conjectured that *vitrum*, like *glaesum*, might derive from the north (Germanic **hvitra-*); they also hypothesized an *Urverwandtschaft* with ancient Indic *śvitráh* and its relatives, meaning "white" or "shining." Cf. Walde and Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, II, s.v. "vitrum" p. 806. Eric Hamp stresses reservations about this and thinks "*vitrum* would be Latin ← Celtic **u̯i-tro-m*, a *nomen instrumenti* like *arātrum*, or Irish *criathar*, < IE **-tro-*." It is noteworthy that the Greek word for glass (*hualos*) also has no known etymology; see Émile Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Heidelberg, 4th ed., 1950) p. 996, and Hjalmar Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1970) p. 953: "Technisches Wort ohne sichere Erklärung." Both hint at the similarity with the first part of the "Scythian" (i.e., Iranian) word for amber reported by Pliny (*N.H.* 37.33), *sualiternicum:* " . . . it is a mineral which is dug up in two regions of Scythia, in one of which it is of a white, waxy colour and is called 'electrum,' while in the other it is tawny and known as 'sualiternicum.' " I would like to thank Rüdiger Schmitt for kindly communicating his hesitation about the possible Iranian background of Greek *hualos* and Latin *sualiternicum*. It should be kept in mind that the word *sualiternicum* in Pliny's text is badly transmitted. The editor of the Loeb text conjectures *hyalelectricum*. Frisk also refers to the semantically close *glēsum* (see above, note 98). Interestingly, the two terms for glass in Chinese, *po-li* and *liuli*, are foreign words. Victor Mair kindly suggests that the more common form *po-li* may be a transcription of Pali/Prakit *phalika*, Sanskrit *sphatika*, crystal, i.e., one of the seven Buddhist jewels or precious substances. Even though the manufacture of glass was clearly first practiced in the Middle East during the Bronze Age (see Tait, *Five Thousand Years of Glass*, chap. 1), the special uses glass and related substances were put to by northern tribes and the terms they introduced seem to have influenced the classical world very strongly.