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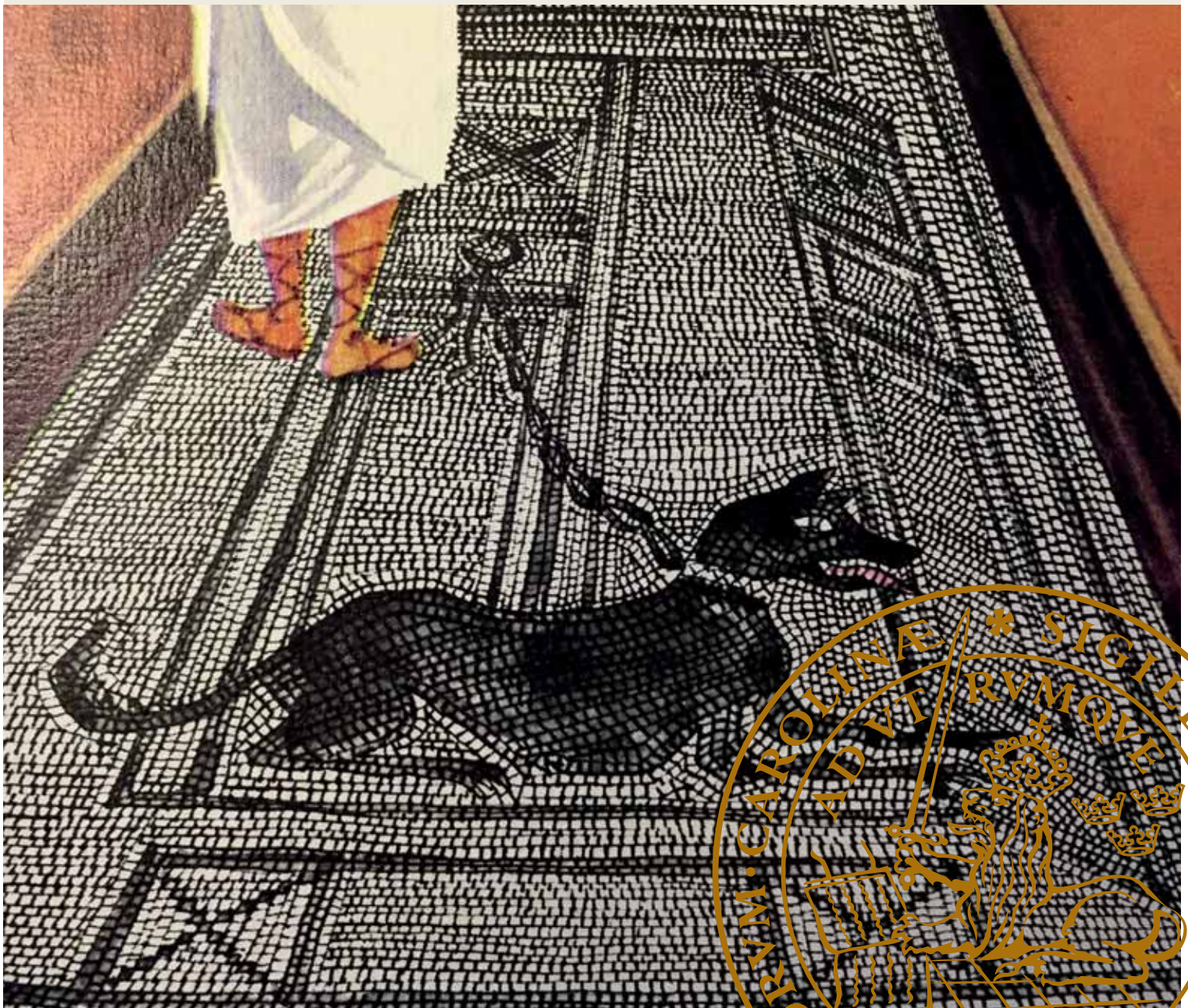
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Greeting the visitor

A contextualising study of *fauces*-mosaics in Pompeii

FANNY KÄRFVE

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANCIENT HISTORY | LUND UNIVERSITY



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To my family

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1 Introduction

“Das pompejanische Normalhaus: Zwischen diesen Läden nun bildet der Hauseingang einen mehr oder minder langen und breiten Corridor, mit den Bezeichnungen vestibulum und ostium. Hier findet sich oft ein Mosaikboden mit der Inschrift Salve (sei begrüßt) oder mit dem Bilde des Haushundes. Die Thür lag in der Hausfront oder inmitten des Corridors“ (Emil Presuhn 1882).¹

1.1 Presentation of the corpus and aims

To the Romans, the act of crossing a threshold, and leaving one sphere for another, was undoubtedly something to be undertaken reverentially. The entrance of a *domus*, being a transitional space, had to be protected, not only from unwelcome visitors, but also, it was felt, against intangible forces causing harm. Much scholarly attention has been given to these vigilant attitudes and superstitious beliefs. However, one of the paradoxical characteristics of the liminal zone was that, while it offered deterrence to potential hostility, attention-seeking decorative features could also, at the same time, be on display for those outside to see. The imposing portals to the Pompeian *atrium*-houses testify to their welcoming, as distinct from deterrent, significance, framed as they could be by pilasters and capitals, and crowned by elaborate architraves.²

Emil Presuhn’s generalisation, quoted above, about the entrances to Pompeian *atrium*-houses rightly takes dual purpose of the entrances into consideration. However, it fails to acknowledge the diversity that characterised their decoration. The suggestion that the entrance-floors were *often* paved with either an inscribed greeting (*Salve*) or with an image of a watchdog is an over-statement. The decorations described by Presuhn were not common in Pompeii and nor was the presence of mosaics in the entryways, being found in only 29 *atrium*-houses out of a total of around four hundred in the city as a whole. Instead, the most common flooring for house-entrances consisted of mortar, both plain or with inserted stones

¹ Presuhn 1882, p. xi: “The typical Pompeian house. Between these shops, the house-entrance now forms a more or less long and wide corridor, with the names ‘vestibulum’ and ‘ostium’. Here one often finds a mosaic-floor with the inscription ‘salve’ (‘welcome’) or with the portrait of the household’s dog. The door was sited in the façade of the house or half-way down the corridor” (transl. by dr. Janet Fairweather).

² For a reconstruction of a Pompeian house-door, see e.g., Spinazzola 1953, pl. 4, of the façade of *Cd Ceii* (I 6,15) and fig. 361, of the façade of *Cd Iulius Polybius* (IX 13,1-3). See also Mac Mahon 2003, p. 62., fig. 1.

(see below). Nevertheless, Presuhn's generalisation is still being repeated in new studies of Pompeian domestic art.³

The aim of this dissertation is thus to nuance the view which it exemplifies by means of a comprehensive study of all the entryways, *fauces*, at Pompeii with mosaic-floors. It will seek to investigate the function of conspicuous floor-decorations within the liminal space and to show that this space might allow for other modes of expressive communication beyond the inscribed greeting and the depicted watchdog. Throughout the study, a key theme will be that visual artistry should be regarded as a form of communication. The mosaic-decoration of the entrances will be studied as potentially a carrier of messages, whereby the house-owners were seeking to convey various concepts to all those who made use of the main entrance.

The following questions are my point of departure:

- What can we learn from the *fauces*-mosaics about the Roman perception of how entrances might be used to communicate between household and outsiders already on the threshold?
- How did the *fauces*-mosaics communicate various meanings and attitudes through design and colours?
- Is it possible to detect variations over time, i.e., did some mosaic-designs, and possible implicit meanings, tend to be more “in vogue” during certain periods than in others?
- Is there a correlation between the placement of particular houses within the Pompeian streetscape and the laying of the *fauces*-mosaics?
- Is there any reason to suspect that the house-owners were advertising a shared socio-economic status by means of their mosaic-decorated entrances?

In total, the material under consideration, henceforth labelled the “core-sample”, comprises 33 mosaic-floors (from 30 *fauces*, three of which have two mosaic-floors each) in 29 houses. The term “core-sample” denotes that this is a sample of all the entrances to Pompeian houses, but that it is representative not of the whole housing-stock of the city but of a noteworthy, “core” part of it, i.e., all the *atrium*-houses that had mosaics in their entryways.

Cd Fauno (VI 12,2, no. 7) is a house that holds a special position in this study as it presents the earliest tessellated *fauces* at Pompeii known to us, for which a date around 100 B.C. has been assigned. In all respects, this house is an exceptional *domus*, and its *fauces*-décor differs from the other in terms of style, motif choices and dating. The *fauces*-décor is here regarded as a main inspiration and exemplar with regard to “liminal communication” for subsequent house-owners. With the exception of this remarkable exemplar of Pompeian domestic design, the earliest *atrium*-houses with *fauces*-mosaics belong to the mid-first

³ For an illustrative example, see Berry 2016, pp. 134-135, where the mosaics with fierce animals or welcoming inscriptions are those to which most attention is drawn. See also Balch 2008, pp. 35-38.

century B.C., and consequently, the period with which this study is primarily concerned is: c. 50 B.C. to A.D. 79.

The extant *fauces*-mosaics may, I believe, be regarded as a representative sample, closely approaching the total number of tessellated entrances that were present in Pompeii by A.D. 79.⁴ There are, additionally, a couple more *fauces* that may have been tessellated but are not included in the present study due to vague documentation and poor preservation.⁵ These two intriguing examples are found along the southern edge of the city, in *insula* VIII 2, overlooking the former city-wall. In one case, the mosaic is imprecisely stated to have been added to a mortar-floor (*Cd Severus*, VIII 2,30).⁶ In the second case, the house's entryway had been closed and replaced by another (*Cd L. Caecilius Phoebus*, VIII 2,37). Due to the brevity of the documentation of this architectural reconstruction of the house and its tessellation,⁷ the mosaic in this house was brought to my attention too late for it to be thoroughly assessed in the present study. However, even though these particular mosaics are not included in the core-sample, there is a general discussion in chap. 5 of the locale in which they were found, an *insula* which contained the highest number of tessellated *fauces* in the whole city.

It is intended that my study of mosaic-floors in the *fauces* will eventually fill a scholarly vacuum, for traditionally the space contained in the entryways of houses has been a little-regarded topic within Pompeian research. The same goes for the wall-paintings in the *fauces*. It is important here to emphasise that the *fauces*-mosaics can yield much information about

⁴ As Hetty Joyce 1979, p. 253, argues, given the large number of floors found at Pompeii, they are surely representative of what was to be found in the city's heyday. I have, however, not been able to identify the *fauces*-mosaic with a wolf portrayed in it mentioned by Pierre Gusman 1900, p. 257. There is a possibility, though, that this so-called wolf may be one of the tessellated dogs among those excavated up to that point, namely from *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3) or *Cd Orfeo* (VI 14,20).

⁵ In the *fauces* to *Cd Calce* (VIII 5,28), the few white mosaic-remains situated by the outermost threshold, as still seen today, are not documented. Instead, Pernice 1938, p. 49, records only that the *fauces* and *atrium* were paved with "Tonestrich". Pernice 1938, p. 104, states also that the *fauces* in *Cd Vettii* (VI 15,1) once had a mosaic but which at a later time was covered by a stone-slab: "Ein kleiner Rest alten Tessellamosaiks liegt in der Nische vor der Eingangstür, graues Signinum mit Reihen engstehender weißer Tessellae [...]. Das Mosaik ist durch eine antik eingefügte große Steinplatte größtenteils beseitigt". Today, however, the floor still displays the stone-slab combined with a mortar-floor with inserted *tesserae*-rows, but no mosaic.

⁶ Both Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 57, 61, 69, and Pernice 1938, p. 73, discuss a former mosaic. Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben documented remains of a mortar-paving in the middle section of the *fauces* but also additional mosaic-remains ("Mosaikreste"), which they dated to a later phase (around 50 B.C.). This mosaic is not described. However, due to the bad preservation status of the *fauces*-floor back then, which is even worse today, this floor is not included in the present study.

⁷ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 31-44 (esp. pp. 36, 41), briefly describe the former entrance as having been tessellated with a white mosaic with black borders in the late Republican period, at the same time when the *atrium* was given a white mosaic with rows of black *tesserae*. In a later phase, around A.D. 50, this house-entrance was closed and turned into an inward-looking room, while a new one was opened up further to the west. They tell us nothing, however, about the floor of the new *fauces*. Pernice 1938, p. 116, although referring to this documentation by Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben, does not discuss the closing of the *fauces*, mentioning only that the *atrium* has a white mosaic with black crosses in rows, and that there is a white mosaic-floor in the place where one supposes to find an *ala*: "Da, wo die linke Ala sein müßte, ist nur ein längliches doppelt schwarz umrahmtes Feld gegeben". In the compilation-map presented in the volume *Pompeii 1748-1980* (1981), the *atrium*-area is also indicated as being tessellated.

how a Roman house-owner chose to portray himself or herself or to communicate, in more general terms, with the outside world. The information that is provided exposes Presuhn's generalization about their typical content as the half-truth it is.

1.2 Theoretical background

1.2.1 The Latin term *fauces*

As this is a study of entrances to Pompeian dwellings, it is apposite to explain why I have chosen to employ the term *fauces* with reference to them. Although ancient in origin, this Latin term did not come into modern scholarly use as a designation for a house-entrance until the late 19th century.

The following information about its use in ancient Roman times is obtainable from the relevant entry in the Oxford Latin Dictionary: *Fauces* (a feminine plural, third-declension noun with the genitive form *faucium*) is first attested as an anatomical term with the basic meaning "throat" in the earliest phase of literary Latin, i.e., the age of Plautus and Ennius (3rd-2nd centuries B.C.). It may be found used of the upper part of the throat, or of the place of swallowing (the gullet). It could be used for the "jaws" of a dangerous animal, and sometimes it is applied to the exterior of the "neck". The term was also used in various geographical senses. It might mean either a "narrow entrance or outlet" or a "narrow passage". It could refer to a "strait" of the sea, the "crater" of a volcano; "the entrance to a cave or subterranean passage", or an "isthmus". Additionally, this adaptable term might be applied, with architectural reference, to the "entrance to a building" or the like, "a porch, gateway". Cicero used it with reference to the entrance of the central market (*macellum*) in Rome.⁸ Other notable examples, referring to narrow architectural passages, are to be found in Vitruvius, Aulus Gellius, Prudentius and Macrobius.⁹ Virgil, too, uses the term when describing the entrance to the underworld.¹⁰

However, in the usage of ancient authors, the term *vestibulum* is more regularly employed than *fauces* to denote the entrance to a house. Occasionally, as seen in e.g., Macrobius (writing in late antiquity), both words could be used conjointly: *fauces atque vestibulum*.¹¹ This may refer to a division of the entrance into two parts - a crucial distinction to which I will later return.¹² Finally, there are other classical expressions available to denote an entrance,

⁸ See sections 1, 2, 3a-e and 4 on the article on "*fauces*" in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. by P. G. W. Glare (Oxford 2012, 2nd ed.), vol. 1, pp. 746-747.

⁹ Vitr. *De arch.* 6.6 (80/70 – 15 B.C.); Gell. *NA* (c. A.D. 125 – 180); Prudent. *Psych.* 665 (A.D. 348 – c. 413); Macrobi. *Sat.* 6.14-23 (5th century A.D.). See also Greenough 1890, p. 1.

¹⁰ Virg. *Aen.* 6.273.

¹¹ Macrobi. *Sat.* 6.23: [...] *ergo Aeneas cum videt fauces atque vestibulum domus impiorum* [...].

¹² Gell. *NA* 16.5, distinguishing between *fauces* and *vestibulum*, refers to Virgil's exposition of the subject in the *Aeneid*: "[...] he does not call the front part of the infernal dwelling the 'vestibule,' although one might be misled into thinking it so called, but he designates two places outside the doors of Orcus, the 'vestibule' and the *fauces*, of which 'vestibule' is

such as the Latin *ostium*, regularly used to mean “a door” (including its frame), especially “the front door of a building”, and *prothyrum*, derived from the Greek term *prothyron*.¹³ So why, then, adopt the term *fauces* for this study?

In early excavation reports, Pompeian archaeologists, guided by a statement by Vitruvius on the spatial articulation of a Roman house (see below), Pompeian archaeologists simply used the term *fauces* to describe the inner corridor parallel to the *tablinum*, whereas the terms *vestibulum*, *prothyrum*, *andron* or *ostium* were used to label the front entrance.¹⁴ However, in the mid-19th century, Sergio Ivanoff argued that the term *fauces* should be used instead with the latter meaning.¹⁵ This claim was further confirmed and stressed by James B. Greenough, in the light of his study of the occurrence of the term in ancient texts. He dismissed the previous labels as misinterpretations, arising from the fact that Vitruvius happens to mention the *fauces* after the *tablinum* in his list of measurements.¹⁶ After thorough studies of Pompeian *atrium*-houses, in which he applied the ideal canon of Vitruvius’ measures, Greenough affirmed that the term *fauces* mentioned in this context in fact referred to the front entrance open to the *atrium*.¹⁷

Henceforth, the term *fauces* has gradually gained acceptance as a standard name for the front entrance, and is now employed regularly to designate this passageway, and rarely with reference to the corridors within the *atrium*-house,¹⁸ although it is actually appropriate for

applied to the part as it were before the house itself and before the private rooms of *Orcus*, while *fauces* designates the narrow passage through which the vestibule was approached” (transl. by J. C. Rolfe). Gellius’ reversed order regarding the location of *vestibulum* and *fauces* has been observed by modern scholars, see e.g., Proudfoot 2013, p. 94.

¹³ See Vitr. *De arch.* 6.7.5: *Item prothyra graece dicuntur, quae sunt ante in ianuas vestibula, nos autem appellamus prothyra, quae graece dicuntur diathyra* (“The Greeks give the name prothyra to the vestibules which are in front and serve as the entrance; we call prothyra what, in Greek are named diathyra”). The translator F. Granger (Loeb), in line with the interpretation in Liddell-Scott-Jones’s *Greek-English Lexicon*, translates *diathyra* (a neuter-plural noun) as a wicket-gate at the front door (n. 1). An alternative translation is provided by Dr Janet Fairweather: “Vestibules which are in front and serve as the entrance are referred to in Greek as *prothyra*; moreover, we call *prothyra* what, in Greek, are named *diathyra*.”

¹⁴ Fiorelli 1875 primarily uses the word *protiro*, while Mau in Mau-Kelsey 1899, p. 242, describes the entrance as either *fauces* or *prothyron*. Turning to *Harper’s Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* (New York 1898), art. “Domus”, we are informed that: “The *ostium* was the entrance to the house, and is constantly used as synonymous with *ianua* and *fores*, the door. But *ostium* properly signified the small vacant space before the *ianua*”. This information is a variant of the earlier version in William Smith’s *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, London 1875.

¹⁵ Ivanoff 1859.

¹⁶ Greenough 1890, p. 9; Vitr. *De arch.* 6.3.6. Greenough 1890, p. 10, highlights the fact that Vitruvius starts with the centre - the *atrium* - and then moves around to the *alae*, the *tablinum* and then to the entrance of the *fauces*, and so back to the *atrium* again. Moreover, the proportions given by Vitruvius for the *fauces* correspond more often to those of front entrances than to the side passages.

¹⁷ Greenough 1890, pp. 9-10. Vitruvius, in *De arch.* 6.3.6, specifies that this corridor should either be two-thirds of the width of the *tablinum*, or half: *Fauces minoribus atriis e tablini latitudine dempta tertia, maioribus dimidia constituentur* (“The main entrance for smaller atria is to be two-thirds of the width of the alcove; for larger atria, one-half”). Transl. by F. Granger.

¹⁸ Clarke 1979, p. 9, n. 22, with reference to Mau but in line with the modern usage of the term *fauces* for the entrance-corridor, states that Pompeian architecture generally corresponds (in its dimensions) to the smaller proportions, i.e., the width of the *fauces* is usually less than half of that of the *tablinum*. See also Proudfoot 2013, p. 94. Unfortunately, terminological confusion has remained in to modern usage as well; see e.g., *CTP* and *PPM*, for example, in the survey

any corridor. There are recent, and well-regarded, critics of the modern room-labels in use for the *atrium*-house,¹⁹ but I believe it to be advantageous to use the term all the same. Firstly, because the term *fauces* is widely employed in contemporary scholarship and secondly, because of the distinctive evocation that it conveys, in physical – i.e., anatomical and geographical – contexts, of a long and narrow space, such as characterises many of the entrances considered in this study.

However, the Latin word *vestibulum*, despite its frequent occurrence in ancient texts, will not be used in this study to designate an entrance as such, but it will require further discussion with reference to a waiting-area in the front part of a house. Contemporary scholars often use the English “vestibule” as a term to describe the front part of *fauces* that are divided, which in my view risks presupposing that the entryway functioned as a waiting-area. But in view of the fact that the space contained in the Pompeian *fauces* is generally too small to accommodate waiting visitors,²⁰ I will henceforth use the term *fauces*, and when referring to a divided front part of the entrance-space I will use the term “*outer fauces*” in an attempt to prevent further confusion.

1.2.2 Previous views and research

As stated above, the entrance is generally an overlooked space within the Roman *domus*, although, in the case of Pompeian *atrium*-houses, it is today receiving more attention by scholars than previously (see below).²¹ Hence, it is now credited with being something of greater significance than a mere passage leading into the hall of the *atrium*.²² The primary ancient source for information on domestic spaces is Vitruvius, who, in his treatise *De architectura* from the late 1st century B.C., stated that the *domus* should reflect the status of the owner.²³ The political and official affairs, which were referred to collectively as “*negotium*”, consequently required the reception-areas *vestibulum*, *atrium*, *tablinum* and peristyle-garden to take on political functions. These spaces are referred to as being open to

of the house IX 7,24-25, and Dickmann 1999. Instead, the inner corridor is more often labelled *andron* today (quite irrationally, considering that the Greek *andron* was a banqueting hall).

¹⁹ See especially Leach 1997, pp. 53-56, on entrances.

²⁰ Goldbeck 2010, pp. 130-138. Proudfoot 2013, p. 95, uses the term “vestibule” but states himself that it is not an equivalent to *vestibulum*, see chap. 3.

²¹ Of special interest here are the studies by Evans 1980 and Proudfoot 2013. See also chap. 4, titled “Finding a way into the Pompeian house”, in Hales 2003. For a recent publication on Roman living conditions, with an introductory chapter summarising contemporary views, see Tuori & Nissin (eds.) 2015.

²² Giuseppe Fiorelli 1875 is terse on the subject of the house-entrance, characterizing it as either being a sloping corridor or as preceded by a vestibule. In Amedeo Mauiri’s survey (1933) of *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4), the entrance is not even included in the architectural tour around the house.

²³ Vitr. *De arch.* 6.5.1. *De architectura* (“The ten books on architecture”) is dedicated to emperor Augustus, with book 6 devoted to the subject of domestic buildings. Already Cicero, in *Off.* 1.39, stated, that: “The truth is, a man’s dignity may be enhanced by the house he lives in, but not wholly secured by it; the owner should bring honour to his house, not the house to its owner” (transl. by W. Miller). Cicero furthermore recommends moderation when designing one’s house, and warns for exaggerated imitation of the more noble displays.

any member of the public, in contrast to more secluded spaces, like bedrooms, *triclinia* (dining-rooms) or baths, reserved instead for the leisure-time termed “*otium*”.²⁴

The Pompeian *fauces* were assigned one section in the first and main scientific attempt to articulate the layout of a Roman *atrium*-house, made by August Mau in *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst* (1900) (Fig. 1). Mau starts off his survey of a canonical layout with a description of the *fauces*. Parallel to this, he introduces a discussion of the presence of *vestibula* - open spaces in front of entrances that were a feature of the expensive homes of the Roman élite, as described by ancient writers. These *Vorräume* were an architectural expression of the daily morning ritual of the *salutatio*, in which the *clientes* could wait to visit their *patronus*.²⁵ If the number of visitors even spilled out in the street, as betokened a *domus frequentata*, the high status of the owners became unmistakable.²⁶ However, the archaeological reality of Pompeii simply does not exhibit grand and appropriately designed *vestibula*, such as were described by Vitruvius.²⁷ Already Mau concluded that the literary descriptions could not be transferred to Pompeii from the city of Rome.²⁸ A belief in Pompeian *vestibula* has nevertheless persisted, being expressed, for example, by Amedeo Maiuri, who viewed the lack of sizeable front spaces as a reflection of a declining *patronus-clientes* system.²⁹

A further matter that interested Mau, as it interests researchers today, was the number of doors within the *fauces*-passage (one or two as to control the access to and from the street and the *atrium*, i.e., not to side-rooms). The closure of an entrance prompts various scholarly speculations: was the Roman house characterised by an openness to the public or was it more secretive? In his discussion, Mau included reference to the *salutatio* ritual as possibly customary among Pompeian officials; whether it existed at all in Pompeii has been called into question more recently, notably by Fabian Goldbeck.³⁰

With regard to the decoration of *fauces*-interiors, Mau was unfortunately silent, a surprising fact, considering his pioneering work on the wall-decorations.³¹ Only exceptional mosaic-floors, like the famous watchdog with the accompanying inscription *Cave canem* (Beware of the dog) from *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), are mentioned.³² In this respect,

²⁴ Vitr. *De arch.* 6.4.1, 6.5.1.

²⁵ Cf. the entrance-mosaic (unfortunately very fragmentary) from the large imperial villa-complex *Villa del Casale*, Piazza Armerina, dated the late 3rd to the early 4th century A.D., where a group of figures are depicted holding branches and torches is generally interpreted as depicting clients greeting their *dominus*. For a discussion of the mosaic in this “vestibule of adventus”, see Dunbabin 1999a, p. 134.

²⁶ Sen. *Ep.* 21.6; Sen. *Cons. Marc.* 10.1; Cic. *Att.* 18 (I.18). See also Saller 1984, pp. 351-353.

²⁷ Vitr. *De arch.* 6.5.1. See also 1.2.6.

²⁸ Mau 1908, p. 253.

²⁹ Maiuri 1951, pp. 14-16.

³⁰ Goldbeck 2010, pp. 22-23, 128-157, suggests that the custom may have been restricted to the area of Rome. Haug 2020, p. 26, supports Goldbeck and refers to the *atrium*-house as having been developed prior to the institutionalised *salutatio*, which, if practiced outside the capital, may have taken place only at large villas. It follows that, the architecture and décor of the Pompeian *atria* should not be interpreted in relation to this social phenomenon.

³¹ See Mau 1882 and his categorization of the four Pompeian styles.

³² Mau 1908, p. 331. In his foreword, Pernice 1938, also mentions this remarkable negligence on Mau’s part, especially considering that at that time there were more mosaics still in existence than now.

his work (like Presuhn's) reflects the state of the excavations at the end of the 19th century, with the recent unearthing of at least three dog-mosaics, and the expectation perhaps that more might be uncovered.

The mosaics of Pompeii are nowadays known for being a well-preserved corpus of the early Roman black-and-white technique. These mosaics decorated domestic spaces ranging from the very entrance to the inner splendid *triclinia*, which in turn could be decorated in a most extravagant manner, e.g., by the use of precious marble. Even in otherwise non-tessellated houses, mosaics could be used as "optical" thresholds to mark out important boundaries between rooms. In themselves, they are a striking feature of the Pompeian *domus*.³³

However, from the 1800s and through much of the 20th century, the wall-paintings in the Pompeian houses were what received the primary scholarly attention. The two scholars who were the giants of 19th century Pompeian studies, Giuseppe Fiorelli and Mau, both adopted scientific approaches to the material.³⁴ The mosaics executed in the black-and-white technique, paralleled all around Italy, were, by contrast, long considered as an expression of the minor arts. This attitude resulted in negligence and, ultimately, in the destruction of many floors.³⁵

Surprisingly, few studies have been devoted primarily to the black-and-white mosaics as a corpus in their own right. The exceptions are the seminal cataloguing in the 1930s of the Pompeian floors by Marion E. Blake in "The pavements of the Roman buildings of the Republic and the early Empire", and by Erich Pernice in "Pavimente und figürliche Mosaiken".³⁶ These two studies are indispensable, given the scholars' effort to encompass as many mosaics as possible.³⁷ For more recent specialists in the field, Blake's work is especially crucial due to her descriptions of the floors (e.g., the technical execution and the patterns),

³³ Westgate 2000a, p. 256; Joyce 1979, pp. 257-258, 261 (quotation): "The threshold mosaics act, in effect, as partitions".

³⁴ See esp. Fiorelli 1875, but also to some extent Mau 1882 and 1900. Other contributions have been those of Wolfgang Helbig 1868; 1873; Emil Presuhn 1877, and, later, Karl Schefold 1957; 1962.

³⁵ Blake 1930, pp. 11-13; Pernice 1938, p. 33; Clarke 1979, p. xx in *Introduction*, discussing mosaics from Pompeii, Ostia and Rome.

³⁶ Blake 1930; Pernice 1938. Some regions of Pompeii are omitted in their studies for the simple reason that they had not yet been excavated at that time. This applies to the Maiuri-excavations, which continued until 1961. Blake classified more than 200 Pompeian floors, whereas Pernice discusses 216 houses and buildings. See also Joyce 1979, p. 253, n. 1. However, as Joyce 1979, p. 254, n. 6, states, neither Blake nor Pernice are particularly clear in the estimates they make about certain floor types: they can vague as to whether the discussions concern the total number of floors or only a representative sample. See also Clarke 1979, p. xx, on Blake's ground-breaking study.

³⁷ As rightly pointed out by Bragantini 2010, pp. 173-174, it is almost impossible, and certainly unfair, to compare these two studies, as the scholars worked under very different circumstances. Blake worked for only two years on her study, and states herself that it was problematic to analyse the mosaics in the field as they were covered from November to April (a procedure no longer practiced today), leaving her (and the mosaics) exposed to the hot summer sun, see Blake 1930, pp. 9-10. Pernice had an entirely different point of departure, being the editor (together with Franz Winter) of the large, multi-volume series *Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji* (1925-1941), and thus working on the site for many years. It was Winter who initiated the study of Pompeian floors, a work which Pernice took over at the time of his colleague's death. Pernice 1938, p. 33, informs the reader that he was left with hundreds of notes and sketches of floors (a real help to him), which must have been intended by Winter as a basis for a typological framework.

while Pernice's contextualising approach results in a more holistic framework; a "chronotypology".³⁸ His study has also received more attention from subsequent scholarship, for example, in the volumes of *PPM* (see below), where Blake figures less prominently in treatments of chronological issues.³⁹ It is important to note here, however, that Pernice obviously turned to Blake for many of his proposed dates, although he did so with, at times, a critical eye.⁴⁰

1.2.3 Contemporary views and research

The present study has its basis in theoretical approaches that centre on questions about how spaces, urban and domestic, serve as an interface for social meetings. New perspectives, within the so-called "*spatial turn*", have underlined the need for studying the built structures and activities to be found within these different spaces.⁴¹ Since the early 1990's, these approaches have greatly influenced Pompeian studies, and one important aim of the scholars involved has been to revisit the Pompeian houses in order to reinterpret their functions through interactive components like space, movement, time and decoration.⁴² Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's *Houses and society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (1994) has become significant reading for any scholar interested in this interplay. For the enlarged family structure of the "houseful" and for the visitors coming from the outside, the various decorations of the rooms, ranging from humble to grand, were intended to be read as a map, which distinguished the private spaces from the more public.⁴³

The Janus-like characteristics of the *fauces*, looking both inside and outside, also deserve consideration in the light of today's scholarly interest in the public - private dichotomy. The transformative effect that the different architectural spaces from the *fauces* to the *atrium* must have had on the visitor has been highlighted.⁴⁴ The *fauces* may simultaneously act as welcoming (by offering passage inside) and also deterrent (by presenting the interior as a

³⁸ The term "cronotipologia" is used in the review by Bragantini (2010). It is noteworthy that Blake published two more large volumes (1936; 1940) on Italian mosaics, ranging from the 2nd century to late antiquity.

³⁹ Such is the importance of Blake's work that a whole issue in the ancient mosaic journal *Musiva & Sectilia* (vol. 7, 2010) is dedicated to her pioneering studies, including her later work on Roman architectural constructions. However, Mariette de Vos in Bastet & de Vos 1979, p. 107, questions "only" the study by Pernice (1938), thus omitting Blake in her chronological overview of the 3rd style.

⁴⁰ Pernice 1938: see e.g., his discussion (p. 64) about *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), in which he even feels it necessary to point out that he has reached the same date conclusion as Blake, though without being influenced by her notes! In a review dating to 1939, Blake herself points out her differences with Pernice over some dating issues, while at the same time commending his work as truly important and solid.

⁴¹ Newsome 2011, introduction.

⁴² Wallace-Hadrill 1994, p. 60: "[...] we must treat the house as a coherent structural whole, as a stage deliberately designed for the performance of social rituals". Another persuasive example of this approach is *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: movement and space*, edited by Ray Laurence and David J. Newsome (2011).

⁴³ Wallace-Hadrill 1994, chaps. 2 and 5.

⁴⁴ Clarke 1991, pp. 4 and 6.

distant, superior sphere).⁴⁵ Current research tries to weigh up the evidence from different sources, written and archaeological, in an attempt to understand the *domus* as an ostensibly open space revealing both the wealth and the *persona* of the owner, while adhering to the principle that nothing should be hidden. Of special relevance for the present study is the scholarly interest in the interface between the street and the house, which puts emphasis on the *fauces* as a liminal space.⁴⁶

The openness of the Pompeian houses, as seen architecturally through the axial line of the suite *fauces-atrium-tablinum*, could be understood as a time-dependent characteristic: the front doors may have stood open for only limited periods during the day. However, a sight-line through the house from the street could permit a *Durchblick* (a theoretical concept formulated by Heinrich Drerup in 1959), which was naturally intended to promote the owner (through his/her house) as favourably as possible: [...] “a public figure went home not so much to shield himself from the public gaze as to present himself to it in the best light”.⁴⁷ While being open, the entrances and houses could have been guarded by e.g., porters and dogs. However, earlier identifications of room-spaces as porters’ lodges are mostly questioned nowadays and instead, their existence tends to be attributed to multifunctionality, that is, their availability for a variety of functions among which storage would have been important.⁴⁸ The present view of the question is well summed up by Hannah Platts, who cautions against an idealised dichotomy that focuses either on open doors of the elite houses of Rome or on their closed doors.⁴⁹

The field of mosaic research of today is also much influenced by questions that concern the relationship between art and space. More and more emphasis is put on the architectural and social functions of the decorative arts, among them mosaics, due to their relatively good state of preservation.⁵⁰ An early example of this increasing emphasis was the volume *Roman art in the private sphere* (1991), edited by Elaine Gazda, in which the introduction stated that “it is to the works of the private sphere that we must turn for forms and images that express the personal beliefs, tastes, and self-perceptions of the Romans”.⁵¹ Viewed from such perspectives, the visual arts are being treated as agents in their own right, which shape human living-space.⁵² Many of these ideas are drawn upon in the volume *A history of private life: 1. From pagan Rome to Byzantium*, edited by Paul Veyne (1987, in French 1985), which

⁴⁵ Paraphrasing Hales 2003, p. 109.

⁴⁶ A noteworthy study in this respect is Jeremy Hartnett’s *The Roman street. Urban life and society in Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Rome* from 2017.

⁴⁷ Wallace-Hadrill 1994, p. 5.

⁴⁸ See e.g., the survey of ancient statements in Hales 2003, esp. chap 1, and Platts 2020, chap. 4. Cf. also Penelope Allison’s critique (1994; 2004) of the one-dimensional view of domestic spaces as each having only a single function.

⁴⁹ Platts 2020, pp. 88-89.

⁵⁰ Kondoleon 1995, pp. 2-3.

⁵¹ Gazda 1991, p. 1.

⁵² See also Scagliarini Corlàita 1974-76; Bergmann 1994; Swift 2009.

problematised our modern view of Roman living conditions as in many aspects different from our own.

The works by John R. Clarke (e.g., 1979; 1991; 1994; 2003; 2007a; 2008) are especially valuable for the present study, as they pay much attention to the Roman entrance as a liminal space, and to its decoration also. In *Roman black-and-white figural mosaics* from 1979, Clarke studied a sample of Pompeian figurative mosaics in relation to the architectural space of the *fauces*, so as to see how they communicated with a spectator standing by the threshold or inside the entrance. It still remains one of few studies that combines an investigation on Roman entrances with consideration of tessellated decoration. Due to the scholarly interest in the interface between different spaces, some of the *fauces*-mosaics have naturally been highlighted hereafter.⁵³ However, it is mainly the figurative repertoire (the portrayal of watchdogs or of wild animals) that is being discussed, whereas the other, non-figurative, *fauces*-mosaics are disregarded.

1.3 The theoretical approach of the present study

Central to this study are the concepts of space and décor. A basic presupposition in it is that art is part of a communicative process, capable of interpretation. This idea has been summarised by Tonio Hölscher, who states that in order to decode the images' meanings, functions and agency, one has to take into consideration the cultural backgrounds and habitus of the sender and the viewer.⁵⁴ The artistic product (especially the figurative one) is perceived as active in that its message sparks a reaction in the viewer, who interprets or reinterprets it, depending on whether the intended message is understood or not. Social and cultural contexts are emphasised here in recognition of the fact that different codes may entail different interpretations.

Clarke's publications have been of particular relevance for this present study of the interrelationship between art and space. His site-specific contextualisation model is summed up rather shortly: "context first and last".⁵⁵ It can be applied to both public establishments and private homes and to various kinds of decoration, and it allows for questions to be raised regarding different viewers.⁵⁶

As regards the space enclosed within the *fauces* of a Pompeian house, its functioning as a deterrent to some but a welcomer of others was predetermined. But within that space, the placement of the mosaic-images is yet another informative point. How and when did they

⁵³ See e.g., Hales 2003; Balch 2008 and Hartnett 2017.

⁵⁴ Hölscher 2015, pp. 669-671.

⁵⁵ Clarke 2008, p. 314. See also Clarke 2003. The "model" is here explicitly distinguished from the, by Clarke termed, philological and the folkloric "role models" or approaches, which either have sought to find a historical event as described by ancient authors, of which the image is an allegory, or a folkloric representation. Neither of these two approaches take into consideration the actual space that the image adorned, nor the surrounding decoration. Moreover, they seek to find a basis in written sources, which were not necessarily the source of the visual artists' inspiration.

⁵⁶ See Clarke 2008, fig. 9; Clarke 2003, fig. 3.

address the viewers; up close or at a distance? Did the motifs signal a stop or a direction inward? The active viewer in the modelling of Clarke and Hölscher responds and reacts, and their responses and reactions give meaning to the work of art. But the responses can differ, depending on the socio-cultural backgrounds of the viewers and their previous knowledge and experience of the design.⁵⁷ However, in the case of the Pompeian *fauces*, which people generally had to pass through when entering an *atrium*-house, a precise identification of the viewers and/or visitors may not be possible to determine. This is especially crucial to recognise since, in Pompeii, the morning ritual of the *salutatio*, if it happened at all, may not have been nearly such an important or ceremonious a feature of life as in Rome.

The identification of the sender of the messages conveyed by the *fauces*-mosaics is equally uncertain; it could be the patron (house-owner) and/or the mosaicists at the workshop, who, for us, are anonymous. And as the latter could belong to a group of travelling craftsmen, their designs might be found repeated over considerable areas. But, as the house-owner is the person most probably responsible for the ordering and paving of the mosaic – and we do not have contradictory information – he or she will be, for this study, regarded as the sender of the message. This does not rule out the plausible scenario where mosaic-patterns were selected in consultation with the mosaicists, who in turn were likely to have derived their inspiration from pattern-books (see also chap. 6). So, in view of all the uncertainties surrounding the commissioning of the *fauces*-mosaics and the identities of the people who viewed them, the primary focus in this study will be on their subject-matter, i.e., the message of their motifs, and its relation to the space of the *fauces*.

1.4 Methodological approach, sources and material limitations

Given that the houses concerned are not all equally well-documented, with some being thoroughly studied while others are almost completely overlooked, and given that not all are in the same state of preservation, I will employ several different contextualising methods in order to evade obstacles. To begin with, an architectural contextualisation will consider together the different layouts of the *fauces* with the aim of outlining what was typical of an average entrance. In this part, the general *fauces*-décor will be characterised, partly by means of a study of the mosaics' spatial location within the architectural layout of the *fauces*. Another spatial contextualisation will take account of the topographical location of the houses within the streetscape of Pompeii. A further architectural contextualisation of the houses will moreover be conducted, with the aim of discerning approximately the status of the house-owners. A temporal contextualisation of the mosaics will be included with the objective of determining their chronological sequence. A final contextualisation deals with the iconographical analysis of the mosaics, in which a comparative approach to their motifs and subject-matter will lead on to the questions regarding pattern selection.

⁵⁷ Clarke 2008, p. 313.

In furtherance of our understanding on the messages posted, and the values advertised, in house-entrances, supplementary consideration of a group of tessellated inscriptions inserted on Pompeian floors, mosaic or mortar, will be appended to the discussion. This material has hitherto never been compiled, but in my view, it will contribute to our knowledge of “meeting and greeting” in liminal spaces. The majority of this material (which includes three *fauces*-mosaics with inscriptions) is located in the *atrium*-section of houses around the city, where they could be noticed by as many people as possible. The remainder of these inscriptions are found further inside houses, or in some instances inside public venues, but as they mainly seem to have served the same communicative function as the inscriptions placed in the *fauces*, it is, in my opinion, worthwhile to include all the tessellated inscriptions of this type at Pompeii that have been documented (27 in number).

The geographical limitation of this study to Pompeii was decided upon the fact that so much of the city has been excavated (two-thirds of the area within the preserved city-wall) (Fig. 2). Certainly, the neighbouring city of Herculaneum does exhibit some *fauces*-mosaics as well (about five mosaics, all exhibiting a non-figurative pattern), but this material will be used only for comparison because of the fact that most of the city-area has yet to be unearthed. With regards to the limitation of this study to the *fauces*-mosaics, these not only constitute the best-preserved type of decoration in Pompeian house-entrances, but are also representative of a form of decoration that was intentionally designed to carry complex messages. The wall-paintings of the *fauces*, on the other hand, are unfortunately neither as well-preserved nor as well documented. However, a short exposé of the decoration of *fauces* in general, not excluding the wall-paintings, will be included so as to provide a view as holistic as possible.

The exceptional preservation-potential of the mosaic-floor as a material category means that almost all the *fauces*-mosaics are still left *in situ*, and many in a state that enables a satisfying interpretation of the designs. Almost all are made in the Roman black-and-white technique, in contrast to the older Greek tradition, albeit some of the mosaics here also are additionally polychrome.

For my research, I have been much aided by the multi-volume series *Pompei: pitture e mosaici (PPM)*.⁵⁸ The series' aim has been to document photographically the current state of the ruins, where paintings and pavements are preserved, as well as to provide a basic chronology of the architecture and décor. A similarly useful photographic resource is the (non-academic) *Pompeii in Pictures*, which aims at covering the ruins of the whole city.⁵⁹ The map in *Pompei 1748-1980* (1981) by Irene Bragantini, Mariette de Vos and Franca Parise Badoni, compiled to show all the floors existing in A.D. 79, has also been a most helpful tool, displaying as it does consistency with the core-sample of this study. Moreover, the excavation reports, e.g., *Bullettino dell'istituto di corrispondenza archeologica (BdI)*, 1829-1885,

⁵⁸ *PPM*: Pugliese Carratelli, G. (ed.), 11 vols., 1990-2003. See also *Pavimenti e pitture di Pompei (PPP)*: Bragantini, I., de Vos, M., Parise Badoni, F. & Sampaolo, V. (eds.), 4 vols., 1981-1992.

⁵⁹ www.pompeiiinpictures.com by Jackie Dunn and Bob Dunn.

continued thereafter as *Römische Mitteilungen*, *RM*), *Giornale degli scavi* (*GdSc*, 1850-1879) and *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* (*NSc*, from 1876-) together with Giuseppe Fiorelli's *Pompeianarum Antiquitatum Historia* (*PAH*, 1860-1864) and *Gli scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872* (1873), describe the buildings' state during the actual excavation as well as the possible removal of *fauces*-mosaics.⁶⁰

A similar source of useful material consists of older "guidebooks",⁶¹ which may include quite meticulous descriptions and illustrations of excavations, which, at the time, were new. However, as many of these books are not scholarly studies as such, one has to be cautious when using them. One illustrative example of misunderstanding here is the more widely used term *mosaic*, which was applied for mortar-floors with inlays of *tesserae* as well as to mosaics as defined in the glossary below.⁶² Moreover, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*)⁶³ has for obvious reasons been invaluable for the search for tessellated inscriptions, which also are included in this study (chap. 2).

For relevant issues regarding the floors, important studies are those by Katherine M. D. Dunbabin (e.g., 1989, 1991, 1999a), on mosaics especially in liminal areas. Hetty Joyce (1979), Ruth Westgate (1997-1998; 2000a/b; 2011) and Birgit Tang (2005; 2018) have studied mortar-floors and early mosaics in Pompeii (and beyond). Maria Luisa Morricone Matini (1967; 1971; 1980) has paid attention to the mortar-floors and mosaics (with stone-inserts) of Rome itself. Mariette de Vos (1979; 1991, and with Frédéric Bastet 1979) has contributed with a basic overview of the chronology of Pompeian mosaics, and has also been one of the contributors to the studies of mosaics in the *PPM* volumes (together with Bragantini). For matters on technical issues of both mortar-floors and mosaics, Will Wootton (e.g., 2012; 2015; 2018) serves as a guide. Ellen Swift (2009), finally, provides with a very valuable study of geometric mosaics in the Ostian *domus* and *insulae* (apartment-buildings), in which the nature of mosaics as a vital border medium between different spaces is emphasised.

My field-studies on site at Pompeii have spanned several years. The first contact with the city's *fauces*-mosaics came during my participation in the fieldwork campaigns of the *Swedish Pompeii Project* on *insula* V 1, where the watchdog-mosaic in the house *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3) triggered my curiosity. Thereafter, I have paid visits to most of the houses on several occasions as well as to the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (MANN), where a few mosaics, removed from their original site and relevant to this study, are on

⁶⁰ For an overview of the published sources, see Laidlaw 2007. Today, of the 33 *fauces*-mosaics, one (*Cd Fauno*, VI 12,2, no. 7) is on display at MANN (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli). A few more seem to have been removed during excavations and afterwards lost (*Cd Vestali*, VI 1,7/25, no. 4, and *Cd Leone*, VI 17,25, no. 9). Yet more seem to have been neglected until (partial) destruction on site (e.g., VI 13,13, no. 8; *Cd Popidius Priscus*, VII 2,20, no. 13; *Cd Marinaio*, VII 15,1-2, no. 15; *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II*, VII 16,15, no. 17, and VIII 2,18, no. 21).

⁶¹ See e.g., François Mazois' *Les ruines de Pompéi* (4 vols., 1812-1838), William Gell's *Pompeiana* (2 vols., 1817-1819 and 1832), Ernest Breton's *Pompeia. Décrite et dessinée* (1855; 1870), Thomas Dyer's *Pompeii: its history, buildings and antiquities* (1867), and the Niccolini brothers' *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei: disegnati e descritti* (4 vols., 1854-1896).

⁶² See e.g., Blake 1930, p. 23.

⁶³ For the present study, the volumes of relevance are *CIL* IV and *CIL* X.

display, not to mention the important cork-model that provides helpful information on especially the wall-paintings.⁶⁴

1.5 Outline of dissertation

The dissertation starts by providing background on how the Romans themselves perceived entrances in general (chap. 2). This is done by first examining literary statements by Roman authors and thereafter by examining wall-graffiti and floor-inscriptions from Pompeii. The material for the inquiry derived from graffiti comprises illustrative examples from the *fauces*-area, while the collected tessellated inscriptions derive mainly from floors in the front section of *atrium*-houses, which includes the sidewalk in front of the house, the *fauces* and the *atrium*. Chap. 3 is centred on the architectural and decorative realities of the Pompeian *fauces*, in order to define what was standard in these *fauces*. This chapter will include a review of the different architectural solutions to the need for *fauces*, a consideration of their general décor as well as of the placement of the mosaics within the *fauces*-space.

The following three chapters (chaps. 4-6) comprise the main analytical section of the dissertation, set out in three contextualising stages. The first stage presents a temporal contextualisation, that is a survey, and a critical revision of the varying, and at times contradictory, dating of the *fauces*-mosaics (chap. 4). The development of Pompeian mosaic-patterns is traced and the possibility of identifying “vogue” periods considered. The next stage in the contextualisation deals with the architecture and décor of the houses concerned, as well as their topographical locations within the city (chap. 5). Their location is of relevance, as patterns may emerge revealing the existence of certain attitudes of emulation and competition between neighbours, and significance may be credited to the houses’ positions, whether prominent or not. The last contextualisation focuses on the iconography of the *fauces*-mosaics, which have been assigned, on the basis of their motifs, to various different groups (chap. 6). This chapter begins with an overview of how *fauces*-floors were commonly paved, often in mortar, which mainly included either the red version of *cocciopesto* or the local black version of *lavapesta*.

Due to the uniqueness of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), this house has been seen to call for special treatment (chap. 3). It will, however, feature in the general discussion of *fauces*-architecture in chap. 3, and again in the survey of the status and architecture of the *atrium*-houses, as well as of their topographical distribution in chap. 5.

The dissertation ends with a concluding chapter setting out its findings (chap. 7). Hereafter, an appendix will provide detailed information about the *fauces*-décor in the houses of the three collections that form part of the study in chap. 3. Pictures of the mosaics and their *comparanda* are compiled in the end. A “register” listing *fauces* with mosaics plus the

⁶⁴ The cork-model of Pompeii, in scale 1:100, was initially made between 1861 and 1879 on the initiative of the director Giuseppe Fiorelli. Later additions were made up until 1939. A separate model exists for *insula* VIII 2. For an overview of the history of its making, see Malfitana, Amara & Mazzaglia 2020, pp. 55-65.

particular floors with tessellated inscriptions will follow below. The houses of the core-sample are listed after the modern division of the site into *regiones*, and “catalogue”-numbers will be added to each *fauces*-passage.

1.6 Glossary and chronological overview of Pompeii

The following terms or abbreviations are employed throughout the dissertation:

- *Cd* = Casa di/del etc, i.e., “House of”. I have chosen to follow the Italian standard for the names of the Pompeian houses. An exception is made for those indicating the names of house-owners, where I will employ the Latin names instead.
- *Emblema* (-ata) = a central picture on a floor. Such central motifs were particularly part of the Hellenistic tradition, where a polychrome figurative composition might be executed in a most elaborate technique, *opus vermiculatum*, which makes use of truly small *tesserae* in a worm-like fashion (hence the Latin name). However, in the present study, the term *emblema* will also be used for mosaic-designs in *fauces* that present central pictures in a black-and-white *opus tessellatum*-technique.
- *Insula* (-ae) = the city-block of houses within the city, a collection of which make up the nine *regiones* of Pompeii distinguished in modern times. All buildings in Pompeii are numbered after this system, providing information about *regio*, *insula* and individual door-entrance.
- MANN = Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.
- Mosaic = a pavement that consists entirely of *tesserae*, i.e., *opus tessellatum* (see *tessera*). The term “tessellated” pavements refer to mosaic-floors.
- *Opus sectile* = a technique, sometimes used for decorative flooring, where cut inlays, often of precious stones, were inserted to make up a picture.
- Terrace-house = With reference to the housing-stock of Pompeii, the term “terrace-house” is used in its original sense, i.e., a house built on a terrace or on the face of rising ground.
- *Tessera* (-ae) = the individual unit of a small cut cube, of stone or glass, in a mosaic-floor. Many mortar-floors may also be adorned with inserted *tesserae*.
- *Vicolo* = lane

1.6.1 A chronological overview relevant for Pompeian studies:

Samnite period:	At least from the 4 th century B.C. to 80 B.C.
Roman period:	From colonisation in 80 B.C. (under general Sulla) to the destruction in the volcanic eruption by Mount Vesuvius in A.D.

Late Republican period:	c. 133 – 31 B.C.
Imperial period:	Emperor Augustus (reign: 27 B.C. – A.D. 14)
	Emperor Tiberius (reign: A.D. 14 – 37)
	Emperor Caligula (reign: A.D. 37 – 41)
	Emperor Claudius (reign: A.D. 41 – 54)
	Emperor Nero (reign: A.D. 54 – 68)
	Emperors Galba, Otho & Vitellius (A.D. 68 – 69)
	Emperor Vespasian (A.D. 69 – 79)
	Emperor Titus (A.D. 79 – 81)
A.D. 59:	Riot between the Pompeians and the neighbouring Nucernians at the amphitheatre of Pompeii
A.D. 62/63 – 79:	Earthquake(s) at Pompeii up until the Vesuvian eruption

The chronology of the four Pompeian wall-painting styles as employed for the present study (see chap. 4):

1 st style:	c. 170 – 80 B.C.
2 nd style:	c. 80 – 20/15 B.C.
3 rd style:	c. 20/15 B.C. – A.D. 45
4 th style:	c. A.D. 45 – 79

1.7 List of *fauces*-passages (in bold) with mosaics:

No. 1	I 7,1, <i>Cd Paquius Proculus</i>	Fig. 135
No. 2	II 4,1-12, <i>Praedia di Iulia Felix</i>	Fig. 97
No. 3	V 1,23-26, <i>Cd Caecilius Iucundus</i>	Fig. 136
No. 4	VI 1,7/25, <i>Cd Vestali</i>	Fig. 82 (inscription)
No. 5	VI 8,3/5, <i>Cd Poeta tragico</i>	Fig. 137 (inscription)
No. 6	VI 10,7, <i>Cd Ancora</i>	Fig. 112
No. 7	VI 12,2, <i>Cd Fauno</i>	Figs. 32-33
No. 8	VI 13,13	Figs. 77/103
No. 9	VI 17,25, <i>Cd Leone</i>	-
No. 10	VI 17,42, <i>Cd Bracciale d'oro</i>	Fig. 104
No. 11	VI 17,44, <i>Cd Bracciale d'oro</i> (stairway)	Fig. 78
No. 12	VII 1,40, <i>Cd M. Caesius Blandus</i>	Fig. 113
No. 13	VII 2,20, <i>Cd Popidius Priscus</i>	Fig. 91
No. 14	VII 2,45, <i>Cd Orso</i>	Fig. 83 (inscription)

No. 15	VII 15,1-2, <i>Cd Marinaio</i>	Figs. 84/114
No. 16	VII 16,12-13, <i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I</i>	Fig. 105
No. 17	VII 16,15, <i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II</i>	Fig. 85
No. 18	VIII 2,1, <i>Cd Championnet I</i>	Fig. 92
No. 19	VIII 2,3, <i>Cd Championnet II</i>	Fig. 79
No. 20	VIII 2,14-16, <i>Cd Mosaici geometrici</i>	Fig. 80
No. 21	VIII 2,18 (domus/bath)	Fig. 98
No. 22	VIII 2,23, <i>Palaestra</i>	Fig. 143
No. 23	VIII 2,26, <i>Cd Cinghiale II</i>	Fig. 86
No. 24	VIII 2,29-30, <i>Cd Severus</i>	Fig. 93
No. 25	VIII 3,8, <i>Cd Cinghiale I</i>	Fig. 87
No. 26	IX 3,2, <i>Officina offectoria di Ubonius</i>	Fig. 81
No. 27	IX 3,5/24, <i>Cd Marcus Lucretius</i>	Fig. 99
No. 28	IX 5,6	Fig. 100
No. 29	IX 5,14-16, <i>Cd Ristorante</i>	Fig. 101
No. 30	IX 8,3-6, <i>Cd Centenario</i>	Fig. 115

List of tessellated inscriptions on floors (accompanying the three fauces-mosaics with inscriptions, see above nos. 4, 5 & 14)

Sidewalks:

No. 31	II 8,6, <i>Cd Giardino di Ercole</i> (Cras credo)
No. 32	V 3,10 ((Havetis/ Have tis) Intro)
No. 33	VI 12,2, <i>Cd Fauno</i> (Have)
No. 34	VI 16,10, <i>Cd Erastus</i> (D F I Erastus O P S II (H))

Fauces:

No. 35	I 22,2(?), (C. Caeisare / M. Bvbvlo / Cos)
No. 36	V 2,1, <i>Cd Regina Margherita</i> (O NE P)
No. 37	VI 6,1, <i>Cd Pansa</i> (Salve)
No. 38	VII 1,47, <i>Cd Vedius Siricus</i> (Salve lucr(m))
No. 39	VII 3, ? (Lucru(m) ac(c)ipe)

Atria:

No. 40	VI 14,39, <i>Cd Lucrum gaudium</i> (Lucrum gaudium)
No. 41	VII 15,13, <i>Cd Octavius Primus</i> (Puteus aquae)
No. 42	VII 16,15, <i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II</i> (Scauri ...)
No. 43	VIII 2,34, <i>Cd Colombe a mosaico</i> (C A B)
No. 44	IX 6,5, <i>Cd Oppius Gratus</i> (Ave Quartila...)
No. 45	IX 6,5, <i>Cd Oppius Gratus</i> (Hellen...)

Rear part (*triclinia*, peristyles)

Nos. 46 + 47	VI 5,19/10, <i>Cd Fiori</i> (Festus cum Torquato/...Torquatum)
No. 48	VII 3,29, <i>Cd M. Spurius Mesor</i> (M Spurius Mesor)
No. 49	VII 4,31, <i>Cd Capitelli colorati</i> (Iciit hoc/Fecit hoc)
No. 50	VII 15,13, <i>Cd Octavius Primus</i> (Cedo cenemus)
No. 51	VII 16,17, <i>Cd Maius Castricius</i> (Neptunalis)

Public venues:

No. 52	I 2,22, <i>Caupona</i> with dwelling (Have)
No. 53	VI 14,21, <i>Fullonica</i> (di Vesonius Primus) (Salve)
No. 54	I 12,5, <i>Caupona all'insegna di Africa</i> (Ancus/Anicius)

2 The entrance as a conceptual framework

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to distinguish and classify the multiple messages that an entrance to a private dwelling could signal through its decorations. The first part deals with how the Romans themselves viewed this Janus-like space. It will be demonstrated that an entrance was perceived to be in need of supernatural as well as physical protection, but that it was also a space suitable for an aggrandising self-presentation. Although this will primarily be an exposé of findings about the domestic culture of the social elite of Rome, the Pompeian situation will be compared where parallels exist. The last section presents examples of entrance-mosaics from around the Mediterranean, where a protective stance is foremost expressed.

In the second part of this chapter, the focus will primarily be on Pompeii. There will be an account of the modern scholarly discussion about the *fauces*, and the prominence given to the often-recurrent questions about the *salutatio* will become evident. Ancient literary sources serve to illustrate how modern consideration of the problematic question about the openness or closedness of *atrium*-houses has led us in different directions. The following section will briefly survey some graffiti found on *fauces*-walls. As these scribblings were not part of a planned decoration, they reflect instead more spontaneous communication, and thus serve to illustrate ways in which the entrance could have been used.

The last part deals with tessellated inscriptions on Pompeian floors found both in *fauces* and elsewhere. Hence, both formal and informal messages may act as guidelines for how the Pompeian inhabitants gave voice for their perception of the *fauces*. This topic has also been discussed by Dunbabin, who asks if the Romans themselves noticed their pavements.⁶⁵ Most of the ancient passages within the relevant time-period relate to the degenerate luxury that was seen as characterising Rome in the late Republic. It must be kept in mind here that when the ancient writers inveighed against richly decorated floors, what they had in mind were those embellished with precious marbles. The more common mosaics, on the other hand, were hardly ever discussed. However, actual tessellated inscriptions on floors may here serve as a specific self-reflective indication of how such flooring could indeed be regarded with pride and might, more explicitly, convey a message to its beholders.

⁶⁵ Dunbabin 1999b.

2.1 Roman ideas on entrances

2.1.1 General perceptions of the *fauces*

As a transitional zone of importance – a symbolic beginning of something new – the entrance was indeed revered as holding liminal and supernatural powers.⁶⁶ In the words of Thomas Thiis-Evensen:

“The entrance is a thing through which one passes and belongs to the space outside. To go in is to experience entering, and in this lies an existential description of the transition itself – the distance between qualitatively different places – between inside and outside. It is by entering that one succumbs both physically and mentally and “occupies” the architecture with all its fundamental meanings. The symbolic value of entering and of the entrance is revealed in both the rituals and behaviour of most cultures”.⁶⁷

An entrance was thus in need of adequate protection (for the benefit of those inside), since spirits could haunt its vicinity, and the threshold itself.⁶⁸ To prevent bad luck or evil from entering one’s house, the elder Pliny actually recommended burying the genital organ of a dog under the main threshold (*limen*) or sprinkling the inner walls with the blood of a dog.⁶⁹ The “evil eye” was especially feared. Wealth in its variety of forms, let it be physical beauty or financial affluence, was perceived as causing envy to emanate from the eye of the specific malevolent person.⁷⁰ “Less influence. Yes, and less envy”, as stated by Seneca.⁷¹

The perception of the threshold as hazardous, moreover, reflected in the superstitious belief that a person had to enter a building on the correct foot, i.e., the right one. Vitruvius explains the uneven number of stairs leading up to a temple as designed for this purpose: after treading on the bottom step with the right foot, the worshipper would place the same foot on the threshold.⁷² If a visitor entered a house on the left foot, or stumbled on the threshold, he or she had to leave and re-enter on the right foot, to ensure the bringing of good spirits only. The custom of lifting the newly-wed bride over the threshold stems from belief in the spiritual risks of stumbling.⁷³ In *Satyricon*, the pompous and wealthy freedman

⁶⁶ See relevant research by Battelli 1998; Mac Mahon 2003 and Ogle 1911 (for a valuable collection of ancient references). In anthropological studies, primarily those of Arnold van Gennep 1909, and Victor Turner 1969, the act of crossing a border is regarded as highly crucial in the different ritual stages of life.

⁶⁷ Thiis-Evensen 1991, p. 283.

⁶⁸ Clarke 2007a, pp. 63-81; Mac Mahon 2003, pp. 58-59; Ogle 1911, pp. 251, 262.

⁶⁹ Plin. *NH* 30.24.82. He also recommends burying the head of a snake under door-thresholds so that good luck is assured to be brought to the home; *NH* 29.20.67.

⁷⁰ There are many studies done on the subject, see e.g., the recent edition by Elliott 2006.

⁷¹ Sen. *Ep.* 42.10 (transl. by R. M. Gummere).

⁷² Vitruv. *De arch.* 3.4.4.

⁷³ See e.g., Plaut. *Cas.* 815; Isid. *Or.* 9.7.12; Ogle 1911, p. 253.

Trimalchio forces his guests to enter the dining room on the right foot, by having a slave cry out, *dextro pede*, meaning “right foot first!”⁷⁴

The liminal sacredness of the doorway is further attested through its role in rituals such as weddings, births or deaths.⁷⁵ These household-rituals were private but set before the public. Perceived in this way as a rite performed in the eyes of the community, the crossing of the threshold became a truly significant procedure.⁷⁶ Juvenal informs us about the different plant-decorations appropriate for the door or doorposts on a wedding day, e.g. branches of laurel and myrtle,⁷⁷ and evergreens like ivy.⁷⁸ The bride further decorated the doorway, upon arriving to her new home, with wool – a material preferred due to its presumed apotropaic powers;⁷⁹ she also smeared the doorposts with oil.⁸⁰

Branches and leaves of olive, laurel and cypress were used variously for occasions of both a joyous and an unhappy character.⁸¹ For example, the victorious connotations of the laurel were very appropriate when the Senate bestowed upon Augustus honour of having the civic crown hung on the doors to his home.⁸² By contrast, following news of deaths, cypress could be hung on doors to signal that a corpse was lying inside,⁸³ and that the door remained shut for a certain period of time.⁸⁴ This last assertion has in fact been contested by modern scholars in their arguments as to what degree a house really was closed. More will be said about this controversy later. At all events, the deceased was usually laid in the *atrium*, with the feet pointing towards the house-door, although Suetonius declares that the corpse of Augustus in fact was placed in his *vestibulum*. So as to prevent the dead to later return, the corpse was also brought out through the door with the feet first.⁸⁵

⁷⁴ Petron. *Sat.* 5.30 (transl. by G. Schmeling).

⁷⁵ See e.g., Stat. *Silv.* 4.8.40; Juv. *Sat.* 9.85: “Hang the garlands over your doors: now you’re a daddy” (transl. by S. M. Braund).

⁷⁶ Mac Mahon 2003, p. 68.

⁷⁷ Juv. *Sat.* 6.79; Claud. *Epith.* 208.

⁷⁸ Juv. *Sat.* 6.51-52: “Tie a garland to your doorposts and stretch the thick ivy clusters all around your threshold” (transl. by S. M. Braund).

⁷⁹ Plin. *NH* 29.9.30; Mac Mahon 2003, p. 68.

⁸⁰ Isid. *Or.* 9.7.12; Ogle 1911, p. 263; Mac Mahon 2003, p. 69: The general ancient view held that the presence of the new bride in the groom’s home could cause disturbance in the balance between the household and its household gods. To avoid this, several rituals had to be carried out by the bride and the groom, which included torches and water, so as to secure the bride’s position in the new home.

⁸¹ See e.g., Sen. *Thy.* 1.54: “Let the high roofbeams be festooned, the doors verdant and cheerful with laurel; let the fire blaze up brightly in keeping with your arrival” (transl. by J. G. Fitch). Laurel is in general used as the victor’s symbol, either in triumphs or in games. Ogle 1911, p. 267, associates these plants specifically with death, as they also were used to decorate graves.

⁸² Aug. *RG* 34.

⁸³ Flower 1996, p. 187; Ogle 1911, p. 263. See Plin. *NH* 16.60.140: “[...] consecrated to Dis, and consequently placed at the doors of houses as a sign of mourning” (transl. by H. Rackham). Luc. *Phars.* 3.442, and Hor. *Carm.* 2.14.23, mention cypress as a generic symbol of grief.

⁸⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 2.82; Ov. *Cons. ad Liv.* 183. See also Mac Mahon 2003, p. 69; Platts 2020, pp. 81, 123-125.

⁸⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 100; Pers. *Sat.* 3.103-105; Mac Mahon 2003, pp. 69-70.

The house-door has been interpreted as being a symbolic “shrine”, decorated with various sorts of foliage and other offerings.⁸⁶ But the claim that this was true of the *fauces* too, given placement of the *Lares* statuettes there, is not so soundly based.⁸⁷ The testimonia from Pompeii that might be expected to support it have so far not been published,⁸⁸ and there are, in fact, only a handful of *fauces* that have niches or so-called *lararia* in their walls (for a list, see chap. 3). Furthermore, there seems to be nothing to confirm the suggestion that the *tempietti* on the upper zone of the *fauces*-walls of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) actually represent *lararia*.⁸⁹ However, even if the Pompeian *fauces* may not be characterised as specifically a sacred space, it is all the same evident that the transition from one sphere to another through the act of entering was perceived as highly serious.

2.1.2 Divine presence in the *fauces*

Several gods were strongly associated with the borderland represented by the *fauces*. Janus was of special importance for the protection of the doorway; by facing both ways he was the perfect deity for the task.⁹⁰ As Ovid makes Janus himself proclaim in *Fasti*:

“Every door has two fronts, this way and that, whereof one faces the people and the other the house-god; and just as your human porter, seated at the threshold of the house-door, sees who goes out and in, so I, the porter of the heavenly court, behold at once both East and West”.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Ogle 1911, pp. 264-265, generally believes that the sacredness of the threshold originates from the ancient practice of burying the dead under the threshold, as described by Macrob. *Sat.* 1.7.35: “For some time it was the practice of sacrificing children to Mania, mother of the Lares, to assure the well-being of household members. After the expulsion of Tarquin, the consul Junius Brutus decided that the sacrifice should be celebrated differently, ordering that the gods’ favor be sought with heads of garlic and poppy: that way the terms of Apollo’s oracle stipulating “heads” could be satisfied, while the crime attaching to the ill-omened sacrifice would be avoided. So it came to be that likenesses of Mania hung before each household’s door to avert any danger that might threaten the household’s members, and the games themselves came to be called the Compitalia, from the crossroads [*compita*] in which they were celebrated” (transl. by R. A. Kaster). However, modern scholars are more inclined to downplay the belief of ancient child sacrifices, arguing that the worship of the Lares seems to have been more connected with farmland than with the ghosts of the dead, see Lott 2004, p. 36.

⁸⁷ With references to De Marchi 1896, Ogle 1911, p. 262 (incl. n. 10), claims that evidence from Pompeii testify to this pattern: “...we have plenty of evidence to show that they [i.e., the Lares] were also placed at the entrance to the house”. However, De Marchi 1896, pp. 79-82, does not specify that the entrance to a Pompeian domestic house was a place of worship apart from stating that there are infrequent examples of wall-niches in some *fauces*.

⁸⁸ See De Marchi 1896, p. 106, n. 1, who states that by the time of his writing, a complete review of the domestic cult statuettes as found in the Campanian houses had (unfortunately) not yet been compiled.

⁸⁹ See section on *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) in chap. 3. Welch 2006, p. 527, refers to the *fauces* there as resembling a Greek tomb or a stage-set.

⁹⁰ Mac Mahon 2003, p. 58.

⁹¹ *Ov. Fast.* 1.135-140: *omnis habet geminas, hinc atque hinc, ianua frontes, e quibus haec populum spectat, at illa Larem; utque sedens primi vester prope limina tecti ianitor egressus introitusque videt, sic ego perspicio caelestis ianitor aulae Eoas partes Hesperiasque simul* (transl. by J. G. Frazer).

In Latin, the very word *ianua*, primarily “the door of a house or other building, doorway”, points to its socio-cultural implications.⁹² While the noun *ianua* refers generally to the doorway (or other means of access to a place other than a house), terms like *foris* or *valva* refer to the physical door itself. There were other gods besides Janus who were believed to protect parts of the doorway, of whom *Forculus*, *Limentinus* and *Cardea*, protectors of door, threshold and hinges respectively, were still worshipped in the time of Tertullian (c. A.D. 155-220), who disparaged their cult from a Christian standpoint.⁹³

Another, much better known, deity perceived as present in the doorway-area was Mercury. Found both in Greek and Roman contexts, Mercury, with his many attributes as the god of trade, commerce (and its success) as well as boundaries, acted as a natural protector of the entrance. Thucydides describes Athenian house-entrances as being adorned with statues of Hermes, the Greek counterpart of Mercury,⁹⁴ worshipped also, very paradoxically, as the patron of thieves.⁹⁵ Rather than house-entrances, as at Athens, what actual finds of Mercury statuettes in Pompeii seem rather to have adorned were *lararia* (because of his role as being the father of the two *Lares*) than the *fauces*,⁹⁶ which may be explained by the fact that the often narrow space within the Pompeian *fauces* did not provide any natural placement for statuettes.

Nevertheless, Mercury is actually the deity most depicted on Pompeian house-façades and door-pilasters,⁹⁷ and on the walls of the *fauces* as well, although less often. Even though one would expect representation of deities to be an appropriate *fauces*-decoration, they are in fact rarely present on the Pompeian *fauces*-walls (see chap. 3).⁹⁸ When there are painted figures, though, Mercury figures as one member of a group, together with Hercules or Venus.⁹⁹ Surprisingly enough, Janus himself is not depicted in any *fauces*, to my knowledge. This is explained by Ardle Mac Mahon, as due to the fact that Janus was never fully turned into an anthropomorphic deity.¹⁰⁰

Priapus, the fertility god and protector against thieves, described by some modern scholars as a typical entrance-decoration,¹⁰¹ is in fact encountered in only a few *fauces* besides

⁹² Holland 1961, p. 304.

⁹³ Tert. *De idol.* 15. See also August. *De Civ. D.* 4.8.

⁹⁴ Thuc. 6.27. See also Clarke 1991, pp. 211-214.

⁹⁵ See e.g., Ov. *Fast.* 5.665-692 (Idus 15th) presenting Mercury as receiving prayers from morally dubious worshippers.

⁹⁶ Bodson in Bodson & Orr 2002, p. 344, lists five bronze-statuettes of Mercury with his *caduceus*, today at the MANN, of which three were found in *lararium*-contexts.

⁹⁷ Fröhlich 1991, pp. 49, 140-144, lists façades belonging to 19 public and commercial premises and to six domestic houses. See also Boyce 1937, appendix 2.

⁹⁸ Cf. Osanna 2020, pp. 219-220, who claims that divinities are often found depicted in the *fauces*-area, chosen particularly as representations of the family and for protection.

⁹⁹ Mercury, e.g., in: *Cd Bell'impluvio* (I 9,1) (alongside five other deities), and *Cd Meleagro* (VI 9,2) (alongside other deities or heroes).

¹⁰⁰ Mac Mahon 2003, p. 59. However, see Holland 1961, pp. 265, 274-283, on the depiction of the two-faced deity on coins.

¹⁰¹ See e.g., Tuck 2015, p. 190; Swift 2009, p. 41.

that of the famous painting in *Cd Vettii* (VI 15,1), which portrays the deity weighing both his *phallus* and his wealth in form of a money-bag (see below) (Fig. 3). As the priapic symbol of the *phallus*, either alone or with accompanying figures such as Priapus or Mercury, was perceived as a symbol of luck and prosperity, as well as a defence against evil forces, it is found, especially on house-façades, all around Pompeii.¹⁰² Like the Greek custom of placing herms with *phalli* at crossroads or by boundaries, the Roman decorative and symbolic tradition of representing *phalli* either in paintings or as terracotta figures, is exemplified on some Pompeian house- and shop-façades, sometimes above entrances.¹⁰³ In her study on the *fauces* of *Cd Vettii* (VI 15,1), Pia Kastenmeier pays much attention to both the unusual custom of portraying Priapus in entryways and to the actual representation of the deity. The painting, thus, meant to astonish, although Priapus is particularly suitable as a guardian as he could inflict harm as well as good, as is signified through the *phallus*.¹⁰⁴ The recent discovery, in the new excavations of *regio V*, of another Priapus-painting, comparable to that of *Cd Vettii* (VI 15,1), is therefore of great interest. On the wall in the entryway to *Cd Leda* (V 6,12: facing the street parallel to Vicolo dei Vettii of the above-mentioned house), the god is painted in the same manner, clad in the same blue and yellow tunic and weighing his *phallus*; signifying potency and prosperity.¹⁰⁵

2.1.3 Prestige expressed in the entrances of Rome

During the late Republic, Roman writers like the elder Cato moralised over the “degenerate” culture in Rome, as luxuries began to sweep in following recent eastern military campaigns. In the early Empire, too, the younger Seneca would later refer to honourable virtues as expressed by the elder Cato and Scipio Africanus, and hark back to a past age safe from

¹⁰² Next to the doorway of shop I 2,2: a painting of Priapus, accompanied by a verse (*CIL* IV 9847). On the entrance-jamb to house VII 4,25: a painting of Priapus, Venus and Mercury. On the entrance-pilaster to *Complesso dei Riti magici* (II 1,12), a painted Priapus, joined by Bacchus, Mercury and Venus, see Fröhlich 1991, pp. 146-147 (and catalogue); Kastenmeier 2001, p. 309.

¹⁰³ See Clarke 2007a, pp. 69-73. At Pompeii, this custom can, e.g., be seen by the entrance of IX 5,13 and next to the entrance of *Taberna Lusoria* (VI 14,28). However, Stewart 1997, p. 583, emphasises that the god entered the Roman pantheon rather late, in the course of the 1st century B.C., and that there is poor evidence for Greek-style phallic herms at boundaries in the Roman society.

¹⁰⁴ See Kastenmeier 2001, pp. 307-311, who states that there are no comparable examples within arts or literature (to this generalisation the newly excavated painting from *regio V* provides an exception). The location on the narrow front wall in the *fauces* made the painting especially visible for those entering through the side-door of the entrance with an L-shaped threshold. In general terms, this representation of Priapus must have served the same protective purpose as the common façade-paintings of Mercury and Fortuna.

¹⁰⁵ See description in Osanna 2020, pp. 219-221. One difference is that the head has been destroyed in the new excavated painting (deliberately?). The painting is moreover placed on the left wall from the viewpoint of the person entering the house, to whom it is therefore fully visible. The similarity between the depictions suggests that they had a common exemplar, although the Priapus in *Cd Vettii* (VI 15,1) seems to be of higher quality. A painted Priapus is supposed to have decorated formerly one of the *fauces*-pilasters bordering to the *atrium* in *Cd Principe di Napoli* (VI 15,8, see chap. 3).

corruption.¹⁰⁶ Praising a private house during the transformation-period between the late Republic and the Principate meant emphasizing moderation. Meanwhile, however, elite houses were indeed adorned with exotic marbles, statues or the construction of large gardens: “We have become so luxurious that we will have nothing but precious stones to walk upon”, so the younger Seneca claims.¹⁰⁷

According to Juvenal, a lawyer from the patrician *gens* Aemilia had an elaborate statuary set up in the *vestibulum* of his house portraying the master of the house on horseback posed as a conquering military hero:

“[...] in his entrance hall there stands a chariot made of bronze with four tall horses, and the man himself [i.e., the master of the house] sits on a fierce charger, threatening from up there with his drooping spear, a one-eyed statue rehearsing battles”.¹⁰⁸

The type of self-aggrandisement satirised here by Juvenal had a long history behind it. The elder Pliny wrote a passage describing the customs of the Romans’ ancient forefathers, who used to decorate the façades and doorways of their homes with spoils taken from conquered enemies, “which even one who bought the house was not permitted to unfasten, and the mansions eternally celebrated a triumph even though they changed their masters”.¹⁰⁹ Senators and *triumphatores* were eager to display their *hostium spolia* after having led the procession to their own homes. Famous commanders, like Pompey after his naval victories or the earlier Marcus Fulvius Flaccus after his Gallic triumph, decorated their houses (in particular the *vestibula*) with captured armour.¹¹⁰ In Pompey’s case, the *vestibulum* became specifically decorated with ships’ beaks or rams as to emphasise the mode of the victory over the pirates; a detail recalled by Cicero in his speech against Mark Antony, who had come into possession of the famous house: “Or when you see those ships’ beaks in the fore-court, do you imagine it is your house you are entering? That is impossible”.¹¹¹

This custom originating in Rome’s Republican era was grounded in a general perception that the grand house of a senator imparted the owner with the proper *dignitas* aimed at.¹¹² The honour of houses was reckoned commensurate with that of the owners, so that those belonging to persons suffering a *damnatio memoriae* were considered worthy of no other fate than demolition as to erase the memory of the person or at least exhibit him as a negative

¹⁰⁶ Sen. *Ep.* 86-87. See discussions in Edwards 1993, see esp. “Introduction”; Wallace-Hadrill 1990, esp. pp. 146-147. The elder Pliny can be described as obsessed with what he regarded as signs of moral decline.

¹⁰⁷ Sen. *Ep.* 86.6-7 (transl. by R. M. Gummere). See also Edwards 1993, esp. chap. 4.

¹⁰⁸ Juv. *Sat.* 7.126: *Huius enim stat currus aeneus, altiquadriiuges in vestibulis, atque ipse ferocibellatore sedens curvatum hastile minatureminus et statua meditatur proelia lusca* (transl. by S. M. Braund).

¹⁰⁹ Plin. *NH* 35.2.7: *quae nec emptori refigere liceret, triumphabantque etiam dominis mutatis aeternae domus* (transl. by H. Rackham).

¹¹⁰ Wiseman 1987, p. 394.

¹¹¹ Cic. *Phil.* 2.68: *An tu illa in vestibulo rostra [spolia] cum aspexisti, domum tuam te introire putas? Fieri non potest* (transl. by D. R. Shackleton Bailey).

¹¹² See e.g., Liv. 10.7.9. See also Hales 2003, pp. 41-46.

exemplum.¹¹³ The location of the senatorial houses, occupying as prominent sites as possible in the city of Rome, was chosen in order for the owners to be noticed and recognised for their socio-political powers. The hill of the Palatine next to the Forum was thus home for many celebrities. After his many years abroad, Marius settled close to this centre in order to increase the number of *clientes* in the morning.¹¹⁴ A personal statement comes from Cicero who surely strove always to be in the public eye: “My house, gentlemen, stands full in view of well-nigh the whole city”.¹¹⁵ His house would eventually be first looted and then demolished.¹¹⁶

Even in the Augustan-age epic poetry of Virgil, there is mention of the placing of symbolic objects, among them spoils of war, around the entryways to houses. The hero Aeneas, in the course of his mythical adventures following the Trojan War, upon reaching Latium, is imagined as paying a visit to king Latinus in his palace, the entrance of which is adorned with images of forefathers including Italus and Sabinus as well as Janus. The sacred doors, too, are crowned with spoils like arms, chariots and the bars of city-gates and ships’ beaks.¹¹⁷ Thus, the urge to boast of the victory of an enemy in this manner, and in the very front part of the house, was evidently still strong in the early Empire. The satirist Petronius makes fun of this custom by representing the door to the *triclinium* at Trimalchio’s as decorated with fastened *fascēs* that end in the shape of a ship’s prow.¹¹⁸

Personal symbols like the wax masks of ancestors, *imagines*, which were regularly displayed in *atria* are also reported by the elder Pliny to have adorned entrances,¹¹⁹ although their placement in an entrance may have been quite rare. Cassius Dio tells us about a visit of Decimus Brutus to Caesar’s house, in the course of which the coming fate of Caesar was presaged when his portrait, hung on the *vestibulum*-wall, fell down and broke in pieces.¹²⁰

When Augustus became *imperator*, the Palatine became the site for the imperial *domus* more or less alone. But unlike earlier mansions on the hill, the *domus Augusti* was considered relatively modest, both in architecture and decoration.¹²¹ Still, there was a symbolic language

¹¹³ Wiseman 1987, pp. 393-394; Roller 2010, pp. 119-123.

¹¹⁴ Plut. *Vit. Mar.* 32.1; Flower 1996, p. 219.

¹¹⁵ Cic. *Dom.* 37.100: *In conspectu prope totius urbis domus est mea, pontifices* (transl. by N. H. Watts). See also Beck 2009, p. 366.

¹¹⁶ Roller 2010, p. 119. See also Cicero’s own account in the speech *De domo sua*.

¹¹⁷ Virg. *Aen.* 7.170-191.

¹¹⁸ Petron. *Sat.* 30.1. The prows, or *rostra*, were already a natural symbol for the inhabitants of Rome owing to the city’s conquests of other peoples. The naval victory at Antium in 338 B.C. had prompted the erection of the large speaker’s platform known as the *Rostra* in the Roman Forum (decorated by six beaked ships’ prows), see Plin. *NH* 34.11.20.

¹¹⁹ Plin. *NH* 35.2.6.

¹²⁰ Cass. Dio *Hist. rom.* 44.18.

¹²¹ According to Suet. *Aug.* 72.1: “He lived at first near the Forum Romanum, above the Stairs of the Ringmakers, in a house which had belonged to the orator Calvus; afterwards, on the Palatine, but in the no less modest dwelling of Hortensius, which was remarkable neither for size nor elegance, having but short colonnades with columns of Alban stone, and rooms without any marble decorations or handsome pavements” (transl. by J. C. Rolfe). See also Hales 2003, pp. 23-25; Beck, 2009, p. 378; Russell 2015. However, doubts have been raised regarding the assumed decorative modesty of the excavated *domus Augusti*. See discussion and summary in McAlpine 2014, pp. 67-69, in which it is proposed that

communicating with the outsider on the façade and in the *vestibulum*. When Octavian received the title Augustus, the imperial façade was decorated in a suitable manner, as stated in his own words: “[...] the doorposts of my house were covered with laurels by public act, and a civic crown was fixed above my door”.¹²² The *vestibulum* was later decorated with an inscription announcing his new title *PATER PATRIAE*.¹²³

2.1.4 Mosaics as protection

Fear of a leaky and unprotected house is another topic demanding consideration in the present study of entrance-mosaics at Pompeii. The Romans expressed much concern on how to protect oneself and one’s possessions (like a house) from being harmed. The belief in the evil eye, *oculus invidiosus*, is the most well-known example, and the elder Pliny’s prescription for averting its malign effect has already been cited earlier in this chapter.¹²⁴ The belief was that that exposure to bewitchment (*effascinationes*) would cause much danger, and in order to protect those most exposed, namely children, they were given special necklaces to ward off the evil eye.¹²⁵

When dealing with artistic expressions of this superstition, Dunbabin has paid much attention to mosaics from the Graeco-Roman sphere, confirming that liminal, and thus vulnerable, spaces were adorned with appropriate decoration to avert the danger envisaged.¹²⁶ Entrances to a house, or to rooms further inside, could be decorated with striking symbols, which could also be accompanied by tessellated inscriptions. For example, the entrance to a 2nd century house in Antioch displays a very vivid representation on its mosaic (Fig. 4): an ithyphallic dwarf is walking away from the centrally depicted evil eye, which is being attacked by many different aggressors: a dog, scorpion, bird, snake, centipede, sword and a trident.¹²⁷ To reinforce the point of the message, the Greek inscription *KAI CY* (“You, too!”) informs the guest (or the evil spirit) that the same will happen to anyone whose intent is dishonest.¹²⁸

Suetonius may even have confused it with the less richly decorated *Casa di Livia* or at least had in mind the contrast with the imperial residences of his own time.

¹²² Aug. *RG* 34: *et laureis | postés aedium mearum v(estiti publice corona)ue civica super | ianuam meam* (transl. by F. W. Shipley). According to Cass. Dio, *Hist. rom.* 53.16, the *domus* certainly came to leave a future imprint: “For the right to place the laurel trees in front of the royal residence and to hang the crown of oak above them was then voted him to symbolize that he was always victor over his enemies and the saviour of the citizens. The royal residence is called Palatium, not because it was ever decreed that this should be its name, but because Caesar dwelt on the Palatine and had his military headquarters there, though his residence gained a certain degree of fame from the mount as a whole also, because Romulus had once lived there. Hence, even if the emperor resides somewhere else, his dwelling retains the name of Palatium” (transl. by E. Cary & H. B. Foster).

¹²³ Aug. *RG* 35.1. The title *pater patriae* was bestowed upon Augustus in 5 B.C.

¹²⁴ See further Plin. *NH* 7.2.16-17; 11.54.142; 28.5.22; 28.27.101.

¹²⁵ See e.g., Elliott 2016, pp. 144-146: favoured amulets were the *bullae* and the *fascinum*.

¹²⁶ Dunbabin 1991; 1989; Dunbabin & Dickie 1983. See also Levi 1941; Kondoleon 1995; Clarke 2007a, and a list of several threshold-mosaics with apotropaic motifs and inscriptions in Elliott 2016, pp. 238-244.

¹²⁷ Levi 1947, vol. 1, pp. 28-34; vol. 2, pl. 4, a-c.

¹²⁸ For the “bouncing back”-formula, see Elliott 2016, pp. 170-174.

Below this mosaic, an older floor displayed two panels, of which the first presented an ithyphallic hunchback holding rods, accompanied by the same *KAI CY*. The second panel showed the infant Hercules strangling two snakes. The overall interpretation by Doro Levi, who documented the mosaics of the site, is that the motifs served apotropaic purposes.¹²⁹

More recently, Clarke has turned special attention to the comic aspect of these particular mosaics, exemplified by the dwarf and the hunchback, because laughter was seen as a means of repelling, and hence curing, the evil.¹³⁰

“On entering a house – especially the *domus*, or patriarchal house that was both a place of business and a dwelling – a Roman passed from the protection of the civic deities to that of the owner of the house, sometimes called the *paterfamilias*. The focus of this experience of passage was literally the passageway of the *fauces* or vestibule. It is here that a Roman viewer encountered a host of peculiar, often laughter-inducing images meant to safeguard the guest in his or her liminal experience”.¹³¹

Another illustrative entrance-mosaic is a *taberna*-mosaic from Ostia depicting a dolphin fighting a squid accompanied by the formula *Inbide calco te* (“Envious one, I tread on you”), signifying the future “crushing” of an envious person entering (Fig. 5).¹³² In another mosaic, in the entrance to a house on the Ionian island of Kefalonia, a personification of Envy is portrayed as being torn to pieces by wild animals.¹³³

However, it must be underlined that protection was not the only characteristic theme expressed by entrance-mosaics but one of several. Another typical decorative theme expresses a positive attitude towards the outside world through the use of good luck and prosperity symbols.¹³⁴ This attitude is exemplified in the tessellated inscriptions presented next. As will become evident in the iconographical analysis presented in chap. 6, the Pompeian *fauces*-mosaics display both openness towards the exterior and a protective stance. Paradoxically, the iconography may signal warning or defence, while at the same time, the very entrance-space is tessellated and thus meant to be noticed. Something of particular interest in the Pompeian black-and-white *fauces*-mosaics with figurative compositions, if these are viewed as promising protection to the superstitious, is the employment of the colour red. Naturally, the striking colour serves to draw attention immediately to the detail depicted, but as often these details are significant features (eyes, mouths, leashes, shields), it is in my view reasonable to ascribe the colour red a deeper symbolism than merely its capacity to catch the eye. In

¹²⁹ Levi 1941; 1947, vol. 1, p. 28-34.

¹³⁰ Clarke 2007a, esp. pp. 63-81. Already Levi 1941, esp. pp. 220, 225, 228-229, postulated that the figures of the hunchback and the dwarf served as humorous weapons against evil forces.

¹³¹ Clarke 2007a, p. 64.

¹³² Dunbabin 1991, pp. 26-27, disagrees with Giovanni Becatti as to who was imagined as defeated: Dunbabin argues for the “envious one” whereas Becatti had proposed the dolphin itself.

¹³³ Dunbabin 1999a, pp. 312-313.

¹³⁴ Cf. the Greek inscription EYEXEI, wishing the good health of the visitor, in the entrance to the bath in *House of the Doric Capital* at Morgantina, see Westgate 2000b, pp. 419-421.

Naturalis Historia, Pliny prescribes amulets to be worn as remedies for various diseases, many of which are to be red (e.g., cloths) or to be tied with red threads. He also states that cinnabar “[...] is of great importance among pigments at the present day, and also in old times it not only had the highest importance but even sacred associations among the Romans”.¹³⁵

2.2 The *salutatio* and the *vestibulum*?

Most mentions of *fauces* within current research either relate to the entrance as linked with the exercise of the house-owner’s socio-political role, or are concerned with the matter of open or closed front doors. The entrance, as seen in the first perspective, may be rather vaguely viewed as a waiting-area or at least as a place for admitting the morning *clientes* of the *patronus* in the daily *salutatio* ritual.¹³⁶ Many of the discussions relate to the ancient term *vestibulum*, and also result in a search for a Pompeian vestibule. The Roman authors do indeed paint a vivid picture of busy morning activity in the capital in connection with the *salutatio*,¹³⁷ but since the actual archaeological remains of *domus*-architecture in Rome are rather scarce, the search for evidence of this important socio-political ritual has consequently been projected onto Pompeii. So it is that the domestic space known from some Pompeian entrances, and termed the “outer *fauces*” for this study, is often interpreted as being the *vestibulum*, i.e., an “anteroom”. To exemplify, *PPM* (Arnold de Vos) states that the division of the *fauces* of *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3) into two “rooms” on different levels perhaps reflects an ancient spatial design, in which the vestibule was open to the street while the *fauces*, by contrast, might remain closed.¹³⁸ This line of thought was early on expressed by Maiuri, who viewed the lack of *vestibula* at Pompeii as a sign of the decline of the system even though benches beside the façade still offered clear evidence of it.¹³⁹

However, to judge from the ancient authorities, the term *vestibulum* referred to an area, which was not truly part of the architectural structure. In literary descriptions by Cicero, Seneca, Suetonius, Cassius Dio and Appian, the Roman use of the word *vestibulum* is primarily connected to vast spaces, and in most instances explicitly described as being located

¹³⁵ Plin. *NH* 21.94.166; 30.30.98-99; 33.36.111 (quotation); 33.38-40: *et nunc inter pigmenta magnae auctoritatis et quondam apud Romanos non solum maximae, sed etiam sacrae* (transl. by H. Rackham). See Elliott 2016, pp. 107, 254-258, on how the colour red was associated with many aspects of power, both divine (Jupiter) and human (e.g., military). By painting the protective *phallus* red, it was believed that one might ward off thieves. Amulets and objects were painted red so as to offer protection from the evil eye. At Pompeii, the colour red is e.g., painted on a stone *phallus*, on display in a terracotta-plaque on the façade between the two *tabernae* of IX 1,13-14.

¹³⁶ For studies on *salutatio* and patronage, see e.g., Saller 1982; Wallace-Hadrill 1989; Goldbeck 2010; Lafon 1995; Speksnijder 2011, and 2015. Flower 1996, pp. 217-220, focuses primarily on the *atrium* as the waiting hall, while acknowledging that waiting in front of a doorman is also confirmed by ancient sources.

¹³⁷ See e.g., Cic. *Att.* 4.3.5; Cicero, *Comment. pet.* 34-38; Mart. *Epigram* 1.70; Sen. *Cons. Marc.* 6.10; Tac. *Dial.* 6.1-6.

¹³⁸ *PPM* III (A. de Vos), p. 578.

¹³⁹ Maiuri 1951, pp. 15-16. See also Proudfoot 2013, p. 104. Cf. the critique by Hartnett 2008, p. 106; Goldbeck 2010, p. 134.

in the front part of the aristocratic *domus*.¹⁴⁰ Most probably not roofed over,¹⁴¹ the *vestibulum*, as described by the 2nd century grammarian Aulus Gellius, was a large open space laid out in front of the house, which served as an enormous porch:

“Gaius Aelius Gallus, in the second book of his work *On the Meaning of Words relating to the Civil Law*, says that the vestibule is not in the house itself, nor is it a part of the house, but is an open place before the door of the house, through which there is approach and access to the house from the street, while on the right and left the door is hemmed in by buildings extended to the street and the door itself is at a distance from the street, separated from it by this vacant space. [...] Those then in early times who made spacious houses left a vacant place before the entrance, midway between the door of the house and the street. There those who had come to pay their respects to the master of the house took their places before they were admitted, standing neither in the street nor within the house. Therefore from that standing in a large space, and as it were from a kind of ‘standing place’, the name vestibule was given to the great places left, as I have said, before the doors of houses, in which those who had come to call stood, before they were admitted to the house”.¹⁴²

For modern scholars, the description of *vestibula* by Vitruvius is another key reference:

“Therefore magnificent vestibules and alcoves and halls are not necessary to persons of a common fortune, because they pay their respects by visiting among others, and are not visited by others [...] Again, the houses of bankers and farmers of revenue should be more spacious and imposing and safe from burglars. Advocates and professors of rhetoric should be housed with distinction, and in sufficient space to accommodate their audiences. For persons of high rank who hold office and magistracies, and whose duty it is to serve the state, we must provide **princely vestibules**, lofty halls and very spacious peristyles, plantations and broad avenues finished in a majestic manner, libraries and basilicas arranged in a similar fashion with the magnificence of public structures, because, in such palaces, public deliberations and private trials and judgements are often transacted”.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ See discussion in Goldbeck 2010, pp. 130-146; Speksnijder 2011, p. 3. For consideration of a later architectural merging of the *vestibulum* and *atrium*, where a clear distinction was no longer respected, see Lafon 1995, esp. pp. 416, 420.

¹⁴¹ See also Speksnijder 2011, p. 5.

¹⁴² Gell. *NA* 16.5: *C. Aelius Gallus, in libro 'De Significatione Verborum Quae ad Ius Civile Pertinent' secundo, "vestibulum" esse dicit non in ipsis aedibus neque partem aedium, sed locum ante ianuam domus vacuum, per quem a via aditus accessusque ad aedis est, cum dextra sinistraque ianuam tecta saepiunt viae iuncta atque ipsa ianua procul a via est, area vacanti inter-sita* (transl. by J. C. Rolfe). Unfortunately, the legal lexicon from the 1st century B.C., cited by Gellius, has not been preserved, see e.g., Mattila 2006, p. 7.

¹⁴³ Vitr. *De arch.* 6.5.1-2: *Igitur is, qui communi sunt fortuna, non necessaria magna vestibula nec tabulina neque atria, quod in aliis officia praestant ambiundo neque ab aliis ambiuntur [...] Item feneratoribus et publicanis commodiora et speciosiora et ab insidiis tuta, forensibus autem et disertis elegantiora et spatiosiora ad conventos excipiundos, nobilibus vero, qui honores magistratusque gerundo praestare debent officia civibus, faciunda sunt vestibula regalia alta, atria et peristylia amplissima, silvae ambulationesque laxiores ad decorem maiestatis perfectae; praeterea bybliothecas, basilicas non dissimili modo quam publicorum*

As emphasised in the text, the *vestibula* of the elite ought to be vast and princely. Yet, guidelines such as this should be understood as theoretical and ideal instructions by Vitruvius, and not as a necessarily actual practice in the real world.¹⁴⁴ When applying his guidelines to the Pompeian remains, several questions appear with regards to the size of an appropriate *vestibulum*; how many clients it could house; if the narrow *fauces* in the Pompeian *atrium*-house could correspond to this demand – with or without an outer *fauces*-space in front, and lastly, whether the *salutatio* was, in reality, such a dominant institution in a provincial city like this one?

Examining the *atrium*-houses at Pompeii, the front parts are in fact not designed with an external, large and partly enclosed, *vestibulum*, facing the sidewalk, although rare exceptions to this rule do exist. Notable are the three cases where benches are situated along the walls of the outer *fauces* (Fig. 6).¹⁴⁵ In general, the space of entrances is not large enough to house a crowd of visitors, a *turba*.¹⁴⁶ This will be further underlined in the next chapter, where the architectural design of the *fauces* will be studied. Already Mau asserted that the literary description of a *vestibulum* did not match the reality of *fauces*-construction at Pompeii, where instead more modest proportions are present.¹⁴⁷ This view is also supported by many scholars today, among whom, Goldbeck emphasises that the *fauces* were rather too small to be able to function as proper waiting-areas.¹⁴⁸ A forthcoming contribution to this field has been made by Simon Speksnijder, who, in preliminary studies, argues for a “non-*vestibulum*” design of the Pompeian house-entrances by contrasting ancient written testimonies with examples of the city’s *atrium*-houses.¹⁴⁹ This approach is similar to that of Reinhard Förtsch, in his study of the younger Pliny’s description of the architecture of his villas. Dismissing the idea of the Pompeian *vestibulum*, due to the larger waiting areas expected, Förtsch nevertheless also considers that *vestibula* could have been of various sorts.¹⁵⁰

operum magnificentia comparatas, quod in domibus eorum saepius et publica consilia et privata iudicia arbitriaque conficiuntur (transl. by F. Granger). The emphasis in the quotation is mine.

¹⁴⁴ For a modern critical approach to the uncritical usage of Vitruvius, see e.g., Allison 2001; Leach 1997.

¹⁴⁵ Four houses may be included in this small group as their entrance-designs may be interpreted as waiting spaces. In the first three, *Cd Octavius Quartio* (II 2,2); *Cd Colombe a mosaico* (VIII 2,34) and *Cd Obellius Firmus* (IX 14,2), the outer *fauces* have room for two benches along the walls. Outside *Cd Epidius Rufus* (IX 1,20), a raised wide podium leads to the entrance by way of steps at the sides, which indeed could have accommodated relatively small groups of people waiting to enter. See also Leach’s thought-provoking hypothesis about the front section of the *atrium* in *Cd Iulius Polybius* (IX 13,1-3) as perhaps functioning as an indoor *vestibulum*; Leach 1993. See also Leach 1997, pp. 53-56.

¹⁴⁶ See Leach 1997, pp. 54-55; Laurence 1994. Cf. Sen. *Ben.* 6.33 – 34: “Do you think that those lists, which a nomenclator can scarcely hold either in his memory or in his hand, are the lists of friends? Your friends are not those who, in a long line, knock at your door, whom you distribute into the two classes of those to be admitted first, and those to be second!” (transl. by J. W. Basore). See also Sen. *Ep.* 19.

¹⁴⁷ Mau-Kelsey 1899, p. 242.

¹⁴⁸ Goldbeck 2010, esp. pp. 131-146. Goldbeck states also (p. 133) that the space of the *fauces*-passage is hardly ever mentioned in combination with *salutatio* within the literary tradition.

¹⁴⁹ See Speksnijder 2011 and 2015.

¹⁵⁰ Förtsch 1993 discusses here the above-mentioned *Cd Octavius Quartio* (II 2,2), *Cd Epidius Rufus* (IX 1,20) and *Cd Iulius Polybius* (IX 13,1-3) together with *Villa dei Misteri*, see Förtsch 1993, pp. 127-134, Kat. XI, pp. 181-184.

When not being compared with the *vestibulum* as described in ancient literary sources, the typical design of the Pompeian *fauces* does not receive overwhelming attention from modern scholars. When the entrance is treated as an architectural feature worthy of notice (see chap. 3), it is because of interest in the axial perspective through the houses, the *Durchblick*, that was exposed to view when the doors stood open to visitors (Fig. 7). This interest stems from the fact that ancient texts refer to an open stance towards the public.¹⁵¹ However, as Platts recently has pointed out, what these texts tell us ought to be treated as a much idealised presentation, which must not blur our understanding of the factual archaeological evidence presented by e.g., Pompeii.¹⁵² The Vitruvian account of the front part of an *atrium*-house as a space open for any to enter has dominated our understanding, but it is vital, nevertheless, to keep in mind, also, ancient references that do refer to closed doors.¹⁵³ As illustrated by Horace and the younger Seneca, the elite *domus* at Rome seems in fact to have been occasionally inaccessible for morning callers, who perhaps arrived too early and thus had to knock on the front door.¹⁵⁴

In a couple of studies, moreover, the closure-arrangements of Pompeian houses have been re-evaluated, resulting in special attention paid to the fact that some *fauces* were provided with secondary internal doors, something which has not previously been taken into much consideration. In the next chapter, this issue will be considered more thoroughly. The fundamental question, however, of who was admitted inside the houses of Pompeii – *clientes* and/or random visitors – remains an unanswered question. Even though Pompeian officials may not have had the need for the grander *salutatio* rituals,¹⁵⁵ their *atrium*-houses nevertheless had the ability to function as a public stage, albeit in a controlled manner. In other words, we do not have to doubt that the *fauces* might indeed have been used for admitting important visitors. What we do not know is if this happened at regular morning opening-hours, or if the doors in fact were for much of the daytime left open.

Finally, the Vitruvian statement to the effect that any uninvited guest was able to enter the front part of a house has been regarded as probably true by both Wallace-Hadrill and David L. Balch. The latter scholar points to the welcoming décor of the *fauces*, both wall-paintings and mosaics, as well as to the generally “leaky” architecture that the Pompeian houses exhibit. Balch argues that the many doorways leading into a house, both *fauces*, but also back-doors and entrances to *tabernae*, could not allow for as much security as Shelley

¹⁵¹ See e.g., Liv. 5.13.6-7; 5.41.

¹⁵² Platts 2020, p. 88. See also discussion in chap. 3.

¹⁵³ Platts 2020, pp. 81, 123-125, questions the validity of the often-cited example of closed doors at times of mourning as an objection to the idea that houses were generally open to the public. The sources, Tacitus (*Ann.* 2.82) and Ovid (*Cons. ad Liv.* 183), were referring to the mourning that followed the deaths of Germanicus and Drusus, both members of the imperial family, and the closing of the imperial house and, ultimately, the city itself. It should therefore not be understood as a universal procedure applicable to all strata of Roman society in the event of deaths.

¹⁵⁴ Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.9: [...] *sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat*; Sen. *Ep.* 68.10: [...] *pulsare superbas potentiorum fores*.

¹⁵⁵ Especially Goldbeck 2010 has queried the view of Pompeian practice as automatically a reflection of Rome’s.

Hales claims.¹⁵⁶ However, the picture is much more complex. As a response, Platts dismisses Balch's view as too simplistic, drawing attention to the actual doors, which could, in fact, be barred, as a way of controlling access of the house (see also chap. 3).¹⁵⁷

2.3 Communication through graffiti in the Pompeian *fauces*

Informal communication through graffiti has more and more become a subject that attracts the interest of scholars.¹⁵⁸ Rebecca R. Benefiel, one such scholar, focuses on the spatial and social dimensions of Roman inscribed messages on the walls in both elite and non-elite residences in Pompeii.¹⁵⁹ In her view, graffiti constitute an important tool for approaching the "less immediately visible aspects of ancient society".¹⁶⁰ In this section, the discussion will refer mainly, though not exclusively, to her research and to the limited number of *fauces* presented in it.

The *fauces*-passage, because of its function a place of much movement and many meetings between people, was (like peristyles and larger reception rooms), naturally much scribbled with graffiti on the walls.¹⁶¹ In general, larger houses, e.g., *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) and *Cd Maius Castricius* (VII 16,17), display larger numbers of *fauces*-graffiti than smaller dwellings.¹⁶² However, the varying state of preservation of the wall-plaster in different places limits the scope from drawing definite conclusions from such data. In many cases, the wall-decorations of the *fauces* have vanished, partly as a direct result of their proximity to an entrance; there is also a greater likelihood of modern wear and tear in narrow spaces generally. Nevertheless, it may be deduced that the most common *fauces*-graffiti consisted of names and greetings.¹⁶³ For example, the entrance of *Cd Quattro stili* (I 8,7/11), features two such graffiti, greetings by and to women.¹⁶⁴ From the core-sample, a graffito consisting simply of the name *Callistus* was recorded in the *fauces* of *VI 13,13*.¹⁶⁵ Who the names represent is

¹⁵⁶ Balch 2008, p. 38; cf. Hales 2003, pp. 102-122.

¹⁵⁷ Platts 2020, pp. 89-104.

¹⁵⁸ See e.g., Milnor 2014; Benefiel & Keegan 2016.

¹⁵⁹ See e.g., Benefiel 2012; Benefiel 2010a; Benefiel 2010b.

¹⁶⁰ Benefiel 2010b, p. 60.

¹⁶¹ Benefiel 2010b, pp. 69-70.

¹⁶² Benefiel 2012, p. 40, n. 28.

¹⁶³ Benefiel 2012, pp. 39-40. Benefiel mentions poems, drawings, greetings and names as exemplified in *fauces*-graffiti. For hypothesised identification of names, see Fiorelli 1875, p. 127, who recorded, among inscribed names and the alphabet, the welcoming *Venies in Gabinianu(m) pro ma(n)su* (CIL IV 1314), in the *fauces* of *Cd Duca di Aumale* (VI 9,1). Fiorelli, like Della Corte 1965, p. 44, believed this inscription included mention of the name of the host (of the presumed *hospitium*), or more likely the name of the patron of the house. See e.g., Benefiel 2010b, pp. 74, 86, for a general critique of such uncertain identifications.

¹⁶⁴ Benefiel 2012, pp. 25, 30-31. The majority of graffiti in this house were inscribed in the larger rooms, interpreted by Benefiel as expressive of conversation between people gathered there.

¹⁶⁵ CIL IV 5469; PPM V, p. 179.

usually very difficult, if not impossible, to determine. Where several names are inscribed throughout the houses, the reference might have been to residents as much as to visitors.¹⁶⁶

Poetry could also appear as graffiti on *fauces*-walls, and one example, consisting of seven lines of verse, is the longest graffito discovered at Pompeii. Kristina Milnor has studied this inscribed “literary” composition from the *fauces* in house IX 9,6, and interprets it as a female homoerotic love-poem.¹⁶⁷ The *fauces* of this house contained many other graffiti, expressing names and greetings, large enough to be seen from some distance, but none is written with such care and effort, or with such respect to the existing wall-paintings, as this poem. Of course, the presence of this graffito does not have to imply that the act of scribbling was accepted by the house-owner, but in one sense, as Milnor was aware, it did take into consideration the capacity for display that the *fauces* possessed.¹⁶⁸ The excavators’ label of the house as “poor” is, moreover, criticised by Milnor, who sees the marble-inserted floor in the *fauces* as being a rather fine pavement. Indeed, it may indicate that the house originally was part of a larger *domus*, in which case the “love-poem” in fact might be seen as expressing some sort of possessive claim to the new, altered house. Milnor’s concluding remarks are thought-provoking: perhaps the poem should be viewed as the intentional display of an identity marker comparable with the neighbouring house’s *Hic habitat Aemelius Celer*, written on the façade?¹⁶⁹ Although such a reading may seem a little bold, what is interesting for this study is the fact that the *fauces* here evidently played such an important role in the making of the graffito. The placement of the poem in the entryway, admittedly closer to the *atrium* than to the sidewalk, served the purpose of ensuring it was read by as many people as possible, as they entered and left the house.

Another example of wall-poetry, this time featuring a formula favoured by many ancient graffiti-scribblers, the poem-opening, *Quisquis amat* (“whoever loves...”) is to be found in the *fauces* of *Cd Maius Castricius* (VII 16,17). This entrance featured many various forms of graffiti, including the greeting *Have* (a variant of “Ave”) and *Augustofeliciter* (“Hooray for the emperor”) as well as numerals and a depiction of a dancing man.¹⁷⁰ Although sharing the same space, textual and figural graffiti like these usually do not usually intercommunicate but seem to be independent messages.¹⁷¹ Numerals are also found in the *fauces* of *Cd Quattro stili*

¹⁶⁶ Benefiel 2010b, pp. 86-87: names of both free individuals and slaves occur; both male and female names, too, although male names are more common.

¹⁶⁷ *CIL* IV 5296. See Milnor 2014, pp. 191-232, fig. 4.1, and appendix 4.1. Milnor discusses here how much attention this graffito has been given since its discovery in 1888 with regards to its presumed author(s) as well as receiver.

¹⁶⁸ Milnor 2014, pp. 221-222.

¹⁶⁹ Milnor 2014, pp. 228, 230-232. Wall-paintings in white with black and red lines were also recorded by the excavators, which together with the *fauces*-floor constitute a highly decorative entrance in comparison to the rest of the small house. This part of the house, therefore, may perhaps originally have formed part of another, larger structure. The neighbouring house was also decorated with a similar *fauces*-pavement, and the name of the suggested owner, Aemelius Celer, occurs in other instances as well, as a sign-writer producing *programmata*.

¹⁷⁰ Benefiel 2010b, p. 78, and appendix 1.

¹⁷¹ Benefiel 2010b, pp. 76-77.

(I 8,7/11), with 66 vertical lines in total, arranged into groupings.¹⁷² The simplicity of writing Roman numerals makes this a category of graffiti-production that could have been conducted by any segment of the population. It is, therefore, not altogether safe to accept Benefiel's proposed explanation for their presence specifically within the *fauces*, namely that they could have been used for the numerical tracking of visitors to a house, given that similar graffiti have been found in other sorts of space around Pompeii, e.g., in peristyles,¹⁷³ and there need not always have been a particularly sensible reason for their presence there.

Among the more clearly rational graffiti in the *fauces*-area are those that are protective and/or threatening. One such, in the entrance to house V 3,9, conveys the message "Thief, beware!"¹⁷⁴ This is comparable to a graffito found in a *triclinium*, opening on to the *atrium* in house V 5,2: *Fures foras, frugi intro*, meaning, "Thieves, keep out, let honest folk come in" or, alternatively, "The thieves are outside, the honest folk within."¹⁷⁵

Graffiti naturally featured on house-façades, and often next to the portals. Here they shared the available space with electoral *programmata*, which urged voters to side with specific political candidates (or to attend forthcoming gladiatorial shows).¹⁷⁶ In two cases within the core-sample (*Cd Paquius Proculus*, I 7,1, no. 1, and *Cd Marinaio*, VII 15,1-2, no. 15), electoral announcements were in fact displayed on the walls of the outer *fauces*.¹⁷⁷ The precise location of the *dipinto* ("painted notice") on the western wall of the *fauces* in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) has prompted Benefiel to propose that the intention was to attract the eye of the passers-by on their way to the forum (Fig. 8).¹⁷⁸ In fact, visible though it may have been to the public on the street, the announcement, uniquely written in verse,¹⁷⁹ seems nevertheless to have been particularly aimed at the potential voter entering the house. The practice of siting *programmata* inside a *fauces*-passage is known from at least two more instances.¹⁸⁰ In *Cd Iulius Polybius* (IX 13,1-3), the text is located further inside where the wall of the *fauces* has almost reached the *atrium*. This positioning obviously shows that the

¹⁷² See Benefiel 2012, p. 38, fig. 2.5.

¹⁷³ Benefiel proposes that a doorkeeper listed visitors, e.g., *clientes*, see Benefiel 2012, pp. 37-38, 40; 2010b, pp. 81-85. But the mere fact that the numerals were inscribed on the walls, and consequently could not be erased, speaks for itself.

¹⁷⁴ *CIL* IV 6701: *Fur, cave*.

¹⁷⁵ *CIL* IV 4278. The two alternative readings are from Mau-Kelsey 1902, p. 344, resp. 1899, p. 338.

¹⁷⁶ See e.g., Franklin 1980; Mouritsen 1988. Mouritsen 1988, pp. 58-59, discusses the façade as perceived as a public wall suitable for *dipinti*, which were sometimes even superimposed on existing paintings, e.g., in the case of IX 7,7. Against the hypothesis that façades were regarded as available for general public use, Viitanen & Nissinen 2014, p. 1039, argue that they were under the strict control of private individuals.

¹⁷⁷ *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1): *CIL* IV 7200; 7201; *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15): *CIL* IV 3582; 3583; 3585.

¹⁷⁸ Benefiel 2010b, p. 72, n. 48. Cf. discussion regarding the graffiti on the west wall of the *fauces* in *Cd Maius Castricius* (VII 16,17) as the house, located in the western part of Pompeii, was approached from the east.

¹⁷⁹ Hartnett 2017, pp. 293-294 (on *CIL* IV 7201) suggests that Paquius Proculus himself was involved in the *aedile*-support of a man named Gaius Cuspius Pansa, who evidently deserved all the *gloria* he could be given, as claimed in the notice.

¹⁸⁰ As Viitanen & Nissinen 2017, p. 132, n. 48, show in their study of the spatial distribution of electoral *programmata*, out of a grand total of 1500 notices, the total number of examples located inside houses, mainly in the entrance-area, is only 37. Two such examples are two *dipinti* in the annexed *atrium* of *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23), supporting political candidates, see www.pompejiprojektet.se (inscriptions); *CIL* IV 3416; 3417.

publicity was oriented both towards visitors to the house and to the passers-by outside it. The second example is found in the outer *fauces* of *Cd Torello* (V 1,7),¹⁸¹ a house to be discussed in the next chapter.

On the subject of political publicity, Benefiel further detects, in the graffiti of Pompeii, patterns of local support for the emperor (often Nero) by the inhabitants. Graffiti of this sort are often inscribed on the house-façades, just beside the entrances, or inside, on the *fauces*-walls. Some names, e.g., those of imperial slaves, are even inscribed on both the façade and the *fauces*-wall.¹⁸²

In sum, the presence of graffiti in the *fauces*-area can provide strong evidence of how the entrance was used in everyday life. The entrance was evidently a space not solely used or perceived as a passage alone, and if clearly visible dialogues or communication were intended, the *fauces* could act as the ideal space for them. But at the same time, the effort of writing messages or statements in this entrance-passage can only have paid off if one could safely assume that readers would actually stop and read. Was the scribbling thus done in the knowledge that the *fauces* had always been regarded and used as a space for a sojourn, or did the graffiti cause people to suspend their intended behaviour, and to pause before moving into the house?¹⁸³

The graffiti seem to support the notion that people, female as well as male, and of all ages and status,¹⁸⁴ could have stopped in the passage, and used it as an area for everyday communication. Thus, in my opinion, it is not reasonable to argue of the basis of graffiti-evidence that *fauces* served specifically as a waiting-area for *clientes*. Numerals are, for example, found on the walls in many sorts of domestic space, and cannot on their own be used to support the hypothesis that the entrance must have been a waiting-area. The emperor-related graffiti on the façade and in the *fauces* of the *atrium*-houses of Pompeii – some of them suggestive of personal connection with, or support for, the imperial court, – do, on the other hand, illustrate how writing on the wall served as, among other things, a communication tool of a politically aware society. The similarly sited electoral *programmata* confirm this point.

¹⁸¹ On inscriptions located in the outer *fauces*, see *CIL* IV 22-23; Staub 2013, pp. 21-22.

¹⁸² Benefiel 2010a, pp. 58-60. Examples of Pompeian *fauces* with graffiti mentioning slaves belonging to Nero or Poppaea: *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), *Cd Iulius Polybius* (IX 13,1-3), *Cd Amorini dorati* (VI 16,7) and *Cd M. Satrius* (III 6,2, unexcavated). Della Corte further recorded a graffito inside a bakery at IX 3,20, which stated *Hic domus Papiriu Sabinium* (*CIL* IV 5065, sic), see Della Corte 1965, p. 193, and Benefiel 2010a, n. 59.

¹⁸³ Naturally, the inscribing of graffiti was not an original intention of the architectural design, as Hartnett 2008, p. 106, has shown with the case of benches, where the initial intended function of a feature easily might become merged with another kind of practice.

¹⁸⁴ For studies of children's graffiti in Pompeian domestic space, see Huntley 2011, and 2018, p. 380, in which she identifies that around 10 per cent of the graffiti made by children were to be found in *fauces*. For a critique concerning the possibility to determine the scribbler's age, see e.g., Kruschwitz 2014, p. 253, n. 24.

2.4 Tessellated Latin inscriptions on Pompeian floors (from the *fauces* and beyond)

Like the *fauces*-mosaics, the Latin inscriptions have hitherto never been collected and studied as one coherent corpus of source material. Because of this, some inscriptions are repeatedly cited time after time, like the most famous *Have* on the sidewalk in front of the *fauces* of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) (Fig. 9) and the *Cave canem* accompanying the watchdog depicted in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) (Fig. 137), while many others are left in oblivion. This is rather remarkable, given that the inscriptions provide so much in-depth information on how the Romans used and perceived their homes as a social stage.

With the ambition of arriving at a more nuanced understanding of the floor-inscriptions, I have compiled a list of all the tessellated inscriptions, i.e., inscriptions formed from *tesserae* embedded in floors, which have been recorded within the domestic and commercial/public spheres at Pompeii, not just those from *fauces* (see lists of *fauces* with mosaics and floors with tessellated inscriptions at the end of chap. 1).¹⁸⁵ The specific purpose of the present compilation of tessellated inscriptions – 27 in number – is thus to collect together the many verbal messages known to have confronted visitors. In a few instances, it is even spelled out who commissioned the inscription, and to whom the message is addressed. This compilation will thus provide most valuable support for the study of the iconography of *fauces*-mosaics. The tessellated texts reveal that several kinds of messages were considered appropriate for entrances.¹⁸⁶

The majority of the tessellated messages are inserted in mortar-floors, a fact which reflects a general preference for paving domestic floors with mortar-pavements rather than mosaics. In the following presentation, the tessellated messages are categorised according to content (although strict borders cannot always be observed between the categories): they are not grouped according to location or placement within a building. However, because inscriptions decorated different types of space, domestic and also commercial, it is also possible to study, first if, and then how, communication had a dependent relation to the space itself. The following presentation starts off with the topic of *greeting* since the majority of the inscriptions communicate some kind of salutation. In addition to the tessellated inscriptions set in a mortar-flooring, the three *fauces*-mosaics that also have inscriptions, *Cd Vestali* (VI

¹⁸⁵ See e.g., *CIL* and *NSc*. What follows in this dissertation is not claimed to provide full documentation of all the tessellated inscriptions that have been recorded from Pompeii (there may be more), although I believe the number of 27 inscriptions may approximate to the actual total. Pernice 1938, p. 100, documents an inscription, now lost, from a *cubiculum* next to the *fauces* of *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23), where the *cocciopesto*-floor once displayed, inlaid in it in *tesserae*, a visible but not legible inscription: “eine hier in Tessellae eingelegte früher sichtbare, jedoch nicht lesbare Inschrift ist jetzt völlig verloren gegangen.“ Mau in *BdI* 1885, pp. 91-92, furthermore records a white inscription in *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,30), inserted in the *cocciopesto*-floor in a *triclinium* on the lower levels, which, however, by his time had been partly destroyed. The letters *ATVS.L* (?) were thus not preserved when Pernice recorded his observations, see Pernice 1938, p. 73; *PPM* VIII, p. 258.

¹⁸⁶ For a discussion on tessellated inscriptions, Greek and Latin, on mortar-floors around the Mediterranean, see Vassal 2006, esp. pp. 57-58, and Tang 2018.

1,7/25, no. 4), *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), and *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), are included in the following survey.

2.4.1 Salutations

Salutations constitute by far the largest group of inscriptions. They are either composed of a single word or of longer sentences. In total, this group consists of nine inscriptions, of which the majority contain one-word salutations like *Have* and *Salve* (six inscriptions).¹⁸⁷ Unsurprisingly, the primary spatial setting for this greeting group is the front part of an *atrium*-house, i.e., the *fauces* (four examples), *atrium* (one example), together with the sidewalk in front of the main door (two examples). The tessellated greetings also adorned commercial and working establishments like a *caupona* or a *taberna* belonging to a *fullonica* (i.e., a fullery: two examples). The transmitters of these single greetings are anonymous senders, while the receivers must be identified as the public: passers-by, naturally, but most particularly, invited guests and visiting customers.

In the three remaining inscribed greetings, containing more words, the receivers of the salutations are more precisely identified. On the sidewalk, guests about to enter were welcomed by the message (*Havetis*) *Intro* (no. 32). The two stone benches that flank the entrance-doorway may strengthen a general welcome.¹⁸⁸ The second inscription is still placed *in situ* in the *fauces*, where the visitor reads *Salve lucr(m)* (no. 38) next to the *atrium*-threshold (Fig. 10). As the message is that of a prosperity salute, it is included in the next group listed below.

The last inscription comes from the *atrium* of *Cd Oppius Gratus* (IX 6,5) (where it was inlaid in the floor by the *impluvium*) and it is one of the longest recorded (no. 44).¹⁸⁹ Unfortunately, it is no longer extant, and several interpretations have since the first documentation been put forth, which deal with the identification of the three included names. The first recording of the inscription is the following: *AVE QVARTILA DABIS SALVS BIS ORA* (smaller A) *GRATVS ARCHITEC S P S EGO FELIX MEI* (the last word blurred).¹⁹⁰ It is credible that the inscription originated as a proud commemoration of the

¹⁸⁷ *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 33): *CIL* X 872a. According to Pernice 1938, p. 90, the sidewalk behind the house also had an inscription, made of white travertine *tesserae*: "Auch vor dem anderen Teil des Hauses war einmal eine Inschrift, leider fast ganz verloren, diese jedoch aus weissen Travertintessellae". *Cd Pansa* (VI 6,1, no. 37): Overbeck & Mau 1884, p. 326: the inner threshold was adorned with the inscription. *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4 of the core-sample): *CIL* X 873b. *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14 of the core-sample): *CIL* X 872c. *Caupona* I 2,22 (no. 52): *CIL* X 872b, after Fiorelli 1875, p. 46. *Fullonica di Vesonius Primus* (VI 14,21, no. 53: *taberna*): *CIL* X 873c.

¹⁸⁸ V 3,10 (no. 32): R. Paribeni in *NSc* 1902, pp. 274, 369; *PPM* III, p. 930. No information in *CIL*. However, the suggested addition of "Havetis" is grammatically odd in combination with "Intro", if meant as an adverb. Perhaps the message instead once stated "Havete intro", meaning "Hello, I'm coming in", i.e., a salute to those inside.

¹⁸⁹ *Cd Oppius Gratus* (IX 6,5, no. 44): *CIL* X 8146. The inscription may have been placed on one side of the *impluvium* while a second inscription, mentioning *Hellen* [...] (no. 45) was found on the other side; *CIL* X 8147. By the time of Pernice 1938, p. 47, the inscriptions were no longer preserved.

¹⁹⁰ Sogliano in *NSc* 1878, p. 322. See also Mau in *BdI* 1880, p. 226; Della Corte 1965, p. 164; Donderer 1989, pp. 142-143 (C24); *PPM* IX, pp. 747-764.

building of the *atrium*-house within which it was found. The abbreviation “s p” found just after the name of Gratus, the architect, can be plausibly interpreted as to mean “sua pecunia” (at his own expense). Quartila, named after the greeting “Ave”, may plausibly be supposed to be the leading figure in the scenario and most likely the architect’s wife. The identification of Felix cannot be determined with certainty; a favoured conjecture is that he was the mosaicist responsible for the inscription.

2.4.2 Prosperity salute

A related group consists of several inscriptions that salute prosperity, displayed by four unnamed owners in the front part of their *atrium*-houses (*fauces* or *atrium*: three examples) or on the sidewalk (one example).¹⁹¹ Three of these include the subject of desire, *lucrum* (“gain”, “money-making”), as *Salve lucru(m)* (no. 38: specified in lettering by border to the *atrium*, which one reaches by way of repeated rows of *tesserae* laid along the *fauces*-corridor; *Lucrum gaudium* (no. 40), equated profit with joy, and *Lucru(m) ac(c)ipe* (no. 39),¹⁹² wishes the beholder (financial) good fortune. It may be presumed that whoever commissioned such inscriptions was already wealthy.

The fourth inscription (no. 31), placed on the sidewalk in front of the main door, is, on the other hand, more difficult to interpret as it has been supposed to express a threat, albeit with a humorous undertone: *Cras credo* (“Tomorrow I trust/believe”).¹⁹³ Wilhemina Jashemski, conducting excavations in the large garden, followed the suggestion of Matteo Della Corte that the owner, who perhaps cultivated flowers for perfume production, gave a warning to customers that “I will give credit tomorrow”.¹⁹⁴ If the interpretation is fundamentally correct, the warning would more likely be directed against any assumed unreliable business associate in real life than against any supernatural evil. The comic undertone that one may detect in this inscription, would, at all events, certainly be appropriate for an entrance-space. All the same, I have chosen to include the inscription in this group as it is, in my view, plausible to interpret the inscription as one signifying a general hope for the days to come. Perhaps it may have functioned as a proverbial saying, comparable with a statement by Varro: *Hodie nihil, cras credo* (“Today I don’t believe, but tomorrow I will”) from the (lost) work *Saturarum Menippearum*.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹¹ *Cd Vadius Siricus* (VII 1,47, no. 38); VII 3,? (no. 39); *Cd Lucrum gaudium* (VI 14,39, no. 40); *Cd Giardino di Ercole* (II 8,6, no. 31).

¹⁹² *Salve lucru(m)*: *CIL* X 874; *PPM* VI, pp. 228-353. *Lucrum gaudium*: *CIL* X 875; Pernice 1938, p. 48; *PPM* V, pp. 384-389. *Lucru(m) ac(c)ipe*: *CIL* X 876.

¹⁹³ Jashemski 1979b, p. 410; Clarke 2007a, pp. 62-64. See also *PPM* III, pp. 326-327.

¹⁹⁴ Jashemski 1979b, p. 410. The inscription is here attributed to a mosaic-threshold “over which his customers entered the house”. See Della Corte in *NSc* 1958, pp. 94, 133.

¹⁹⁵ Cf. a Faliscan inscription on drinking cups (here translated into Latin): *Hodie vinum bibam, cras carebo* (“Today I will drink wine, tomorrow I will be without”); Vetter 1953, no. 44.

2.4.3 Pride in achievements

The wish to express pride in achievements through greetings is found in four inscriptions, three of which name the senders.¹⁹⁶ The first is the already mentioned architect Gratus and his presentation of the house construction (no. 44). In another inscription (no. 34), a certain Erastus most likely stated on his sidewalk that he had restored the said sidewalk at his own expense: *D F I Erastus O P S II (H)*.¹⁹⁷ Such public work was indeed a legal responsibility inflicted on property-owners.¹⁹⁸ Another unique composition (no. 42), once part of a mosaic framing an *impluvium*, consists of tessellated representations of four *urcei* (jugs) with the owner's name stated (Aulus Umbricius Scaurus) and the content, which served to present the success of his business in the *garum*-production (fish-sauce). One *urceus* reads *G F SCO(M) / SCAVRI / EX OFFI(CI) NA SCAV / RI*. The second *urceus*: *LIQVA / FLOS*, the third *G F SCOM / SCAVRI*, and the fourth *urceus* *LIQVAMEN / OPTIMVM / EX OFFICI(N) / A SCAVRI* (Fig. 11).¹⁹⁹

The fourth inscription (no. 49) is unfortunately poorly understood today but may have stated that someone had commissioned something: *Iciit hoc*. Alternative readings have been put forward, suggesting either *Hic et hoc* or *(F)ecet hoc*.²⁰⁰ The latter interpretation, alternatively *Fecit hoc*, is advocated by Michael Donderer, who has studied mosaicist-signatures in inscriptions.²⁰¹ It may therefore be a signature of the maker of the floor.²⁰² The inscription was found in a *cubiculum*, and it was inserted in a tablet with handles, *tabula ansata*; a design paralleled by the *fauces*-mosaic inscription *Salve in Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4, see chap. 6).

¹⁹⁶ *Cd Oppius Gratus* (IX 6,5, no. 44); *Cd Erastus* (VI 16,10, no. 34); *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 42); *Cd Capitelli colorati* (VII 4,31, no. 49).

¹⁹⁷ The excavator Antonio Sogliano interpreted the last letters as “p(ecunia) s(ua) hs”, *NSc* 1906, p. 154. Della Corte 1965, pp. 89, 149, proposed that the name Erastus should be understood as the tenant of the small dwelling, showing his duties in restoring as incumbent upon him as tenant by the *Lex Iulia Municipalis*. The inscription was furthermore adorned with a crown above the *O*.

¹⁹⁸ See studies by Saliou 1999, pp. 199-200, and Hartnett 2017, pp. 17, 78, 123-125; 2008, on the contemporary regulations of the *Tabula Heracleensis* 7-13, on how to maintain streets as well as sidewalks in front of private properties: “10) If anyone, who in accordance with this law properly should maintain the public street in front of his property, does not maintain it as he properly should in the judgment of the aedile concerned, the latter at his discretion shall lease the contract for its maintenance” (based on the *Lex Iulia Municipalis*, 45 B.C.).

¹⁹⁹ Today at MANN, inv. nos. 15188; 15189; 15190; 15191. See also Curtis 1984, pp. 559-561.

²⁰⁰ Avellino in *BAN V*, p. 36, 1847, proposed *Hic et hoc*, while *CIL X 882* suggests both *Iciit hoc* and *(F)ecet hoc*. See also Gauckler 1904, p. 191.

²⁰¹ Donderer 1989, p. 115 (A91). According to Donderer, the verb *facere* are often included when donors are the agents, but, since this location is a private house, this interpretation may therefore seem improbable. Moreover, it is not probable that the inscription refers to the owner of the house, due to the choice of the verb, thus making it likely that it should be seen as a mosaicist's signature.

²⁰² Another reading could perhaps be “iecit”, i.e., “laid down” (this pavement)?

2.4.4 Names

The following group of inscriptions contains names,²⁰³ some of which we already have encountered. A most interesting inscription from a figurative mosaic presents two names linked together, *Festus cum Torquato*, which has been suggested to identify the mosaicists (nos. 46-47).²⁰⁴ However, it is proposed here that the names more likely refer to the man and the dog represented on the mosaic. There will be further discussion of this hypothesis below. All of the three names of one particular householder, Aulus Umbricius Scaurus, are known to us thanks to the tessellated statement in his *atrium* (no. 42). This *garum*-producer resided in his large terrace-house (*Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II*, VII 16,15, no. 17) towards the end of Pompeii's history (see above and chap. 4). Another set of *tria nomina* is present in the case of *M. Spurius Mesor* (no. 48),²⁰⁵ whose *cognomen* has been suggested to refer either to the profession of *agrimensor* (surveyor) or to that of a mosaicist. Although an actual profession may only be hypothesised, it seems all the same more probable that we are here dealing with the name of the house-owner.²⁰⁶ In that capacity, Spurius Mesor announced his name to the invited dinner guests in the *triclinium*.

Of all the name-inscriptions, only Quartila mentioned above (no. 44), exemplifies female presence, and then probably as the wife of one of the two men named in the inscription; certainly, she appears to have been the receiver, not the sender, of the message conveyed by the inscribed words. The responsible sidewalk-restorer Erastus (no. 34) belongs to the single-name group, as do the following. At least the names of *Ancus* and *Neptunalis* may refer to males while *Hellen* [...] could be a name or part of a name or perhaps refer to something Greek.²⁰⁷ This latter inscription (no. 45) was found in the same *atrium* as the *Quartila-Gratus-Felix*-inscription, discussed above, but on the other side of the *impluvium*.²⁰⁸

The names mentioned above were not all found in the front part of *atrium*-houses, some were in rooms to the rear. The inscription *Ancus*, composed of both white and black *tesserae*, adorned a *triclinium* in what was latterly a *caupona* (no. 54), although it is possible that the inscription was made when the room was still functioning as part of a private house, before

²⁰³ *Cd Fiori* (VI 5,19/10, nos. 46-47); *Cd Oppius Gratus* (IX 6,5, nos. 44-45); *Cd Maius Castricius* (VII 16,17, no. 51); *Cd M. Spurius Mesor* (VII 3,29, no. 48); *Caupona all'insegna di Africa* (I 12,5, no. 54).

²⁰⁴ Fiorelli in *PAHI*, 3, 12 (14th of January 1809); Fiorelli 1875, p. 101.

²⁰⁵ *CIL* X 879.

²⁰⁶ *Agrimensor*: *PPM* VI (Sampaolo), pp. 902, 916; mosaicist or general name: Della Corte 1965, pp. 148-149. Donderer 1989, p. 152 (C36), does not regard it as a donor's inscription due to the indeed short message as well as its location inside a private house. Blake 1930, p. 95, refers to the omitting of *cognomina* in inscriptions as chronologically belonging to early Imperial times. If correct, the inscription could perhaps then belong to a period prior to this change. See also discussion in Simelius 2018, pp. 194-195.

²⁰⁷ Cf. *Hellen*, the king of Thessaly, who was reputed to have been the ancestor of the Hellenes.

²⁰⁸ *Cd Oppius Gratus* (IX 6,5, no. 45): *CIL* X 8147; Sogliano in *NSc* 1878, p. 322; Mau in *BdI* 1880, p. 226; *PPM* IX, p. 750, n. 44. Pernice 1938, p. 47, records that the inscriptions were not preserved any more. Donderer 1989, p. 143, (C24-25), states that a chronological contemporaneity cannot be confirmed, and it is not plausible either that we are dealing with an artist's signature (no. 45) linked to the other nearby inscription containing names (no. 44).

being transformed.²⁰⁹ The name has furthermore been proposed to refer to a Praenestine family (the *Anicii*), who perhaps settled in Pompeii when the city was turned into a colony.²¹⁰ The name of *Neptunalis* was found tessellated in a peristyle (no. 51), situated in front of a vaulted room.²¹¹ Perhaps the tondo-painting above the entrance here, portraying Venus, lent a mythological-religious connotation to the inscription as well.

A last inscription of this group probably does not exist any more, and its location is also unclear (no. 35: from a walled-up entrance, in house I 22,2?).²¹² The inscription is rarely discussed within Pompeian scholarship even though it presents a most unique message. Arranged in three rows, facing the door, the inscription read the names *C. Caeisare / M. Bubulo / Cos*, which serves as a time-indicator: the year 59 B.C. when Julius Caesar and Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus held the consulship together. Unfortunately, no parallels seem to be found (at least not in the vicinity), but a proposed hypothesis suggests that the inscription (proudly) commemorated the finished building activities and transformations of the *insulae* in that part of the city.²¹³

2.4.5 Warning/protection

This group contains at least one tessellated warning: *Cave canem* (Beware of the dog) in the *fauces*-mosaic that depicts a watchdog on guard in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5: see chap. 6, Fig. 137).²¹⁴ However, there is one more similar figurative mosaic, both in terms of subject-matter but also of inscription, as was mentioned above. Found in the peristyle of *Cd Fiori*, VI 5,19/10, nos. 46-47), where it even may have adorned the very entrance leading from the street to the garden, the mosaic presents a man out hunting a wild boar with his dog (Fig. 128). Two inscriptions adorn the mosaic, one of which is only partially preserved. The first gives the two names *Festus cum Torquato* (no. 46: see above), while the second has only [...] *Torquatium* (no. 47). The omitted word in the beginning has traditionally been transcribed as “*me*”.²¹⁵ It may thus be in place here to ask why the proposed two craftsmen in the first

²⁰⁹ *PPM* II, pp. 735-746. Dated to the beginning of the 1st century B.C., i.e., prior to the transformation into *caupona* probably in the early Imperial period.

²¹⁰ See *PPM* II (E. M. Menotti), p. 737; Pesando & Guidobaldi 2000b, pp. 131-132. Both Pesando & Guidobaldi, and Tang 2018, no. 770, in her online database: “Decorating floors. The tesserae-in-mortar technique in the ancient world”, refer to the name as *An(i)cus*.

²¹¹ *PPM* VII, pp. 893-894.

²¹² De Simone 2000, pp. 251-252, 254, fig. 2-3; Tang 2018, no. 1716, in her online database “Decorating floors. The tesserae-in-the-mortar technique in the ancient world”: room 13 with traces of inscription: [...] COS. See also Degraasi 1972, no. 1034, p. 271, on the consular date.

²¹³ De Simone 2000, p. 252. See also Vassal 2006, pp. 57-58, regarding dates in tessellated inscriptions for commemorative reasons.

²¹⁴ *CIL* X 877.

²¹⁵ *CIL* X 880. However, the first word “*me*” is unclear as to whether it still exists or not, and *CIL* states that the inscription was described by Otto Iahn, who did not see the proposed “*me*”. *CIL* wrongly attributes the mosaic to *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3, 8, no. 25) – probably due to the fact that *Cd Fiori* (VI 5,19/10) at times is called *Cd Cinghiale*. Donderer 1989, n. 6, also makes this mistake.

inscription are mentioned together whereas the second inscription mentions, and salutes, only one of them (the preserved *me* is here suggested to have stated *Ave*)? However, the grammatical conjugation of the name in accusative (*Torquatum*) does not support such a reading.²¹⁶ Instead, an alternative suggestion is in my view more plausible: *Cave Torquatum*,²¹⁷ which would link the mosaic both iconographically and epigraphically with the watchdog-mosaic in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5). If this were be the correct reading, the two inscriptions could then indicate the names of the depicted hunter and his dog (*Torquatus*: “the one adorned with a collar”), and not those of the mosaicists.²¹⁸ The warning would in this case be addressed to any wild boar in the forest, but perhaps also to any visitor or any presumed evil that could enter the house, in which the dog could have acted as a guardian too. Finally, another layer of this message may be interwoven, which expresses the pride of the owners of the two houses in being able to enjoy such vigilant company.

2.4.6 Allusions to the function of the space

More practical identification of the function of the space characterises two inscriptions: one expresses exhortation to the dinner guests in a *triclinium* to begin their meal (*Cedo cenemus*, no. 50), while another pointed out the location of the cistern in an *atrium* (*Puteus aquae*, no. 41).²¹⁹ Interestingly, both inscriptions adorned one and the same house, which thereby indicates that the owner, given that the inscriptions were contemporary,²²⁰ was eager to emphasise the important functions of these two spaces. However, the practical purpose of indicating the location of a cistern is not entirely clear but may be inferred that the location was regarded as important enough to highlight, especially when the cistern had gone out of use.²²¹

In all, three houses have been recorded as having more than one tessellated inscription (i.e., two inscriptions each): *Cd Oppius Gratus* (IX 6,5), *Cd Octavius Primus* (VII 15,12),

²¹⁶ See Ramallo Asensio 1991-1992, p. 200. Statements like *Salve lucrum* are often conjugated in the accusative case and not in dative or ablative. For the painted inscriptions *Cacator cave malum* (“To the one defecating here, beware of the curse”) on the façade of *insula* III 4, see Hartnett 2017, p. 71; *CIL* IV 7714-7715. The manner in which the word *cave* is here written is similar to the shape of the letters expressing the warning...(*cave?*) *Torquatum*.

²¹⁷ This suggestion has been proposed by e.g., Müntz 1882, p. 167, later to be taken up by Daremberg & Saglio 1904, p. 2107.

²¹⁸ Like Breton 1855, pp. 256-257, I find it more plausible that the names represent the depicted figures on the mosaic, unlike Fiorelli who, either in *PAH* I, 3, 12 (14th of January 1809), or in 1875, p. 101, regards the names as being plausible mosaicist-signatures. The above-mentioned suggestion by Müntz proposes furthermore that *Cave Torquatum* refers to the dog. Donderer 1989, pp. 139-140 (C21), also suggests that the names ought to represent the illustrated man and his dog, although he disregards the lower inscription as being too difficult to interpret due to its fragmentary state. Furthermore, Donderer believes *Torquatus* to be a suitable name for a dog. See also Toynbee 1948, p. 28.

²¹⁹ *Cd Octavius Primus* (VII 15,12, nos. 41 + 50); *CIL* X 881, and *CIL* X 878; *PPM* VII, p. 831.

²²⁰ Dating tessellated inscriptions is a tricky assignment, as the technique originated in the eastern Mediterranean region as early as the 4th century B.C., see de Vos 1991, p. 42; Dunbabin 1999a, p. 58. Blake 1930, p. 95, does not discuss the tessellated inscriptions at length, but notes that the execution of the letters may alter over time and may therefore prove of assistance in question of dating. See also chap. 6.2.

²²¹ See *PPM* VII, p. 825; Dickmann 1999, p. 303.

together with *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 33), where not only the front sidewalk but also the *posticum* has been recorded to have had an inscription, destroyed, however, before documentation.²²² In *Cd Oppius Gratus* (IX 6,5), the *atrium* was decorated with two inscriptions while *Cd Octavius Primus* (VII 15,12) had the pavements in the *atrium* and in a *triclinium* adorned with tessellated texts.

2.4.7 Non-deciphered abbreviations

A couple more inscriptions elude interpretation as they are made up by non-deciphered abbreviations.²²³ Both are found in the front part of *atrium*-houses, in one case in the *fauces* (*O NE P*, no. 36) and in the other, in the *atrium* (*C A B*, no. 43). In themselves, they may, if nothing else, serve to strengthen the notion that the majority of all tessellated inscriptions were positioned so as to be clearly seen by as many people as possible. In statistical terms, at least 17 of 27 inscriptions are located either on a sidewalk, or else inside the *fauces* or in the *atrium* of houses, i.e., in spaces characterised by movement and reception.

2.4.8 Added pictorial decoration

Some of the inscriptions have added pictorial decoration, a fact which underlines their aim of attracting attention, and also of making their intended message emphatic. In the floor containing the inscription *Neptunalis* (no. 51), the tessellated geometric pattern, containing a square, and inserted coloured marble-pieces, also included the depiction of eight pecking birds around the square.²²⁴ The (*Havetis*) *Intro*-inscription (no. 32) was, moreover, accompanied by decorative plants,²²⁵ while *Ancus* (no. 54) was placed inside a large, tessellated square, near a large and centrally placed rosette-like circle, composed of white *tesserae*.²²⁶

Two particularly clear examples are firstly the inscription *Salve* in the shop belonging to the *Fullonica di Vesonius Primus* (VI 14,21-22, no. 53), accompanied not only by a *caduceus* but also by *cornucopiae* and *phalli*, which link the greeting with symbols of wealth and prosperity.²²⁷ In the second example, next to the inscription *Lucru(m) ac(c)ipe* (VII 3,?, no. 39), were figures like a *caduceus*, here winged, a dolphin and a basket.²²⁸ All these attributes are both in a direct and indirect manner part of the sphere of the god Mercury - firstly the essential *caduceus*, the staff of Mercury that was thought to evoke the ideals of business and

²²² Pernice 1938, p. 90, stating only that it was made of white travertine *tesserae*.

²²³ *Cd Regina Margherita* (V 2,1, no. 36); *Cd Colombe a mosaico* (VIII 2,34, no. 43).

²²⁴ *PPM* VII, pp. 893-894, figs. 8-10.

²²⁵ *PPM* III, p. 930, fig. 930 (picture of the inscription only).

²²⁶ *PPM* II, pp. 737-738, figs. 2-4. The tessellated circle in the *cocciopesto*-floor is supposed to indicate the position of the room's table.

²²⁷ See drawing in *CIL* X 873c. See also documentation of the *fullonica* by Flohr 2008, figs. 15, 21-22, and Pernice 1938, pp. 79-80, fig. 35:4. The single room is here listed as belonging to house VI 14,22, which was transformed into a public space at a later stage, in the post-earthquake period, see Flohr 2008, p. 6.

²²⁸ *CIL* X 876; *BAN* II, 1844, p. 90.

exchanges. Sometimes also depicted as winged, the *caduceus* represents the god's messenger role in the negotiations between parties. The symbols of the *cornucopia* and the basket represent production and abundance and, being associated with the goddess Fortuna, they signify a hope for good results in what the Romans perceived as the lottery of life. The *phallus* and the dolphin are also part of this symbolic sphere where they characterise both good luck and a protection against evil. The pictorial symbols cooperated with the written statements, and helped to underline the message intended by them.²²⁹ In the case of the fuller who owned the *fullonica*, he was concerned to welcome the entering visitors and to turn to the gods for a prosperous future.

2.5 Concluding discussion

Different groups of messages in the entrance-area may, in conclusion, be distinguished on the strength of both literary and archaeological sources. Roman writers inform us about the superstition-generating character of the *fauces*, but they also report how the elite took advantage of the house-entrance's openness to the public by making it the context for their self-advertisement, a place for the display of *hostium spolia* and other conquered military insignia. The fear of the ill-will and harm that entering liminal spaces could entail, had the result that entrances around the Mediterranean were decorated to counteract perceived threats. In some cases, mosaics could be decorated with elaborate images and inscriptions positioned so as to confront the envious. A more common version consisted, however, of simpler images and inscriptions, nevertheless aimed at offering protection by evoking a fortunate and prosperous future.

The informal graffiti in the Pompeian *fauces*, written by adults, and perhaps children, too, show that they offered space passed through by many different groups of people. The names, greetings, figures or poems offer to visitors or the residents themselves opportunities for a momentary respite before entering or exiting the house. The tessellated inscriptions found on Pompeian floors mainly adorn the front part of the *atrium*-houses, i.e., the sidewalk, the *fauces* and the *atrium*. General greetings and those saluting prosperity or announcing pride in achievements testify to a positive attitude towards the outside world, rather than a preference for seclusion of the house. Some names testify to real householders, while in some cases the wealth and success of the anonymous owners are prioritised. The longer pronouncements in both the graffiti and the tessellated inscriptions indicate that the average literacy skills of the senders and, equally, of the expected recipients of their messages were relatively good.²³⁰ The pictorial symbols sometimes accompanying the inscriptions further underlined their messages, while also, maybe, reflecting a superstitious outlook concerned to ward off supernatural evil and harm. The general presumption of an entrance,

²²⁹ See Kruschwitz & Campbell 2009.

²³⁰ See e.g., Milnor 2014; Franklin 1991.

however, as being in need of protection is, in fact, not emphasised through the Pompeian inscriptions. The few instances of warnings are best illustrated by *Cave canem/Cave Torquatam*. For the suggested *Cras credo*, it has been suggested that a humorous element characterised the message. This line of thought within modern scholarship will be discussed in chap. 6, as humour seems to have been regarded as a weapon offering protection to vulnerable spaces.

To conclude, the tradition of inscribing decorative floors with tessellated pronouncements was practiced in Pompeii before the Roman colonisation. The salutatory *Have* outside *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 33) is, however, the only example of a Samnite work in a domestic setting, and, furthermore, one in Latin. On the other hand, we have two Oscan tessellated inscriptions recorded, which derive from the public sphere. At the threshold, leading into the *cella* of *Tempio di Apollo* (VII 7,32), an inscription in metal letters, dated to c. 140 B.C., named the quaestor responsible for the making of the floor (or some other part of the temple).²³¹ To the south of Pompeii, the *Tempio di Dionisio* at Sant'Abbondio had a decorated ramp, leading into the temple. Adorned with a pebble-mosaic, it also contained an inscription that gave the names of the officials responsible.²³² The date of the ramp and inscription has been placed to the end of the 3rd/beginning of 2nd century B.C., i.e., slightly later than the suggested construction-date of the temple around 250 B.C.²³³

In so far it is concerned with the architectural reality of Pompeii, the chapter has confirmed that entrances to the *atrium*-houses do not, after closer examination, lend themselves to comparison with the grand *vestibula* of the elite in Rome. It is therefore apposite to ask whether or not the morning ritual *salutatio* was conducted at Pompeii on a daily basis in the same way that Roman authors testify to with regard to the capital. Another topic, also problematised in recent scholarship, is whether the *fauces* offered an entirely open space for outsiders to peek into or indeed enter. This will be discussed further in chap. 3.

²³¹ "Ovius Campanius, [son of?], quaestor, [by decision] of the assembly, from the money of Apollo, had [the pavement] made", see *PPM* VII, pp. 300-301; Cooley & Cooley 2014, A.15. An Oscan graffito found in the *tablinum* in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) was reconstructed by Della Corte as containing the name of a Oppius Campan(i)us. This prompted Meyboom 1995, pp. 171-172, to propose boldly that the house-owner may have been the dedicator of the temple-inscription, which would explain the similar *opus sectile*-floors with black and white cubes in perspective in both the *tablinum* of the house and the temple-*cella*. However, Meyboom admits to the uncertainty in such a reading, especially since no "Campanius" has been listed by Castrén 1975, although the Oppii as an old *gens* from Praeneste were present in several towns. See also chap. 3.

²³² "O. Epidius, son of O., Tr. Messius, son of Tr., aediles, (gave this)". For pictures of the Oscan inscription, see Crawford 2011: "Campania/Pompei 14"; Cooley & Cooley 2014, pp. 14-16 (A.15 and A.21).

²³³ See Sironen 2013; Small 2007, pp. 185-186.

3 The Pompeian *fauces*: architecture and décor

Introduction

In the first part of this chapter, I will discuss the architectural reality of the Pompeian *fauces*, an entryway which is generally conceived as being a long, narrow and upward-sloping corridor, leading from the sidewalk to the *atrium*.²³⁴ However, there are variations on the basic layout of the *fauces*, with differences concerning the number and position of doors within the passage, the direction of the slope, the width of the space, and even the degree of resemblance to a corridor.

An initial presentation of the architectural layouts of the *fauces* concerned will address the important question of where the mosaics were located within that space, and how visible they were consequently from the outside. For this, the question of number of doors in the *fauces* is crucial, although our knowledge concerning this point is still only partial. Discussion then turns to the overall impact of the decorations, the aim being to determine what was standard in the decoration of Pompeian *fauces*. For assistance in this inquiry, I have turned to three collections of coherently documented houses and city-blocks: the houses studied and published in the series *Häuser in Pompeji* (HiP), the city-block published as *The insula of the Menander at Pompeii*, and the report on the *Insula V 1*, published on the web with open access. Throughout this study, focus is put on the relation between wall- and floor-decorations.

The main perspective in this chapter will be more on the *fauces* as an *entry* into the *domus*, than as an exit out of it. This is because it is evident that the ancient effort put into accentuating the *fauces* has much to do with the potential of an entryway for presenting the house to the outside world. This is not to deny that the *fauces* had an important role as an exit. One should not disregard the evidence of the ancient texts that refer to the nature of the god Janus or the ritual of placing the dead in the *atrium* with the feet towards the *fauces*.²³⁵ But in this discussion, I will treat the exit as being less relevant since, when it happens, the entry has already taken place, and therefore also a first encounter with the space itself and,

²³⁴ See e.g., Laurence 2003, p. 100; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, p. 118; Clarke 1991, pp. 2-4.

²³⁵ The rear entrances, *postica*, are most often designed as direct entrances and do not have the same architectural or symbolic structure as the front *fauces*, even if they could be used as escape routes from waiting clients, as urged by Hor. *Epist.* 1.5: “Write back, pray, how many you would like us to be; then drop your business, and by the back-door give the slip to the client waiting in your hall” (transl. by H. Rushton Fairclough). The younger Seneca, *Brev. vit.* 10.14.4, also describes concealed doors as escape-exits, although by using the term *obscurus aedium aditus* instead.

by extension, its residents. The orientation of the imagery of the mosaics in the *fauces*, turned towards the street, confirms that the entry was the principal concern in the layout of decoration in the *fauces*.

3.1 The architecture of the *fauces*, and the positioning of mosaics

3.1.1 The design of Pompeian *fauces*

Although there has been little research done on the *fauces* proper, one contribution to the field is the doctoral dissertation on the *atrium*-complex in Pompeian houses by Edith Margaret Evans completed in 1980.²³⁶ More recently, Evan Proudfoot has discussed the *fauces* with the main emphasis on the occurrences of several door-sets within this space.²³⁷

Evans starts off by stating that “the *fauces* are normally central both to the atrium and to the facade”.²³⁸ Next, her important survey distinguishes between three relevant groups of *fauces*: 1). undivided, 2). divided and 3). divided with L-shaped threshold.²³⁹ Among these, the undivided corridor-room with a continuous floor, without threshold or step, is the rule: c. 80% of Evans’ sample (Fig. 12).²⁴⁰ The majority of the remaining entrances, 15 %, in her sample consist of *fauces* divided into two parts, either by a door or a step (Fig. 13).²⁴¹ It is this partition that creates the outer *fauces*,²⁴² often labelled the “vestibule” by modern scholars, including Evans and Proudfoot.²⁴³ In some instances, though, the threshold is placed so close to the sidewalk that it creates only a minimal recess. One illustrative case is *Cd Marcus*

²³⁶ See Evans 1980, vols. 1-2. The following note-references are to vol. 1.

²³⁷ Proudfoot 2013.

²³⁸ Evans 1980, p. 44.

²³⁹ Evans 1980, p. 1. Her study includes 184 *atrium*-houses, of which 171 have *fauces* whereas 13 probably belong to a group without *fauces*, i.e., with direct entrances, although Evans does not specifically say so. This fourth group is excluded from the present study.

²⁴⁰ Evans 1980, p. 44: i.e., 137 *fauces* out of 171.

²⁴¹ Evans 1980, pp. 44-45: i.e., 27 *fauces* of the remaining 34. Förtsch 1993 calls this group “*vestibula im fauces*” in his study on Roman villa-architecture, which includes only three Pompeian houses: *Cd Octavius Quartio* (II 2,2); *Cd Epidius Rufus* (IX 1,20) and *Cd Iulius Polybius* (IX 13,1-3), and also *Villa dei Misteri*, see Förtsch 1993, pp. 127-134, nr. XI, pp. 181-184. Speksnijder 2011, pp. 11-12, however, labels the divided entrances as *fauces-vestibula*, referring back to Förtsch. See also chap. 2 of the present study.

²⁴² As mentioned in chap. 2, three unique *fauces* have outer spaces large enough to accommodate two waiting benches alongside the inner walls, although before the main doors: *Cd Octavius Quartio* (II 2,2), *Cd Colombe a mosaico* (VIII 2,34), and *Cd Obellius Firmus*, (IX 14,2) (rear entrance). These *fauces* are the only ones documented as having internal benches, a fact which is rarely emphasised by scholars. However, see Hartnett 2008, p. 101, and table 1. Speksnijder 2011 discusses only *Cd Octavius Quartio* (II 2,2) of these three *fauces*, although without focusing on the internal benches.

²⁴³ Evans 1980, pp. 44-48. Without equating “vestibule” with *vestibulum*, Proudfoot 2013 nevertheless discusses these front spaces, i.e., the recessed doors in the façades or the outer *fauces*, from the perspective of the patron-client system. However, it is not entirely clear which kind of vestibule he refers to when stating that many such spaces, of which many belong to the late Republic period, “retained their form, if not their relevance, well into the Flavian period”. Moreover, it is stated that the discussion of vestibule-function (that of admitting clients?) has so far not taken the number of doors into consideration, see Proudfoot 2013, p. 104.

Lucretius (IX 3,5/24, no. 27); labelled as having a divided *fauces*-passage by Evans,²⁴⁴ but assigned to the “undivided” category for the purposes of this study. In most cases, the outer *fauces* occupy at least 1 metre while smaller versions are confined to less than half a metre.²⁴⁵

The last-mentioned entrances, accounting for 4% of Evans’ sample, are also bipartite, i.e., each of them is divided into two parts, the outer and inner *fauces*. This arrangement produces a front entrance open to the street as the doors are set back into the *fauces*-space. What is distinctive about these entrances is the L-shaped threshold in the front part, which contains not just the main door but also a wicket-door in the right or left wall of the outer *fauces*, leading into a short parallel corridor that bypasses the main door (Fig. 14).²⁴⁶ This design enabled individuals to enter the house without having to use the main door.²⁴⁷ This layout demanded more space, but did not, however, provide more room for waiting *clientes* or the like, as the term “vestibule” might suggest. Concerning the function of the doors, modern scholars view the main door as reserved for larger groups, i.e., visitors – as indicated by the *Durchblick* axis – whereas the side-door would naturally have been used for smaller parties.²⁴⁸

With regards to the slant of typical *fauces*, the majority are upward-sloping, which in some cases has to do with adaptation to the natural slope of the city. But there are exceptions to this rule in the form both of levelled *fauces* and even a few downward-sloping entryways.²⁴⁹ One advantage of the upward slope is to provide natural downward drainage with an outlet towards the street, and of course to obstruct rainwater from entering.²⁵⁰ An adjustment of the gradient can furthermore be made by a step, which creates two different floor-levels in the *fauces*, as can be seen in some houses of the core-sample, e.g., in the main *fauces* of *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6) and *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23) (Fig. 15). In a few of these cases, the *fauces* may develop into a wider and shorter (latitudinal) space, less like a corridor than is usual. Some *fauces* feature this same shallow

²⁴⁴ Evans 1980, p. 44. N.B. the “outer” *fauces* of *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27) is in fact composed of a large, wide marble threshold, which is followed by a marble step that leads up and into the *fauces*-corridor.

²⁴⁵ Evans 1980, p. 45.

²⁴⁶ Evans 1980, pp. 45-46: 8 ex.; Förtsch 1993, nr. XI 18. Kastenmeier, 2001, pp. 305-306, mentions 13 *fauces*-layouts of this kind from all over Pompeii, and, according to Proudfoot 2013, pp. 98-99, table 4, there have only been 16 excavated *fauces* with a “wicket side doorway”, and these had not previously been published.

²⁴⁷ See Evans 1980, pp. 45-46: 2 examples: *Cd Torello* (V 1,7) and *Cd Naviglio* (VI 10,11); Proudfoot 2013, p. 98, and Strocka 1991, p. 85.

²⁴⁸ Proudfoot 2013, p. 104. Kastenmeier 2001, p. 306, describes that these solutions indeed demanded more space, i.e., the doors were made wider than in the usual undivided *fauces*-layout. According to Mau-Kelsey 1902, pp. 309- 312, fig. 149, the entrance to *Cd Epidius Rufus* (IX 1,20) was equipped with triple doors; double doors between the “vestibule” and the *fauces*, and a small door to the right.

²⁴⁹ Evans 1980, pp. 48-49. *Fauces* sloping the other way, i.e., down to the atrium, are rare: *Cd Iside* (VII 2,16), *Hospitium Christianorum* (VII 11,11) and *Cd Granduca Michele* (VI 5,5) are examples. On the last-mentioned house, see the study by D’Auria 2012, p. 134, regarding the psychological reverse-effect the downward slope may have had upon the visitor.

²⁵⁰ Evans 1980, p. 48. See e.g., the northern *fauces* of the double atrium-house *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23), where a drainage-pipe, with well executed cleaning holes, may be spotted leading all along the *fauces* to the street; Karivieri & Forsell 2006-2007, fig. 11, pp. 126, 130.

plan even without the internal step, but in that case may be designed with steps leading up to the *fauces* from the sidewalk. The two entrances of *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11), and that of *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30) illustrate this design well (Fig. 16).

However, I am not inclined to agree with Platt's discussion concerning the intentions behind the wider, shallower and elevated *fauces* (see the terrace-house *Cd Bracciale d'oro*, VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11). In her view, the common layout of a long *fauces*-corridor worked to distance the interior and the household from the street's smells and noises. The terrace-houses, on the other hand, did not need such a layout due to the fact that the terracing in itself created a natural distance.²⁵¹ But, in this perspective, pragmatic adaptation to the natural topography, which must have played a part in the builders' arrival at different architectural solutions, is not taken into consideration. Contradictory cases are furthermore found in many terrace-houses that are equipped with long *fauces*-corridors (see e.g., in the core-sample, the majority of the *fauces* in *insula VIII 2*).

Turning to the side-rooms that open (internally) on to some *fauces* (see Tables 1-3 below), they have traditionally been described as a porter's lodge, *cellula ianitoris*, on the basis of Roman written statements on the matter, from where the porter, the *ianitor* or *ostiarius*, at times in company with a chained dog, could keep watch.²⁵² Today, one is more careful to attribute unitary functions to rooms, for reasons made obvious in the studies by Penelope Allison. In the majority of her sample of households, the side-rooms were instead more likely used for storage, as shown by the fixture holes in the walls, most probably used to secure shelves.²⁵³ In other cases, the rooms may have provided access to the upper floor by stairs, or created an alternative circulation pattern from the *fauces* to the *atrium*.²⁵⁴ In short, the multifunctionality of rooms is important to underline. That is not to rule out the possibility that a room might have been designated for a porter with or without a dog, although this function is problematic to trace archaeologically.

²⁵¹ Platts 2020, p. 183: "It might be argued, then, that having access to a substantial terrace and/or a multi-storey, highly opulent dwelling reduced the need for a substantial *fauces* which generally worked to distance the household and its guests from the hubbub and stench outside. [...] organizing a dwelling on various levels, ensuring its entrance was located on a different level from at least some of the entertaining rooms, including the summer triclinium, would serve to give the owner some control over sounds and smells that might otherwise impinge upon aspects of life and personal display in these residences."

²⁵² Varro, *Rust.* 1.13; Suet. *Vit.* 16; Suet. *Rhet.* 3 (27); Livy 7.5.3; Cic. *Planc.* 27; Sen. *Constant.* 14.2; Tib. *El.* 1.1.56; 2.4.31-34.

²⁵³ See Allison's *Pompeian households: an on-line companion*: <https://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/home>. Examples of previous interpretations drawn from this "companion": *Cd Principe di Napoli* (VI 15,8; Strocka 1984: porter's lodge, Allison: storage) and *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24; Fiorelli: *cella ostaria*, Allison: storage or mixed domestic activities). See also discussion in Berry 2016, pp. 137-138.

²⁵⁴ Two of the side-rooms in the *fauces* concerned exhibit this alternative circulation-route to the *atrium*: *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20), featuring a side-room which also has a staircase to the upper floor, and *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27).

Turning to the 30 *fauces* of the core-sample,²⁵⁵ we find that 20 belong to the “undivided” *fauces* group and nine to the “divided” *fauces* group.²⁵⁶ In the “divided” group, the one example with an L-shaped threshold is also included. As stated above, I have chosen to depart slightly from Evans’ classifications concerning one particular instance. Instead of classifying the small recess by the sidewalk as part of a “divided” *fauces*-layout, as stated above, I have classified the *fauces* of *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27) as “undivided” in view of its predominantly corridor-like structure (see Fig. 12).

In sum, it is evident that there was never only one model according to which the *fauces* of an *atrium*-house had to be designed. The layouts of the core-sample correspond to the findings set out by Evans and Proudfoot,²⁵⁷ in that the corridor-design is the most common version, although the divided *fauces* occur more frequently in this core-sample than in the categorisation presented by Evans. Moreover, when the classic corridor-design is present, the narrow shape may require people to enter in single file. The long space also creates a distance between the inner house and the street, which has been interpreted in terms of control exercised by the owner.²⁵⁸ The architectural reality of the various Pompeian *fauces*-spaces is, in short, not comparable with that of the aristocratic *vestibula* of Rome as described in ancient literary sources (see chap. 2).

Finally, we need to observe that Pompeian *atrium*-houses might have multiple entrances. These could include a rear entrance, *posticum*, or a door that opened from a *taberna*, flanking the *fauces*, to the *atrium*. There were, in addition, so-called “double” *atrium*-houses, which because of their “double” layout had two *fauces*, some even placed next to each other.²⁵⁹ In these cases, a common interpretation categorises the *fauces* as one “primary” entrance and one “secondary”. Nevertheless, it is important to ask which the main entrance may have been; the most decoratively elaborate entrance or the one used the most:²⁶⁰ When this matter is being addressed, there seems to be a scholarly consensus on a distinction between the major *fauces*, used as the reception-entrance for visitors, and the minor *fauces*, often located just next door, which was used in a more informal manner, as a domestic entrance for the

²⁵⁵ Included here is also the stairway-entrance (VI 17,44, no. 11) next to the main *fauces* of *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42, no. 10).

²⁵⁶ The *fauces* in *Cd Leone* (VI 17,25, no. 9) cannot be classified due to modern destruction and poor documentation although the present layout is undivided. According to the plan of the house by Mazois 1824, part 2, pl. 30, however, the *fauces*-passage was divided, and in the report by Fiorelli, it is stated that the mosaic was found between the outer threshold and the inner, see Fiorelli in *PAHI* (15th of June 1780), p. 311. Two further *fauces* have, for the purposes of this study, been classified as undivided although their thresholds are missing, and the mosaics are fragmented: *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17) and *VIII 2,18* (no. 21).

²⁵⁷ Proudfoot 2013, p. 95, fig. 3. The classification of the *fauces*-layouts is as follows, and agrees with that of Evans: 1). direct entrance, 2). entrance vestibule, 3). entrance vestibule with side room or passage, and 4). entrance passage (nos. 2-4 are of interest for the present study).

²⁵⁸ Platts 2020, pp. 65-67, stresses how the multisensory experiences of the street, like smells and noises, could be regulated in this way.

²⁵⁹ See Evans 1980, pp. 148-159, for examples of specific houses, including some with access from different streets. The intentionally double *atrium*-house derives from Hellenistic times, while the merging group evolves over time.

²⁶⁰ Grahame 1997, pp. 140-141.

family.²⁶¹ That is to say, one of the *fauces* was the public entrance; the other was more privately used. One possible reading could thus be that the double *atrium*-house allowed for alternative circulation-patterns, with the more elaborately decorated *fauces* being used as the entrance for the visitors, and perhaps the second entrance serving as an exit.²⁶²

In a few cases of double *atrium*-houses in the core-sample, there are cases where it has been proposed that one of the *atria* was the centre of a commercial business (see also chap. 5): *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24) and *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29). However, the interpretation by Ferdinand Noack & Karl Lehmann-Hartleben for *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24) is questionable as they propose that the tessellated *fauces* lead into the service-wing of the house.²⁶³ What may be stated conclusively is that double *atrium*-houses seem to have served different purposes, dependent on individual needs. Kastenmeier points out the fact that, whereas Roman authors very rarely discuss houses with several entrances, the Pompeian material exhibits the practical solutions offered by such houses in response to accessing different areas, such as the so-called “Nebenatrien” (the second *atrium* in a double *atrium*-house), service-quarters and the garden.²⁶⁴ In many cases, a straightforward division between presentational display, on the one hand, and domestic functionality, on the other, does indeed seem to prevail. But interpretative problems arise when decoration has faded or when both *fauces* seem to be equally decorative. One interesting case from the core-sample is *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11), where the entrance-layout is divided between the main *fauces* (VI 17,42, no. 10) and a neighbouring stairway-entrance (VI 17,44, no. 11). What makes this house unique is that both entrances are adorned with mosaic-floors.

3.1.2 Boundaries in the *fauces*: doors and mosaics

As we have already seen, a prevalent perception of the entrance to a Roman *atrium*-house has been that of a house with the front doors open, offering itself to the public eye by means of an unimpeded visual axis, the *Durchblick*.²⁶⁵ However, an equally relevant reading of how

²⁶¹ See e.g., Grahame 1997 on the two *fauces* in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7); Strocka 1991 on the two *fauces* in *Cd Labirinto* (VI 11,9-10); www.pompejiprojektet.se on the two *fauces* in *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), and Evans 1980, pp. 157-158, on different purposes for *Cd Vettii* (VI 15,1), *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4), *Cd Argenteria* (VI 7,20-21) and *Cd Fontana grande* (VI 8,21-22); the latter two with minor *atria* too elaborate for purely domestic purposes? Dickmann 1999, p. 76, on the other hand, proposes that the main (well-decorated?) entrance was reserved for the family, whereas the second *fauces*, or a wicket-passage in the *fauces*, may have acted as the entry for the service staff.

²⁶² Cf. Goldbeck 2010, pp. 140-141, who discusses the idea that the layout of two *atria* could have been used for receiving larger number of visitors, or at least serving to create an impression of “crowded” spaces. However, he continues, the ancient literary sources do not mention any use of two *atria* for the ritual of the *salutatio*, and the archaeological reality of Pompeii does not confirm any such a notion either.

²⁶³ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 69, 181.

²⁶⁴ Kastenmeier 2001, p. 306.

²⁶⁵ See, first and foremost, Drerup 1959, but also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, pp. 44-45: “One vivid sign of this lack of privacy is the visual transparency of the Roman house”; Bek 1980, esp. pp. 17, 181-189, underlining that the symmetry is designed to make an impression on the visitor.

such houses appeared to the general public is given by analyses investigating doors and boundaries. First Evans and, later, Proudfoot and Taylor M. Lauritsen have in recent years contributed important analyses of this sort, not only presenting evidence for secondary door-sets in the *fauces* but also considering how partitions inside the houses must have regulated movement as well as sightlines. The two latter scholars have stressed a need for a re-evaluation of the idea that the *atrium*-house's front part was a space open to view.²⁶⁶

However, the question regarding the number of actual doors in the *fauces* remains problematic. It is especially the inner door-set, situated between the *fauces* and the *atrium*, that has failed to be acknowledged within previous scholarship and early excavation reports. Moreover, it has proven to be difficult to tell if thresholds were combined with a door or not, as some cases do not exhibit any pivot-holes. In other cases, the additional door was instead directly attached to the door-jambs, constructional elements of doorways, which hitherto have not received sufficient attention.²⁶⁷ Despite the fact that no full account of entrances with several door-sets can be achieved due to these obstacles, Proudfoot proposes nonetheless that it is likely that most entrances had two door-sets.²⁶⁸ Already Evans had highlighted the employment of several door-sets in, especially, the divided *fauces*, but reached the conclusion that the open compartments near the street were reminiscent of the ancient written statements about the *vestibulum*.²⁶⁹ However, in his thorough study of doorways in Campanian houses, Lauritsen sees the evidence deducible from his own sample as too vague to support Proudfoot's "positive" view.²⁷⁰

Nevertheless, Proudfoot's large sample of 50 entrances with at least two door-sets,²⁷¹ may be regarded as supportive of the notion that the typical Pompeian entrance had its outer doors left open during daytime whereas the inner doors provided security and blocked visibility. Still, some of the inner door-sets seem to have been rather low (*Cd Orso*, VII 2,45, no. 14) or else suggestive of an openwork gate (*Cd Popidius Priscus*, VII 2,20, no. 13), which suggests that a view into the rear of the house could in fact have been obtained even when the inner door was closed. In these cases, a compromise could thus be realised, whereby the important architectural sightline provided by the *Durchblick* was still in evidence, while the

²⁶⁶ For boundaries in the *atrium*-house, and a critique of "the empty house paradigm", see Lauritsen 2011; 2012; 2014, vol. 1, esp. pp. 19-44; Proudfoot 2013; Evans 1980, esp. pp. 44-48. See also the thorough discussion by Platts 2020, pp. 80-129.

²⁶⁷ See Proudfoot 2013, pp. 96, 100-103, and Lauritsen 2014, vol. 1, pp. 168-192, 212-219, on e.g., "plaster scars" that have failed to be documented as impressions of doors, once attached to no longer preserved wooden thresholds; also, on the modern removal of stone thresholds to other locations and on modern cut jamb-holes in ancient thresholds.

²⁶⁸ Proudfoot 2013, pp. 92-94, 99, 101-102, emphasises that a few early writers like Mazois and Gell do mention additional doors in the *fauces*, but that this feature has since been disregarded. On the other hand, Vittorio Spinazzola did acknowledge the inner door-sets; Lauritsen 2013; 2014.

²⁶⁹ Evans 1980, p. 48.

²⁷⁰ Lauritsen 2014, vol. 1, pp. 212-219. Lauritsen is less confident in assigning partitions based on vertical plaster scars on jambs and on stone footings. See e.g., the marble-clad footings adjacent to the *fauces-atrium* in *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23), which Lauritsen (p. 216) does not count due to the unlikelihood of the entrance as having *three* boundaries. Instead, the footings could have served a wooden frame that had a decorative function.

²⁷¹ Proudfoot 2013, pp. 97-100, 105, table 5.

need for security measures was also taken into consideration.²⁷² The outer door was naturally locked at night, and several finds of locks and bars bear witness to this security-system (Fig. 17).²⁷³

In Proudfoot's sample of *fauces* with door-sets at the approaches both to the street and to the *atrium*, eight *fauces* from our core-sample are included. Although the *fauces* of *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12) is not included in his sample, it is confirmed to have had two door-sets by Lauritsen.²⁷⁴ Moreover, the particular *fauces* of *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2), although excluded from the discussions of the Proudfoot and Lauritsen, suggests an entrance with two door-sets. The door by the sidewalk is walled up (and already was in ancient times), but is it likely that this threshold was once equipped with a door. The entrance to the *atrium* has a threshold, which clearly shows the pivot-holes for a door.

Divided fauces with two door-sets:

Cd Caecilius Iucundus (V 1,23-26, no. 3): outer and inner door-sets

Cd Ancora (VI 10,7, no. 6): outer and inner door-sets (uncertain case)

Cd Fauno (VI 12,2, no. 7): outer and intermediate door-sets

Cd Cinghiale II (VIII 2,26, no. 23): outer and intermediate door-sets

Undivided fauces with two door-sets:

Praedia di Iulia Felix (II 4,1-12, no. 2): outer and inner door-sets

Cd Poeta tragico (VI 8,3/5, no. 5): outer and inner door-sets

Cd M. Caesius Blandus (VII 1,40, no. 12): outer and inner door-sets

Cd Orso (VII 2,45, no. 14): outer and inner door-sets

Cd Marcus Lucretius (IX 3,5/24, no. 27): two outer door-sets

The location of doors within the space of the *fauces* is important for this study as it informs us how visible the mosaics may have been for visitors or pedestrians. Of the 30 *fauces* with mosaics, 29 carry information regarding the location of the mosaic.²⁷⁵ The undivided *fauces*-layout entails, primarily, all-over patterned mosaics, but in some cases, there are also specific

²⁷² Cf. the summary in Lauritsen 2014, vol. 1, pp. 244-245, in which he pays particular attention to the many boundaries between the *atrium*-area and the peristyle in Pompeian houses, and the means of control exercised by the house-owner. For the use of textiles in the late Roman house, see also Stephenson 2014, pp. 18-19, who notes that there is Pompeian evidence for curtain rods and hanging devices in some of the houses – especially in wider doorways – but that excavation reports generally have been negligent with regard to them. See also Evans 1980, p. 47.

²⁷³ Proudfoot 2013, pp. 103-107. In a few houses at Pompeii, successful plaster-casts of the front door have been made, presenting large security bars, *repagula*, and props. One outer door-set is found in *Cd Efebo* (I 7,10), while an inner door-set is seen in *Cd Bell'impluvio* (I 9,1). In many *fauces*, the stop for the bar is still visible in the floor. Security devices for inner doors have not been reported to the same extent. In *Cd Trebius Valens* (III 2,1), the door-locking equipment was found during excavation, see Della Corte in *NSc* 1914, p. 104.

²⁷⁴ See Proudfoot 2013, table 5; Lauritsen 2014, vol. 1, table 11. The *fauces* of *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,30), included by Proudfoot, belongs to the second *atrium* in the double *atrium*-house, the *fauces* of which in VIII 2,29 (no. 24) is decorated with a mosaic.

²⁷⁵ Only *Cd Leone* (VI 17,25, no. 9) is not included as the mosaic is no longer *in situ*.

images, comparable to *emblemata*, which are found in various locations within the entrance-space. When borders and threshold-panels frame the mosaics, the all-over pattern may be thought of resembling a carpet-like design. At times, though, the mosaics are fragmented, or no longer *in situ*, which in turn may obstruct the study of the partitions in their relation to the mosaics. The following three tables do not claim to present a thorough study of thresholds and doors in the *fauces* concerned, since only few of the 30 *fauces* have been studied with their doorways primarily in mind: the content of the tables can therefore only serve as an approximate guide.

Table 1:

Layout of the architecture and mosaic-position: undivided *fauces*: 20 examples

House	Door-sets in <i>fauces</i>	Mosaic-position
<i>Praedia di Iulia Felix</i> (II 4,1-12, no. 2)	Two: outer and inner	All-over bichrome design
<i>Cd Vestali</i> (VI 1,7/25, no. 4)	Outer	Tessellated threshold-panel (inscription) by <i>atrium</i> -boundary
<i>Cd Poeta tragico</i> (VI 8,3/5, no. 5)	Two: outer and inner + two <i>taberna</i> -doors	All-over design with image (<i>emblema</i>) of watchdog + inscription adjacent to outer threshold
<i>Cd Bracciale d'oro</i> (VI 17,42, no. 10)	Outer. Side-door to room	Floral/volute composition, set in a central square (small entrance-space = central <i>emblema</i>)
<i>Cd Bracciale d'oro</i> (VI 17,44, no. 11)	Outer	Geometric design (small entrance-space = central <i>emblema</i>)
<i>Cd M. Caesius Blandus</i> (VII 1,40, no. 12)	Two: outer and inner	All-over design with marine figures, tessellated figurative threshold-panel by <i>atrium</i> -boundary
<i>Cd Orso</i> (VII 2,45, no. 14)	Two: outer and inner	All-over design with image (<i>emblema</i>) of bear + inscription adjacent to outer threshold
<i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II</i> (VII 16,15, no. 17)	Outer?	Partially destroyed mosaic, but probably once an all-over geometric/stone insert design. No thresholds
<i>Cd Championnet I</i> (VIII 2,1, no. 18)	Outer	Partially destroyed mosaic, all-over stone-insert design, no threshold (left?) by <i>atrium</i> -boundary
<i>Cd Championnet II</i> (VIII 2,3, no. 19)	Outer	Partially destroyed mosaic, all-over geometric design, no threshold (left?) by <i>atrium</i> -boundary
<i>Cd Mosaici geometrici</i> (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20)	Outer. Side-door to room	All-over geometric design, tessellated threshold-panel by <i>atrium</i> -boundary
VIII 2,18 (no. 21)	Outer	Largely destroyed mosaic, all-over bichrome design. No threshold (left?) by <i>atrium</i> -boundary
<i>Palaestra</i> (VIII 2,23, no. 22)	Outer	All-over white design with centrally placed human figures (in long entrance-corridor)
<i>Cd Severus</i> (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24)	Outer. Side-doors to two rooms	Partially destroyed mosaic, all-over stone-insert design
<i>Cd Cinghiale I</i> (VIII 3,8, no. 25)	Outer	All-over geometric and floral design. Figures and tessellated threshold-panel by <i>atrium</i> -boundary
<i>Officina offectoria di Ubonius</i> (IX 3,2, no. 26)	Outer. Side-door to <i>taberna</i>	All-over geometric pattern, tessellated threshold-panel by <i>atrium</i> -boundary
<i>Cd Marcus Lucretius</i> (IX 3,5/24, no. 27)	Two outer thresholds with doors, creating a small recess. Side-door to room	All-over bichrome design, joined with <i>atrium</i> -mosaic
IX 5,6 (no. 28)	Outer. Side-door to room	First a mortar-floor, then an inner, all-over bichrome mosaic, joined with <i>atrium</i> -mosaic
<i>Cd Ristorante</i> (IX 5,14-16, no. 29)	Outer	All-over white design, tessellated floral threshold-panel by <i>atrium</i> -boundary
<i>Cd Centenario</i> (IX 8,3-6, no. 30)	Outer	Central <i>emblema</i> with marine figures (small entrance-space)

In the most common group of undivided *fauces* (20 *fauces* of 30) in Table 1, the architectural layout is uniform, with a rather long and narrow corridor-like room. There are naturally exceptions, as in the case of the two small entrances of *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11), which are reached by stairs from the sidewalk. In a few other cases, the *fauces*-passage can be described as wide and short (*Cd Centenario*, IX 8,3-6, no. 30), while in others, it is rather long and wide (*Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II*, VII 16,15, no. 17). The mosaics in this group cover the entire floors, with the majority exhibiting a constant all-over design, which does not distract the visitor (eight examples). In eight mosaics, however, there are more elaborate images that form part of a figurative or floral repertoire, and/or inscriptions are included. However, many of the mosaics are made up of multiple designs that cross several groups:

- Eight mosaics have all-over designs without specific focus: plain-bichrome, geometric designs or with stone-inserts: *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2), *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17), *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18), *Cd Championnet II* (VIII 2,3, no. 19), *VIII 2,18* (no. 21), *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24), *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27), and *IX 5,6* (no. 28)
- Two mosaics have figurative compositions like *emblemata* and inscriptions placed adjacent to the outer threshold: *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), and *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14)
- Four mosaics have central floral, geometric or figurative *emblemata* (acting as all-over designs due to the small entrance-space) or an all-over figurative composition: *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11), *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), and *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30)
- One mosaic has a centrally placed figurative image: *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22)
- Five mosaics have all-over designs (monochrome/bichrome/geometric) and/or tessellated panels placed close to the *atrium*-boundary: *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4), *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20), *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26), and *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29)

Aside from the all-over patterned mosaics, more elaborate images were either placed centrally on the *fauces*-floor or closer to that floor's boundary with the *atrium*. Several mosaics had tessellated threshold-panels close by the *atrium*. The least common layout found in only two examples, was the figurative composition (here accompanied by an inscription), placed adjacent to the outer threshold. Unlike the only remaining tessellated inscription from this group (in a tessellated threshold-panel by the *atrium*-boundary in *Cd Vestali*, VI 1,7/25, no. 4), these two mosaics were designed to meet the visitor immediately on arrival.

The mosaics in this “undivided” *fauces*-group were all placed behind the outer door, which means that the doors had to stand open for any passers-by to get a glimpse of the

interior. Three entrances (*Cd Bracciale d'oro*, VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11, and *Cd Centenario*, IX 8,3-6, no. 30) were reached by stairs, which further prevented the mosaics from being truly on display. However, within theoretical frameworks on architecture, a stairway will always “invite people to go up”, due to the mere fact that the top is more alluring than the bottom.²⁷⁶ Hence, even though the mosaics were not easily spotted from ground-level, if one took just one step up (out of curiosity), the décor would have been seen if the doors were open.

In at least two cases, in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) and *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), both of which feature a figurative mosaic-design with inscriptions adjacent to the outer threshold, we have information about an additional inner door adjoining the *atrium*, which could provide protection if the outer doors were left open. In *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), the inner door is reported to have been rather low, with an open section at the top, which offered the visitor an astounding view of the mosaic-*aedicula* in the *viridarium* (see chap. 5 and Fig. 83). In the *fauces* of *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), the watchdog-mosaic could be seen not only through the open main door but also through two *taberna*-doors (VI 8,4-6) that communicated with the *fauces* (Fig. 18). Moreover, in the *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22), a window in the adjoining *taberna/thermopolium* (VIII 2,24) also offered a view towards the wrestler-mosaic of the semi-public bath (Fig. 146). The same goes for the *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26), where the *fauces* communicated with the neighbouring workshop/*taberna* (IX 3,1) through a door. Naturally, these public spaces needed to be open for customers/visitors in order for the mosaics to be seen from there.

²⁷⁶ See Thiis-Evensen 1991, p. 91, drawing on ideas by the Italian Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio (1508-1580).

Table 2:

Layout of the architecture and mosaic-position: divided *fauces*: 8 examples

House	Door-sets in <i>fauces</i>	Mosaic-position
<i>Cd Paquius Proculus</i> (I 7,1, no. 1)	Two: outer and intermediate	Outer mortar-floor, intermediate threshold, all-over mosaic with watchdog, tessellated figurative threshold-panel by <i>atrium</i> -boundary
<i>Cd Caecilius Lucundus</i> (V 1,23-26, no. 3)	Two: outer and inner. Intermediate threshold without door	Stepped <i>fauces</i> : ground-level mortar, intermediate threshold. Upper-level mosaic with watchdog
<i>Cd Ancora</i> (VI 10,7, no. 6)	Two: outer and inner. Intermediate (only one hole)?	Stepped <i>fauces</i> : ground-level mosaic with anchor, intermediate threshold. Upper-level mosaic with geometric pattern. In all: two mosaics
<i>Cd Fauno</i> (VI 12,2, no. 7)	Two: outer and intermediate	Outer mortar-floor, intermediate threshold, <i>opus sectile</i> -floor, tessellated figurative panel by <i>atrium</i> -boundary. In all: two mosaics
<i>Cd Popidius Priscus</i> (VII 2,20, no. 13)	Two: outer and intermediate (an openwork-gate)	Outer floor unknown. Intermediate threshold, thereafter presumably same all-over stone insert-mosaic as <i>atrium</i>
<i>Cd Marinaio</i> (VII 15,1-2, no. 15)	Outer	Intermediate threshold, figurative section in the lower part of the mosaic, then an all-over geometric mosaic and a tessellated threshold-panel with a marine motif
<i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I</i> (VII 16,12-13, no. 16)	Outer	All-over mosaic with flower-design
<i>Cd Cinghiale II</i> (VIII 2,26, no. 23)	Two: outer and intermediate. Side-door to room	Stepped <i>fauces</i> : ground-level mortar, intermediate threshold. Upper-level mosaic with central wild boar

Table 3:

Layout of the architecture and mosaic-position: divided *fauces* with L-shaped threshold: 1 example

House	Door-sets in <i>fauces</i>	Mosaic-position
<i>VI 13,13</i> (no. 8)	Outer L-shaped threshold with two doors. Former side-door to neighbouring room	Outer mortar, in front of L-shaped threshold. Behind, an all-over geometric mosaic and tessellated threshold-panel with floral motif by <i>atrium</i> -boundary. In all: two mosaics

The nine divided entrances in Tables 2 and 3 are not uniform in their design, and some may be characterised as not resembling a corridor. Instead, thresholds or steps may divide the middle space, or, as seen in some cases, the entrance is rather small and wide, i.e., it does not extend far back into the house. The recesses in front of the *fauces* vary from smallish spaces to merely nominal niches (Fig. 19). It is obvious that this group had a potential in its layout that engendered more frequent conspicuous undertakings than did the more standard undivided type. Perhaps one may find an explanation in the consideration that it was easier, financially speaking, and faster, to decorate a smaller part of a *fauces*-passage with a tessellated floor than a whole corridor. With the aid of various closing arrangements, one could succeed in presenting varying glimpses of the *fauces*, with or without a visible mosaic.

As will be discussed in the section on mortar-floors in chap. 6.1, when a *fauces*-passage is divided, the outer floor is generally paved with a mortar-floor while it is the inner section that is tessellated. The mosaics in this “divided” group can thus be classified either as more or less all-over floorings or as tessellations that cover only the inner *fauces* (see below). Moreover, the three *fauces* in the core-sample that had not only one mosaic but two, are found in this group. Interestingly, these three houses are found rather close to each other in the central *regio* VI, and also with a mosaic date belonging to the periods of the 1st and 2nd styles (see chaps. 4 and 5).

- Four mosaics are more or less all-over floor-coverings (i.e., they resemble in layout the flooring of undivided *fauces*): *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13), *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), and *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16)
- Two mosaics are located in the inner *fauces*, on the upper level of the stepped passages: *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), and *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23). Consider also the following three *fauces*:
- Three *fauces* each have two mosaics: *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6: on both the lower and upper levels of the stepped *fauces*), *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7: one in the middle section, and one serving as a separate tessellated threshold-panel), and *VI 13,13* (no. 8: one in the middle section behind the L-shaped threshold, and one serving as a separate, tessellated, threshold-panel).

The divided *fauces*-design can be regarded as a fifty-fifty scenario, which either provided a view of the mosaics to the visitors when still on the sidewalk or required that the visitor more or less had stepped into the *fauces* already. In the case with *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), the *fauces*-mosaic is located on the upper level of the stepped *fauces*, which in a way distances the visitor as the *fauces* is not on a slope (Fig. 15). This distancing effect is also seen in the stepped *fauces* of *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23), but here, the upward slant of the *fauces* is a little more accentuated, making the boar depicted on the upper-level mosaic seem to face the visitor (Fig. 86). In both these cases, the lower, outer part of the *fauces* is paved with a mortar-floor.²⁷⁷ A more accentuated slant upwards is, on the other hand, found in the *fauces* of *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), which almost results in a space where the visitor is more or less obliged to decide where to stand: at the outer threshold or at the *atrium*-

²⁷⁷ In *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23), the outer door was a *tri-valve* construction, and the intermediate a *bi-valve*, see Lauritsen 2014, vol. 1, p. 216. Tri-valve entrance-doors were in fashion more or less from the 1st style-period to the last; see Proudfoot 2013, pp. 101-103. In *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23), the front mortar-floor, decorated with *tesserae*, was visible when the front door was open, whereas the upper mosaic portraying a wild boar was exposed first when *two* door-sets stood open. This pattern is also present in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), and while the intermediate door was closed, the polychrome *opus sectile*-paving and the tessellated threshold-panel at the *atrium*-boundary would have been concealed, see Proudfoot 2013, p. 97.

boundary (Fig. 114). Although obvious, it is important to stress that the more the *fauces*-floors slant upwards, the more likelihood there was that passers-by would view the mosaics.

The *fauces*-passage of *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6) is articulated in the same stepped manner but here, the two levels are both, uniquely, adorned with mosaics (Fig. 112). The door by the lower, outer step is the most distinctly evidenced. The middle, dividing step is, however, an uncertain case as the threshold shows three pivot-holes while the upper-level shows lava side-stones with pivot-holes.²⁷⁸ This *fauces*-passage is a good illustration of how the views by Proudfoot and Lauritsen differ. While Proudfoot accepts as plausible a closure-system with three boundaries, Lauritsen dismisses this scenario as “redundant”, i.e., the need of a third boundary would have been unnecessary.²⁷⁹ For this study, it can therefore only be stated that this divided *fauces*-passage plausibly had two closures, with the consequence that the mosaics could either have been seen together or one by one.

In the special case of the *fauces* in *VI 13,13* (no. 8), the L-shaped threshold contained two perpendicular doors, one straight ahead (from the visitor’s point of view) and the other facing towards the left, providing access for a smaller party. In her study of the similar *fauces*-arrangement in *Cd Vettii* (VI 15,1), Kastenmeier discusses the front space, in front of the L-shaped threshold, as open to the street, thus without a door. In that case, the borderline between the outside and inside would have been blurred, or rather interconnected, as the sidewalk-décor as well as the façade-décor continue into this front space.²⁸⁰ Unfortunately, due to bad decorative preservation, nothing so detailed can be said of the *fauces*-entrance in *VI 13,13* (no. 8), only that it is likely to have had the same architectural configuration.²⁸¹

3.1.3 Concluding discussion

The general door-layout in the core-sample, combined with the location of the mosaics within the spaces of the *fauces*, suggests that the mosaics were laid primarily for the visitor standing already at the outer threshold looking in, and not so much for the casual street-goer. However, it is important to underline that the eye-catching black-and-white technique and/or the polychrome stone-inserts of the mosaics were meant to attract the attention also of the street-goers when the doors stood open. In all cases, no matter in which group, the mosaics were located behind a door, and never in front of the main door that closed off the house at night. In the cases where, hypothetically, there was only one door, such a door had

²⁷⁸ See Coarelli & Pesando 2006, p. 169, where it is stated that the marble step dividing the floors of the *fauces* also functioned as the threshold for the door between the *fauces* and the *atrium*, as testified by the square holes for the hinges.

²⁷⁹ Proudfoot 2013, p. 105; Lauritsen 2014, vol. 1, p. 216, n. 498.

²⁸⁰ Kastenmeier 2001, pp. 302-307, figs. 4, 5, and 10.

²⁸¹ See Gobbo 2009, pp. 338-339, 356. Like the *fauces* of *Cd Vettii* (VI 15,1), the *fauces* of *VI 13,13* (no. 8) also had cubic capitals crowning the entrance-pilasters, making them two out of a total of four similar entrances, see Kastenmeier 2001, pp. 305-306, n. 21. The two houses are located on the same street, in different *insulae*, but not far from each other.

naturally to stand open for any mosaics within to be noticed, while in *fauces* where the several door-sets were installed, there was scope for experimentation with various vistas.²⁸²

With regard to these studies of boundaries resulting from the *physical* limits between different spaces,²⁸³ I would like to emphasise that a *symbolic* boundary could be an important “barrier” as well. If one considers matters from the structural point of view, it is naturally more obvious to discuss doors as regulating movement in a direct and tangible manner. However, an entrance with a mosaic on the floor may still evoke the same reaction as a physical barrier, i.e., a (sudden) hesitation before the person who sees it moves on.²⁸⁴ The visitor’s hypothetical hesitation, prompted by mosaic-décor, could thus be experienced either already at the sidewalk-threshold, in the middle of the *fauces* or at the *atrium*-boundary, all depending on the decorative layout of the tessellated floor in combination with that of the architectural space.

Different choices of mosaic-patterns could reflect various aspects of the *fauces* (some being relatively welcoming and some calling, rather, for reflection on the signals that they produced, see chap. 6). Inherent in all mosaic-pavements, however, there was also another symbolic boundary that was very real, in that the material of tessellation immediately pointed a sharp contrast with the material of the outside paving. Consequently, when a *fauces*-floor was adorned with a mosaic, the demarcation between the two spheres of indoors and outdoors was truly enhanced. This demarcation could seem even more pronounced in entrances that were located on a higher level and thus had to be reached by stairs, or when one had to cross several thresholds or interior steps to be able to enter the *atrium*. One could speculate, thus, that the divided *fauces* might be prone to special attention through the tessellation of especially the inner part; resulting in a decorative climax for the newly arrived visitor.

3.2 A study of a standard type of *fauces*-decoration

The purpose of the second part of this chapter is to study the decoration of Pompeian *fauces* with the objective of determining how a typical entryway might have appeared. The interior decorations of the walls and floors of *fauces* will be presented in three coherently studied collections (together with an appendix). In the course of this study, mosaics will be

²⁸² Proudfoot 2013, p. 103: “The placement of figured mosaics behind the outer entrance doors further hints that the outer doors were designed to be left open during the day [...] In contrast, mosaics at the boundary between entrance passage and atrium, when not purely geometric, tend to precede the inner door, such as the ‘*SALVE LVCRV(m)*’ of the *Casa di Siricus* (VII.1.47), or the fortified city walls of the *Casa di M. Caesius Blandus* (VII.1.40). This suggests that they were designed to be seen even when the inner doors were closed”. However, as this quotation implies, *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12) also seems to have had an inner door, but this has not been confirmed and the house is unfortunately not included in the table by Proudfoot.

²⁸³ Lauritsen 2011, p. 64; Proudfoot 2013.

²⁸⁴ See Joyce 1979, p. 261, and Berry 2016, p. 136, stressing the impact that a tessellated threshold had in view of its effect of making the visitor pause.

highlighted as being a most conspicuous decorative element of the *fauces*, one that, nevertheless, formed part of an overall decoration scheme.

Although a remarkably well-preserved Roman city, the fate of Pompeii has seen a continuous destruction of both architecture and décor, even in modern times. Moreover, an unequal focus on certain houses at the expense of others, particularly those considered to have been the less wealthy, has resulted in a very uneven documentation of the full range of excavated domestic dwellings.²⁸⁵ Since the *fauces* did not constitute the most lavishly decorated space, the entryway evoked only a slight interest among early scholars. As a consequence of this, I have turned to three modern archaeological re-documentation projects, details of which will be presented below, in order to find a systematic and methodical examination of several *fauces*.

Traditionally speaking, the study of Pompeian *atrium*-houses, conducted with an architectural or a decorative perspective, has been prone to start the tour by the *atrium*. In other words, the boundary separating them from the world outside, the façade and the *fauces*, has been much overlooked. But as this section aims to show, there is no good reason to skip over them, as the decoration and imagery of the liminal space that they constitute are, in fact, rich enough to contribute plenty of information on how the Romans perceived their homes.²⁸⁶

3.2.1 In search of a standard *fauces*: three collections

In the wake of the modern earthquake in 1980, which caused further serious destruction to the ruined city, emphasis has been put on re-documenting the standing remains in a more scientific manner. Even prior to this earthquake, a very zealous project, the German *Häuser in Pompeji (HiP)*, had begun its fieldwork in 1975, soon afterwards to be directed by Volker Michael Strocka. The aim of this project has been to return to and document the architectural and decorative remains of a sample consisting of 14 houses from different parts of the city.²⁸⁷ The thorough and systematic approach adopted towards documentation provides an excellent basis for a study of *fauces*-decoration in general.

A similar scholarly approach characterises two more projects, the objectives of which, however, are slightly different: what they both mainly focus upon is the interrelationship between private and public structures within whole *insulae*. One is the British enterprise called *The insula of the Menander at Pompeii*, about *insula* I 10, and the other is *The Swedish*

²⁸⁵ See e.g., Wallace-Hadrill 1990, pp.152-154; 1994.

²⁸⁶ Mac Mahon 2003, p. 65. See also discussion in Wallace-Hadrill 2008, pp. 46-48, 66, comparing the external and internal functions of Pompeian *atrium*-houses and Roman tombs.

²⁸⁷ Strocka published the first volume in 1984. In all, 12 volumes were published by German and international archaeologists up until 2004. Some of the houses were chosen due to their rich decorations, others for their acute need of documentation, and finally, some thanks to individual preferences by the authors, see Strocka 1984, pp. 9-11.

Pompeii project, about *insula V 1*.²⁸⁸ Both *insulae* contained grand *atrium*-houses, such as *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4) and *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), together with *Cd Torello* (V 1,7), but also included smaller domestic units and public structures. These studies thus enable an investigation on the interrelationship between neighbouring dwellings, among which competitiveness regarding décor may be considered one key factor.

3.2.2 The *fauces* in the three collections: wall-décor

Before considering the wall-décor, it is apposite to state that the collections naturally reflect the situation of A.D. 79, the implication of this being that the majority of paintings had been updated to the 4th style. Unlike the floors, which could be kept for longer time-periods, the walls were more exposed to new trends (see chap. 4). The following survey will therefore be especially revelatory about the popular colour-palette of the 4th style-paintings, which was used not only for the *fauces* but for many rooms in the *atrium*-houses.²⁸⁹ The general preservation status of the wall-décor in *fauces*, no matter which collection one studies, is not the best. The lower dados are often relatively well-preserved, while the higher up on the wall one gets, the less likely it is for the paintings (or the walls) to be intact.

To give a general impression of *fauces* wall-decorations, I will begin by comparing reports from the collections (see details in appendix) with the assertion by Allison that: “passageways and entranceways had simple, fairly flat decoration, often red or black”.²⁹⁰ For example, Bettina Bergmann states in her discussion about *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) that the colours of the different sections of the walls are linked with each other in order to unite or separate spaces; the front rooms present red dados and yellow walls whereas the back rooms present black dados and red walls.²⁹¹

In *insula I 10* (*The insula of the Menander*), some of the walls have quite well-preserved painted plaster, suggesting a darkish general effect. Where preserved, the dados are black or purple-red, while the middle zones are black in only one case (with orthostats, i.e., vertical panels) and white, instead, in two examples. The upper zones also make use of the colours purple-red and white, and architectural vistas are found in one *fauces*-context while another entrance (*Cd Amanti*, I 10,11) had isodomonic blockwork, i.e., horizontal courses, very much in line with a way in which façades could be decorated (Fig. 20).²⁹²

²⁸⁸ Roger Ling et. al., *The insula of the Menander at Pompeii*, Oxford (4 volumes), 1997-2006. Initiated in the year 2000 by the Swedish Institute at Rome, under the guidance of Anne-Marie Leander Touati, the documentation of *insula V 1* is continuously being published with open access on the project's web page: www.pompejiprojektet.se/insula.php

²⁸⁹ According to Wallace-Hadrill 1994, pp. 166-167, the dominant colours within the 4th style were white as a ground colour and then red and yellow (often together). Less usual are blue, green and black. However, Allison & Sear 2002, p. 205, point to the commonness, in passages and open spaces, of black, which thus, due to the nature of the spaces, over time may have faded or simply disappeared.

²⁹⁰ Allison & Sear 2002, p. 205.

²⁹¹ Bergmann 1994, p. 231, figs. 12-13.

²⁹² For studies on façade-paintings and décor, see Fröhlich 1991; Fridell Anter 2011; Hartnett 2017.

In *insula* V 1, the paintings are unfortunately much weathered, but in a few cases, it is possible to discern, in particular, black middle zones. The best-preserved *fauces*-décor is found in *Cd Epigrammi greci* (V 1,18), where the red dado was surmounted by a black middle zone, adorned with small figurative vignettes, while the upper zone had white isodomic blockwork.

The large *HiP* sample also exhibits a preference for dados in (purple) red or black (as well as yellow in two cases), with main fields divided into several large panels, often in red, black or yellow. The upper zones tend to be lighter, often painted in white or yellow. In three *fauces* (from two houses, one of which is a double *atrium*-house), the upper-zones were painted in the rare colour purple. In another couple of cases, isodomic blockwork adorns the upper zones. One specific case of *fauces*-décor (*Cd Ceii*, I 6,15) gives us further insight into overall decorative impact thanks to preservation of a painted ceiling (Fig. 21). The white colour with a red and green plant-decoration must have lightened up the narrow entrance-hall, where the walls were purple-red and white (and the floor of *lavapesta* with white rows of *tesserae*). The large white upper zones of the walls still present panels and *pinakes*, i.e., small paintings in tablets, containing still-life motifs and animals.²⁹³

Unsurprisingly, much of what we find documented in the three collections (and also in Bergmann's analysis of *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) more or less agrees with Allison's verdict. However, we observe that the decoration of *fauces*-walls does not solely consist of monochrome panels but also includes smaller figurative details, placed in the middle- or upper zones or as dividers between the panels. The pictorial motifs present candelabra, flowering garlands, animals and still-life motifs of fruits and birds, or floating satyrs and maenads (Fig. 22).²⁹⁴ The standard design-repertoire of *fauces* did not include (large) deities or mythological heroes (Fig. 23); instead, these appear in the larger narrative paintings which were to be found further on, inside the houses, or in smaller representations on their façades.²⁹⁵ As we saw in the previous chapter, the protective Priapus is only found depicted in a few cases, including one alleged example found in *Cd Principe di Napoli* (VI 15,8, *HiP*), which decorates one of the pillars abutting on the *atrium*.²⁹⁶ Interestingly though, the three *fauces* are all found in close proximity to one another (two on the street of Vicolo dei Vettii

²⁹³ Michel 1990, pp. 18-19. The outer door-set is preserved as a plaster-cast, while the inner door-set was documented by its frame. Bastet & de Vos 1979, pp. 96-97, state that the *fauces* wall-décor in the 3rd style is rather simple, "come quasi sempre nelle fauci".

²⁹⁴ Cf. the newly excavated *fauces*-painting (red walls with black panels), with architectural vistas and small animals like deer, swan, peacock, sphinxes and swimming dolphins - the latter naming the house, *Cd Delfini* (V 7,7).

²⁹⁵ In the rear *fauces* (nr. 24) of *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27), the 4th style-paintings contained small central vignettes with attributes of Hera, Herakles, Zeus and Aphrodite; *PPM* IX, pp. 281-285. The *fauces*-paintings in *Cd Meleagro* (VI 9,2) are exceptional, with several pictures, depicting, among others, Mercury, Ceres, Meleager and Atalanta. The neighbouring *Cd Dioscuri* (VI 9,6) was named after the two large pictures of the twins Castor and Pollux holding horses, today at MANN, inv. nos. 9453 and 9455. In *Cd Bell'impluvio* (I 9,1), the *fauces* once had paintings of Mercury, Hercules, Bacchus (?), Minerva, Juno and Venus Pompeiana (?), see Della Corte in *NSc* 1913, pp. 34-35; Boyce 1937, p. 110; Fröhlich 1991, p. 308, F6. Zulini 2011-2012, p. 272, also concludes that mythological paintings on *fauces*-walls are rare.

²⁹⁶ The two other *fauces*-paintings are *Cd Vettii* (VI 15,2) and the newly excavated house V 6,12.

and one on the parallel street of Via del Vesuvio), which could indicate a deliberate choice of motif, arising from neighbouring emulation.

It is important to emphasise that the general absence of (larger) figurative decoration in *fauces* should not be taken as sign that the entrance was regarded with relatively little respect.²⁹⁷ The same phenomenon is discernible in the wall-decoration of *atria*, too, which rarely saw large figurative narratives, like those found in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5, see chap. 5). When describing the *fauces* of *Cd Amanti* (I 10,11, *The insula of the Menander*), Roger Ling & Lesley Ling discuss its truly appropriate decoration, where the architectural pattern in “paratactic manner” highlighted the fact that this space was one grand passage.²⁹⁸ The high middle-zone panels borrow their proportions from monumental architecture and are crowned in the upper zones by one course of isodomic blockwork, and a horizontal band imitating a cornice. In some cases, as seen in *Cd Principe di Napoli* (VI 15,8, *HiP*) and in *Cd Epigrammi greci* (V 1,18, *Insula V I*), the isodomic design in the *fauces* continues into the *atrium*-walls as well (Fig. 24). As one also found on façades, the connection between the outside and the inside was thus further underlined by means of decoration.

The origin of the decorative norm, especially that of the 1st style, is commonly attributed to an architectural model, where the ashlar panels, so-called orthostats, and isodomic blockwork would bring public and official architecture to mind.²⁹⁹ But according to Lynley McAlpine, who contests this view, this so-called masonry style was popular all around the Mediterranean, and in fact, more so in residential buildings than in public ones. Although by A.D. 79 it might have evoked thoughts of specifically public monumental architecture, we do not know if the same associations would have called forth back in the days of the initial 1st style. Instead, McAlpine proposes that the paintings would have brought to mind the cosmopolitan Hellenistic culture, which in turn would have been suggestive of luxury in general.³⁰⁰

There remain a few more occasional decorative elements in the *fauces* selected for our comparison that do seem aimed to attract the visitor’s attention. In two *fauces* (*Cd Tofelanus Valens*, V 1,28, and house I 10,3), the rare occurrence of *lararium*-niches on the wall is attested. As *lararia* (household-shrines) are usually placed in *atria* but out of sight from the street, or in peristyles and kitchens, the placement on a *fauces*-wall is unusual: only six *fauces*

²⁹⁷ Examples on figurative paintings in other *fauces*: medallions portraying girls in *Cd Venere in bikini* (I 11,6) and medallions containing *gorgoneia* in *Cd Venere in conchiglia* (II 3,3), see *PPM* II, pp. 527-531, and *PPM* III, pp. 114-115.

²⁹⁸ Ling & Ling 2005, pp. 127-129. The paratactic design, i.e., a symmetrical side by side-design, was often used to decorate transitional spaces within domestic architecture, see Leach 2012, p. 32. See also Strocka 1991, p. 85, who points to the appropriateness of the isodomic pattern for *fauces*, in his review of one of the *fauces* to *Cd Labirinto* (VI 11,9).

²⁹⁹ Laidlaw 1985, pp. 15-17. See discussion by Leach 1993 on the *fauces*-decoration of *Cd Iulius Polybius* (IX 13,3); Wallace-Hadrill 1994, pp. 25-26. N.B. the newly excavated *Cd Orione* (V 2), where the walls are decorated with polychrome blockwork, continuing into the *atrium*, and the *cocciopesto* on the floor is adorned with a symbol of a wheel inlaid in *tesserae*, perhaps referring to the owner’s occupation as an *agrimensor*, see chap. 6.1.

³⁰⁰ McAlpine 2014, pp. 85-95.

in all have been found to contain such niches.³⁰¹ It has been suggested that the *Lares* within them may have been reckoned to function as guardians against potential outside threats.³⁰² It is worth noting that the two dwellings mentioned above belong to the more modest category of houses in their respective *insulae*.

Finally, we need to consider the graffiti on *fauces*-walls, even though these written or drawn additions to the décor were of course not planned to be part of it, as was made clear in chap. 2. In addition to mentions of ordinary names,³⁰³ we have (at least) one example of a literary reference from a *fauces*, here specifically a quotation from the *Aeneid* (*Cd Epigrammi greci*, V 1,18).³⁰⁴ Another notable graffito is the one containing a picture of a five-legged (?) bird, which has been interpreted as having been drawn by a child.³⁰⁵ The particular *fauces* where it was found (*Cd Amanti*, I 10,11) also exhibits birds in the upper frieze of the wall-paintings, which perhaps may have acted as the inspiration for the doodle. From the same *fauces* comes another graffito, which perhaps commemorated, in large letters, someone's gift or sponsorship of "choruses".³⁰⁶ All in all, graffiti like these make it clear, as stated earlier, that the entrance played host to various categories of people, some of them more long-term guests than others, who might wish to leave messages there of different types. Among these messages were painted electoral *programmata*, one of which has been found on the wall of the outer *fauces* in one entryway: *Cd Torello* (V 1,7, *Insula V 1*).

3.2.3 The *fauces* in the core-sample: wall-décor

If we turn to the core-sample again for examples of wall-décor, 16 *fauces* out of 30 exhibit enough preserved decoration for them to be worth including in our study (see Table 4 below). Like the *fauces* in the three collections examined above, the majority exhibit a colour-scheme tending to show a preference for dark colours. One finds very dark dados to dark middle zones though also light upper zones. In two cases – at *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) and *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) – light-coloured compositions, marking divisions between the middle zone panels, gave a brighter appearance to the *fauces*: large panels of red and yellow were separated by painted columns or candelabra (Fig. 25). In sum, in comparison with other

³⁰¹ For *lararia* in *fauces*, see Boyce 1937, and Giacobello 2008, pp. 67, 230-231 (here termed secondary *lararia*): I 2,17; I 10,3; I 15,1; *Cd Tofelanus Valens* (V 1,28); *Cd Cenacolo* (V 2,h); and *Cd Compluvium* (VI 15,9).

³⁰² Battelli 1998, p. 295, n. 66.

³⁰³ Names seem to be the most common content of the *fauces*-graffiti in the sample of *HiP*, but since not all authors of these volumes have included the graffiti in their surveys, this sample will hence be left out for the present study.

³⁰⁴ *CIL* IV 4036: *Conticuere omnes*. See www.pompejiprojektet.se (V 1,18, Casa dei Epigrammi greci – room a), and Loeb (transl. by H. Rushton Fairclough): *Conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant* ("All were hushed, and kept their rapt gaze upon him").

³⁰⁵ Huntley 2011, p. 76: the exaggerated number of legs is a result, it is proposed, of the child's efforts to depict something that is non-human. Next to the graffito-bird were two more sketched birds, but with four legs each, see *CIL* IV 8395, and drawing in Ling & Ling 2005, p. 477. N.B. The drawing presents all three birds with four legs, i.e., none of the birds is here depicted as having five legs.

³⁰⁶ See *CIL* IV 8392: *Accipe quos dedi tecum choros*; Della Corte in *NSc* 1933, p. 313, and drawing in Ling & Ling 2005, p. 476.

rooms where the wall-paintings were more figurative in character, *fauces* must usually have given the general impression of being a rather dimmed space. However, when the floors were paved in lighter colours, as especially seen with the mosaics which have a white ground, the interplay between the contrasts must have been striking.

The lower section of the walls in half of the 16 *fauces* are black. Another three are red, two are white, and in one case, yellow. Only in one divided *fauces*-passage is the dado divided in its colouring as well, combining red and yellow (*Cd Cinghiale II*, VIII 2,26, no. 23). In another set of *fauces*-walls (*Cd Marcus Lucretius*, IX 3,5/24, no. 27), the dado uniquely imitates a polychrome *faux* marble panelling (basically red). More will be said about this below. Often, decorative plants adorn the dados.

Middle zones (six examples), where preserved, are mainly red. Another five *fauces* have black middle zones, while in two cases they are yellow and in one single case it is blue. The middle zones are often divided into panels, which may contain smaller vignettes like flying figures or birds or be set apart from one another by paintings of candelabra. Architectural vistas may also occupy these main zones. In one case, *Cd Marinaio*, VII 15,1-2, no. 15), the upper parts of the middle zones were made up by isodomic blockwork. In *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30), a *gorgoneion* was portrayed as turning her gaze towards the *atrium*. Larger figures, here caryatids holding festoons, occur only in one example, formerly having been seen in *IX 5,6* (no. 28).

The upper zones, lastly, are often the most completely destroyed parts. In seven *fauces*, the colour is white, some with garlands or still-life representations. In two cases, more elaborate paintings once adorned these upper zones: a fine landscape view in *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), and a splendid architectural vista in *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15).

Apart from the particularly exceptional *fauces* of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), one more *fauces*-passage has a remarkable wall-decoration: *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27, see also chap. 5). Two large paintings, one on each side of the middle zones, show female musicians in different milieus. One of them shows a cloaked (and seemingly inebriated) man leaning himself for support on a female musician in an outdoor setting, guided by a young slave boy holding a torch. The other badly preserved image either showed a similar musical or theatrical tableau or perhaps the goddess Ceres, which would be an unusual subject for a *fauces*-painting. The background colour is the prestigious Egyptian blue, while the red dado imitates marble (Fig. 26). The blue walls are indeed unique for Pompeii, and the simple white mosaic with black borders on the floor harmonises with it very well. The fine and realistic marble imitation on the dado, moreover, adds on to the expression of a wealthy lifestyle that the owner evidently made sure to convey. Marble-imitation in wall-paintings in the form of painted veneers was much favoured in the 4th style, especially in the lower parts of the wall-décor.³⁰⁷ To sum up, it may be paralleled to the finest *fauces* in the city, the

³⁰⁷ McAlpine 2014, pp. 189-194, 203. The case with *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27) is relatively unusual as the decoration of the house includes both imported real stones (in the *emblemata* of the *tablinum*-mosaic) and imitated real

entryway of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7, see below), which, though despite being 150 years older, also has imitated marble on the walls together with an *opus sectile*-floor below.

As has been mentioned above, electoral *programmata*, usually painted on the house-façades, are also attested inside the outer *fauces*. In addition to the one case from the collections discussed earlier in this chapter (*Cd Torello*, V 1,7), there are further two cases in the core-sample: *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) and *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15). The location within the *fauces* is rather unusual even though there are some examples found even further inside houses. In the case of the outer *fauces* here, where the thresholds are set back into the façade, their recessed layout does seem to have provided an open space that were not closed by a door. Interestingly, in two of the three *programmata* found on both walls of the outer *fauces* of *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), the election of the duumvir Paquius Proculus, the suggested last owner of the other house, was announced.

Table 4:
Wall-decoration in the *fauces* of the core-sample

House	Wall-décor
<i>Cd Paquius Proculus</i> (I 7,1, no. 1) ³⁰⁸	4 th style: black dado; black middle zone – panels w. smaller white panels, candelabra; upper white zone w. garlands. Electoral <i>programmata</i> on outer <i>fauces</i> -wall
<i>Praedia di Iulia Felix</i> (II 4,2-12, no. 2) ³⁰⁹	2 nd or 4 th style? White dado and white middle zone with red lined frames
<i>Cd Caecilius Iucundus</i> (V 1,23-26, no. 3) ³¹⁰	3 rd style: black dado (?); black main zone w. yellow borders; upper red field. The cork-model shows only the black parts
<i>Cd Vestali</i> (VI 1,7/25, no. 4) ³¹¹	(probable) 4 th style: black dado and yellow middle zone as in <i>atrium</i> (according to the cork-model at MANN)
<i>Cd Poeta tragico</i> (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) ³¹²	4 th style: red dado; yellow (and red) main zone in panels w. small vignettes, separated by a large crenelated column and <i>aediculae</i> . Upper white zone w. still-life?
<i>Cd Ancora</i> (VI 10,7, no. 6) ³¹³	1 st style remains + later, imitating the former. Yellow dado and high, black middle zone (according to the cork-model)
<i>Cd Fauno</i> (VI 12,2, no. 7) ³¹⁴	1 st style: red dado; masonry style with orthostats on middle part, including yellow base; <i>tempietti</i> on upper part, purple-red
VI 13,13 (no. 8) ³¹⁵	1 st style remains on outer <i>fauces</i> -walls: high dado in yellow; red strip; upper white zone.
<i>Cd Leone</i> (VI 17,25, no. 9)	No info
<i>Cd Bracciale d'oro</i> (VI 17,42, no. 10) ³¹⁶	4 th style: redecoration in last phase, imitating 2 nd style: black dado; middle black zone w. panel; red border; upper white zone

stones on the walls (in the *fauces*). A more general decorative approach, according to McAlpine, is to opt for either way, rather than both.

³⁰⁸ *PPM* I (Parise Badoni & M. de Vos), pp. 483-487.

³⁰⁹ *PPM* III (Sampaolo), pp. 184-186, 258-259.

³¹⁰ *PPM* III (A. de Vos), pp. 574-579.

³¹¹ *PPM* IV (Bragantini), pp. 5-6. See pictures of the cork-model in Malfitana, Amara & Mazzaglia 2020, p. 149.

³¹² *PPM* IV (Parise Badoni), pp. 527-528, 530-532.

³¹³ *PPM* IV (Sampaolo), pp. 1050-1054. See pictures of the cork-model in Malfitana, Amara & Mazzaglia 2020, pp. 173-175.

³¹⁴ *PPM* V (A. Hoffmann), pp. 80-83, 86-94.

³¹⁵ *PPM* V (Sampaolo), pp. 179-181; Gobbo 2009, p. 356.

³¹⁶ *PPM* VI (Sampaolo), pp. 44-47.

<i>Cd Bracciale d'oro</i> (VI 17,44, no. 11: stairway)	No decoration
<i>Cd M. Caesius Blandus</i> (VII 1,40, no. 12) ³¹⁷	4 th style: design gone but the colours and the cork-model reveal a black dado; red middle zone; white upper zone w. architectural design
<i>Cd Popidius Priscus</i> (VII 2,20, no. 13) ³¹⁸	4 th style: bipartite <i>fauces</i> w. inner walls: faded dado in panels; red middle zone
<i>Cd Orso</i> (VII 2,45, no. 14) ³¹⁹	4 th style (late): red dado w. figures: a man in <i>himation</i> , dolphins, <i>kantharoi</i> ; red middle zone w. yellow "panels" on red ground, separated by garlands, medallions, architectural views, candelabra, figures. Upper zone white
<i>Cd Marinaio</i> (VII 15,1-2, no. 15) ³²⁰	3 rd or 4 th style, lower part: black dado w. plants; middle zone w. black panels separated by narrow red compartments, w. pecking birds, candelabra. Above, dark red isodomic blockwork. The upper part (2 nd style) once showing landscapes with figures, of good quality but faded. The cork-model shows a yellow upper part. Electoral <i>programmata</i> on outer <i>fauces</i> -walls
<i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I</i> (VII 16,12-13, no. 16) ³²¹	2 nd style: hardly any traces left
<i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II</i> (VII 16,15, no. 17) ³²²	No paintings, restoration-work in A.D. 79?
<i>Cd Championnet I</i> (VIII 2,1, no. 18) ³²³	4 th style: hardly any traces left
<i>Cd Championnet II</i> (VIII 2,3, no. 19) ³²⁴	3 rd style: hardly any traces left
<i>Cd Mosaici geometrici</i> (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20) ³²⁵	No paintings, restoration-work in A.D. 79
VIII 2,18 (no. 21) ³²⁶	4 th style: high red dado w. panels; black middle zone
<i>Palaestra</i> (VIII 2,23, no. 22) ³²⁷	4 th style: high black dado, panels by red borders; red middle zone w. candelabra
<i>Cd Cinghiale II</i> (VIII 2,26, no. 23) ³²⁸	Outer <i>fauces</i> -walls: black dado; red middle zone. Walls in inner <i>fauces</i> : 4 th style: red dado w. figures; red middle zone w. white figure, <i>bucrania</i> , birds
<i>Cd Severus</i> (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24) ³²⁹	No remains
<i>Cd Cinghiale I</i> (VIII 3,8, no. 25) ³³⁰	Restoration-work in A.D. 79? No preserved decoration

³¹⁷ *PPM* VI (Bragantini), pp. 380-381, 384.

³¹⁸ *PPM* VI (Sampaolo), pp. 615-618.

³¹⁹ *PPM* VI (Ehrhardt), pp. 742-752.

³²⁰ *PPM* VII (Sampaolo), pp. 704-705, 708, fig. 6 (watercolour of upper zone), dates the lower part as belonging to the 4th style, while Franklin 1990, p. 22, assigns a 3rd style-date.

³²¹ *PPM* VII (Bragantini), pp. 845-848.

³²² *PPM* VII (Bragantini), pp. 845-848, 882-883.

³²³ No information about the wall-paintings in neither Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 110-121 (apart from the 4th style-dating), nor in *PPM* VIII (Sampaolo), 24-26.

³²⁴ *PPM* VIII (Sampaolo), pp. 62-65.

³²⁵ *PPM* VIII (Sampaolo), pp. 72-77.

³²⁶ *PPM* VIII (Sampaolo), pp. 94-98, 115-116.

³²⁷ *PPM* VIII (Sampaolo), pp. 166-170.

³²⁸ *PPM* VIII (Sampaolo), pp. 191-197.

³²⁹ No information about the wall-paintings in neither Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 55-70, nor in *PPM* VIII (Sampaolo), pp. 241-245.

³³⁰ *PPM* VIII (Bragantini), pp. 362-366. See picture of cork-model in Malfitana, Amara & Mazzaglia 2020, p. 259.

<i>Officina offectoria di Ubonius</i> (IX 3,2, no. 26) ³³¹	Not preserved
<i>Cd Marcus Lucretius</i> (IX 3,5/24, no. 27) ³³²	4 th style: the dado imitates a coating of polychrome marbles (red); blue middle zone w. panels: one showing a cloaked man embracing a female musician on their way home from a banquet, and in front of them is a young slave boy holding a torch
<i>IX 5,6</i> (no. 28) ³³³	4 th style: black dado, upper white zone. The middle zone not preserved, acc. to Mau (2 nd style but contested): dark red with two female figures with crown of leaves in hair, holding festoons. Instead of having legs, they finish as pilasters like herms. See also the cork-model for at least the colour-scheme
<i>Cd Ristorante</i> (IX 5,14-16, no. 29) ³³⁴	Restoration-work in A.D. 79? No preserved decoration
<i>Cd Centenario</i> (IX 8,3-6, no. 30) ³³⁵	4 th style: black dado, middle zone discoloured and only few traces. The middle panels had vignettes, with one preserved <i>gorgoneion</i> with the gaze turned to the <i>atrium</i> and a cupid with quiver in hand. Candelabra in the middle zone (see the cork-model)

3.2.4 The *fauces* in the three collections: floors

If we leave the core-sample and return to the three collections, it is striking how much better-preserved the floors of the *fauces* are than the wall-paintings. Mortar-paved floors are usual in the *fauces* of all three collections. In *insula V 1*, the use of *cocciopesto* is prevalent (four *cocciopesto*, two *lavapesta*, one mosaic). The three large houses in this *insula* provide evidence that care was taken over the floor-decoration of their *fauces*: one floor is of *cocciopesto* with polychrome stone-inlays and white *tesserae* (*Cd Epigrammi greci*, V 1,18), one of *lavapesta* with stone-inlays, which stretched both outwards to the sidewalk (and further down the street to another entrance), and inwards to the *fauces* and the *atrium* (*Cd Torello*, V 1,7),³³⁶ and one of black-and-white figurative mosaic (*Cd Caecilius Iucundus*, V 1,23-26, no. 3).

In I 10 (*The insula of the Menander*), there is an even distribution between the different versions of mortar (two *cocciopesto*, two *lavapesta*, one unspecified mortar-type and one floor recorded as undecorated). As in *insula V 1*, it is evident that the largest houses here employed finer mortar-floors. In *Cd Amanti* (I 10,11), the *fauces*-floor in *lavapesta* is adorned with white rows of *tesserae* with black crosses in between. The *fauces*-floor in the grand and well-decorated *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4), *lavapesta* with red and white stone-inlays, may perhaps seem surprisingly plain, but this kind of paving is actually more the rule than the exception for the fine *domus* of Pompeii (see chap. 6.1).³³⁷ Ling & Ling pay attention to this fact as well, and

³³¹ *PPM IX* (Bragantini), pp. 128-129. The cork-model shows only grey faded plaster, see pictures in Malfitana, Amara & Mazzaglia 2020, pp. 279-281.

³³² *PPM IX* (Bragantini), pp. 141-151, states that the paintings, both in terms of the figurative representations and the use of the blue colour, are rather unusual for passageways like *fauces*, which normally are decorated in a simple manner, "in maniera piuttosto semplice".

³³³ *PPM IX* (Sampaolo), pp. 403-406.

³³⁴ No information about the wall-paintings in *PPM IX* (Bragantini), pp. 600-601, and the cork-model shows also naked walls.

³³⁵ *PPM IX* (Sampaolo), pp. 903-906; Coralini 2017, p. 115.

³³⁶ Staub 2013, pp. 22-23.

³³⁷ See fold-out map in *Pompei 1748 – 1980*, 1981.

they suggest that the function of the *fauces* as a passage was so highly valued, that a “coarse” pavement was preferred as more functional in view of the wear and tear that it was likely to suffer.³³⁸ However, the inlays of coloured stones here might be interpreted as more elegant than mortar with *tesserae* (cf. the similar *fauces*-floor in *Cd Epigrammi greci*, V 1,18, in *insula* V 1).³³⁹

In the *HiP* study, nearly half of the total number of *fauces* are decorated with *lavapesta* with inlaid *tesserae* (seven *fauces*), especially with white rows leading to the *atrium* (Fig. 27). Four floors have undecorated *cocciopesto* and three more have *cocciopesto* with inlaid *tesserae*. In all of the three collections, only three *fauces* have mosaics: *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1); *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), and *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14).

Repetition in *fauces* of patterns in the design of both *fauces*-walls and -floors was associated with the functioning of *fauces* as passageways. This is illustrated well in *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4), where the different corridors and passages in the house have similar wall-decorations. Especially notable is one corridor leading from the *atrium* to the peristyle, which not only was painted in the same manner as the *fauces* but also paved similarly.³⁴⁰ Almost all *fauces*-floors in the collections, mortar and mosaics alike, are continuous with their respective *atria* in terms of material, colour and design. The white *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3) is an exception in that it is the only mosaic of the three that is followed by an *atrium*-mosaic of the opposite colour, black. It is interesting to note, moreover, that the widely employed rows of *tesserae* on mortar-floors are not present at all in *insula* V I, while this attractive design is found in at least one case in *insula* I 10, and in five cases in *HiP*.

As we saw above, in a few cases, the sidewalk-decoration could either stretch along several entrances or even continue into the outer *fauces*. This linking pattern is attested in some cases of old prestigious houses (see chap. 6). To further mark out one’s property and ownership, the surface could include inserted *tesserae* or even tessellated inscriptions (see chap. 2).³⁴¹ Decorated sidewalk-frontages can still be seen outside *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), where the tessellated reticulate pattern links the house with the adjoining *taberna* (VIII 3,7). The sidewalk outside *Cd Championnet I* and *Cd Championnet II* (VIII 2,1 & VIII 2,3, nos. 18-19), with its white decorative stones, clearly highlights the position of the entrances (Fig. 28).³⁴²

If we bear in mind these mortar-decorated sidewalks and especially those that were directly connected to the outer *fauces*, it is notable how the act of adorning the *fauces* with a mosaic-floor brought about a clear break with the outside sphere. As will be discussed in chap. 6.1, mortar-pavements should not be underestimated in terms of prestige or elaborate

³³⁸ Ling & Ling 2005, p. 95.

³³⁹ Ling & Ling 2005, p. 166.

³⁴⁰ Ling & Ling 2005, pp. 5, 179, 199.

³⁴¹ See Saliou 1999, esp. pp. 171, 174-175, 182, 194, 199; Hartnett 2008.

³⁴² Pernice 1938, p. 97, pl. 44:2.

finish. However, they differed materially from mosaic, which instead spoke of a different, more effortful level of craftsmanship. The tessellated entryway, by being more “manipulated”, attracted another kind of attention as it signalled the importance of the space that was to come.

3.2.5 Concluding discussion

The typical picture that is revealed in this study of four collections of the wall- and floor-décor in *fauces* (the core-sample, *HiP*, *The insula of the Menander* and *insula V 1*) is one of a high degree of uniformity. With the exception of the mosaics in the core-sample, the floors are mortar-pavements, with a slight predominance of the black *lavapesta*-version. In many instances, *tesserae* or polychrome stones are inserted to add a decorative element to the floors.

The painted decoration of walls, although unevenly preserved in the different collections, is mainly arranged as follows: black or red dados, surmounted first by red or black middle zones and then by white upper zones. Naturally, the total picture was more complex than this generalising summary suggests, with other colours included, like yellow. An isodomic block-pattern is found in some *fauces*, which connected the house-façade, more regularly decorated in this manner, with the interior, at times even as far as the *atrium*. In a few instances in the core-sample, the wall-decorations of the *fauces* were seemingly more elaborate, with large panels in bright red and yellow (*Cd Poeta tragico*, VI 8,3/5, no. 5, and *Cd Orso*, VII 2,45, no. 14). The blue walls with figurative representations in *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27) truly bespeak of a special attention paid to the entryway, not to mention the exceptional *fauces* of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7). Finally, the painted *programmata* on the outer *fauces*-walls in three houses clearly testify to how house-owners, on the threshold, might communicate with specific visitors (perhaps *clientes*?) who were envisaged as potential voters in political elections.

After this examination, one may ask how dark the *fauces* actually were? The general colour design on the walls, especially together with the architectural layout of the narrow corridor, does point to a rather dimmed space.³⁴³ But as we have seen, there are exceptions to this rule in cases where the *fauces*-space is wide and shallow and/or when lighter colours on floors and walls make up the decorative colour-palette. As of today, the *cocciopesto*-floors tend to look rather dark, which suggests that we may miss the bright red lustre that the material possesses (Fig. 75). Take *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3) as an example. The *fauces*-walls follow the general colour-pattern with its black and red colours, but viewed together with the divided two-stepped floor, paved first with red *cocciopesto* and then with a white mosaic with a black watchdog depicted in the centre, the contrasts must have relieved the darkish impact of the walls.

³⁴³ Goldbeck 2010, p. 134, points out that no ancient author mentions anything about the experience of passing through a dark and narrow *fauces* or of a sightline through the house.

In some *fauces*, a more monochrome colour-palette dominated. The *fauces* of *Cd Amanti* (I 10,11) had walls in black and purple-red panels and black *lavapesta*, which all the same was highlighted by rows of *tesserae* in the floor leading to the *atrium*. The wall-paintings, with the colours placed in reverse order on the opposite wall, may have functioned as reflectors of the light coming from different angles from both the doorway in the *fauces* and from the *atrium*.³⁴⁴ Although dark, the walls and the floors were indeed polished for achieving the best result.³⁴⁵ A contrasting example in terms of colours is the entryway of *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2), where both the walls and the mosaic were predominantly white. This unique mode of *fauces*-decoration must have been perceived as a really bright alternative to the traditional design (Fig. 29).

Regarding the *fauces* of *Cd Vettii* (VI 15,1), the wicket-door by the L-shaped threshold, that led into the small corridor, has been hypothetically estimated to a maximum 2 metres in height.³⁴⁶ The remaining space (perhaps 2 metres) towards the ceiling was probably made of wooden panels or a wooden grill, which in turn could have allowed light into the rather dimmed space.

To sum up, when visitors entered Pompeian *fauces* adorned with the typical dark painted walls and black *lavapesta*-floor, particularly those which were narrow and corridor-like, the significant effect on them of the spatial hierarchy implicit in the architecture and its décor must have been striking. Once the *fauces* had been left behind, both the larger space of the *atrium* and the *tablinum*, and the brighter colours and lighter atmosphere must have enhanced the visitor's awareness of being a guest. Non-conspicuous decoration was the norm for *fauces*; neither gaudy nor loud. To describe this decorative mode as austere, which I believe may be apposite, is not to imply that it should be viewed as an inferior decoration style in comparison to the ways in which other spaces in the *atrium*-houses were adorned. The different expressions served different ends: the *fauces* had the function of a passage, and occupied a borderland between the outside and the inside spheres. Consequently, it was appropriate that decoration there should be in a blended style that linked the space with these two spheres. Over time, the fashion in which *fauces*-walls were decorated seems to have changed only marginally, which indicates that it was determined by a fixed idea of what was appropriate for them. The notion that some such rule of appropriateness was generally regarded as inviolable may, however, seem contradicted by the introduction of the tessellated *fauces*-floor, which in various ways encouraged the visitor to stop short before passing further along.

³⁴⁴ Ling & Ling 2005, p. 271.

³⁴⁵ Boman 2005, p. 71. See also chap. 6.1.

³⁴⁶ Kastenmeier 2001, pp. 301, 305. The main door-opening was at least 4 metres in height.

3.3 *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) as a decorative archetype

This chapter ends with an in-depth study of one of the grandest houses. The reason for this detailed attention is that, decoratively, its *fauces*-floor is regarded, in this present study, as a forerunner of the rest of the core-sample. To begin with, the dating of the two floors in the *fauces* to the Samnite period, i.e., to the period of the 1st style, makes the floors unique. Moreover, the decorative presence of two floors, together with a highly emphasised wall-décor with stuccoed reliefs, and a salutatory tessellated inscription on the sidewalk, truly speak of an effort to underline the importance of the entrance.

Cd Fauno (VI 12,2, no. 7) is located prominently on the arterial road, the *decumanus*, Via della Fortuna in the residential *regio* VI, close to the forum (Fig. 30). The double *atrium*-house occupies the whole *insula*, accounting for nearly 3000 m² divided into approximately 50 rooms. Already by the time of the excavation of the house in the 1830's, it was understood as being one of the most important *domus* in the city, due to its size, "elegant" layout and decoration. Its décor includes several figurative mosaics, rendered in a polychrome Hellenistic manner, the most famous being the Alexander-mosaic.³⁴⁷ The Samnite house was constructed during the 2nd century B.C., and acquired its final architectural and decorative layout by the end of that century or early in the next, in the time of the late 1st style.³⁴⁸ In sum, the *domus* has been compared, in all its grandeur, to the Hellenistic palaces of Asia Minor, including the one at Pergamon.³⁴⁹ The floor-dates are consistently agreed upon by scholars today, who advocate a date around 100 B.C., which has been confirmed by the thorough studies conducted by Adolf Hoffmann and Andrea Faber.³⁵⁰

Of special interest for this study is the decoration that begins the presentation of the house already beside the main door. To mark out the boundary of the property, the owner

³⁴⁷ See e.g., Hoffmann & Faber 2009, p. 103-109; Zevi 1998; Andrae 1977; Blake 1930, esp. pp. 131-139; Pernice 1938, pp. 90-95, 180-181; Dunbabin 1999a, pp. 39-44; Pesando 1996; Meyboom 1995; *PPM* V (M. de Vos), pp. 83-85; Cohen 1997; Leonard 1914.

³⁴⁸ See publication by Hoffmann & Faber 2009; Dwyer 2001, p. 328, on the scholarly historical records of the house. See Haug 2020, pp. 51-207, and Grahame 1997, p. 150.

³⁴⁹ Clarke 1991, p. 79, refers to Castrén 1975 (p. 40), who states that by c. 110 B.C., *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) even surpassed the size of the royal palace at Pergamon, which by all means shows how remarkably wealthy the Pompeian owner was for his time. For the mosaics at Pergamon, including those in the *House of the Consul Attalos*, see Blake 1930, pp. 37-38, 74, 129-131; Pernice 1938, pp. 31-32. During the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., a wave of "Hellenistic luxury" spread through Italy, which resulted in the laying of mosaic-floors in the *domus* of the absolutely highest stratum of Roman society, see e.g., Cohen 1997, pp. 61-62, 180, 183, comparing also the floors at Macedonian Pella.

³⁵⁰ Hoffmann & Faber 2009, pp. 50-53, 104-107, assign the second construction- and decoration phase of the house, with the late 1st style wall-paintings and mosaics, to around 100-80 B.C. In this phase, wall-décor and mosaics in both 1st and 2nd style appear together. Mau 1882, pp. 55-56, stated that the floors (especially of the *fauces* and *tablinum*) could not be later than the 1st style-period, laid together with the travertine-thresholds; de Vos 1991, pp. 42, 46-47; Dunbabin 1999a, p. 39, n. 6 (who notes later alterations of the floors but favours the date of the 1st style-period all the same); Laidlaw 1985, pp. 38, 172-175; Meyboom 1995, pp. 91-95; Pesando 1996, p. 197, n. 33. Blake 1930, pp. 131-132, discusses the several pavement phases of the house; Pernice 1938, pp. 90-91, favoured a transition-period date between the 1st and 2nd styles, as did Beyen 1938, p. 57. Haug 2020, p. 10, observes that the 1st style-paintings are here accompanied by floors in *opus sectile*, *opus vermiculatum* and black-and-white mosaics, which in other houses are found together with 2nd style-paintings.

had the sidewalk in black mortar decorated with square white stones in two rows, stretching between the two entrances and further down as far as the shop at VI 12,6.³⁵¹ In front of the *fauces*, a Latin tessellated inscription on the sidewalk issued the greeting *Have* (no. 33) (Fig. 9). This has prompted much discussion regarding the identity of the owner since the inscription is probably datable prior to 80 B.C.,³⁵² thus predating the Sullan colonisation of Pompeii.³⁵³ However, the employment of the *lingua franca* of the *Romans* in an Oscan-speaking city may be rationally understood as an expression of self-Romanisation. As Pompeii had traditionally been an ally to Rome, the impact of Roman politics and culture (not excluding the Latin language) had certainly been widespread since the 2nd century B.C.³⁵⁴

If we turn to the décor of the entrance, it becomes obvious that the owner was staking a claim to membership of the highest socio-cultural stratum by presenting a large, impressive doorway in the tufa façade, crowned by Corinthian capitals. Inside the innermost part of the divided *fauces*, the well-preserved upper parts of the walls are uniquely decorated with stuccoed *tempietti*, again belonging to the Corinthian order, that rest on brackets, while the lower parts exhibit a 1st style painted masonry design (Fig. 31).³⁵⁵ One may relate the decoration to the *sanctitas* of the house,³⁵⁶ but the proposed view of these small temple-façades as comparable to *lararia* seems far-fetched (see chap. 2).³⁵⁷ Annette Haug pays attention to

³⁵¹ Wallace-Hadrill 1994, p. 210 (appendix): “An excellent example of the irrelevance of shops in the facade to the standing of a house.” The east entrance was a later modification, by the early 1st century B.C., see e.g., Clarke 1991, p. 83; Haug 2020, p. 52. The sidewalk-pavement is of *lavapesta*, similar to the actual floor in the *atrium*. See discussion by Pernice 1938, p. 90, on the different materials, including *cocciopesto*, used to patch this ancient sidewalk.

³⁵² Hoffmann & Faber 2009, p. 51, date it to the early 1st century B.C.; Meyboom 1995, p. 167 (appendix 17); Pesando 1996, pp. 199-200; Descoedres 2007, p. 12. Pernice 1938, p. 90, however, is firm in his conclusion that the late Republican inscription was inserted into a much older sidewalk, which can be seen when studying the hewing of the letters closely. The colours of the letters in white, yellow, green and red, as well as the elongated rectangular shape, bespeak of a placement in the period of the 2nd style. However, in my view, the choice of colours does not necessarily contradict a date to the period of the 1st style; hence Pernice’s argument seems less than conclusive. Haug 2020, p. 54 (and n. 20), means that it is problematic to pinpoint a precise date of the inscription, which technically ought to belong to the 2nd or 1st centuries B.C., with a preference to the Samnite period. But the sidewalk in itself does not provide any clues as to whether the letters were actually inserted into an already existing pavement, as stated by Pernice (without true support).

³⁵³ However, as Clarke 1991, p. 125, states, the full Romanisation of Pompeii took place first during the reign of Augustus. Up to that point, Oscan was still the *official* language.

³⁵⁴ Pesando 1996, pp. 199-200; 1997, pp. 84-130; Zanker 1998, p. 59; Wallace-Hadrill 2013; Cohen 1997, pp. 1-2.

³⁵⁵ *PPM V*, pp. 90-91, figs. 9-10. Fiorelli, in *PAH II*, pp. 232, 240-241, stated that the *tempietti* were framed by a box-like construction, resting on brackets in the shape of dogs in stucco, portrayed as if in swift movement. The dogs so portrayed may have been included in the decorative scheme so as to evoke the idea of guardian dogs whose function was to protect temples. The second storey (with the roof?) of the *tempietti* had a gilded interior. The underside with its cassettes contained painted miniature busts of protective deities. The first travertine threshold contained a three-leaved door that opened inwards. The second travertine threshold, dividing the outer *fauces* from the inner, contained instead a double-leaved door that opened outwards, with the consequence that the wall-paintings of the outer *fauces* were hardly ever seen, see Proudfoot 2013, p. 97; Haug 2020, pp. 55-58. Clarke 1991, p. 83, following Mau 1908, pp. 302-303, discusses the outward opening of the *fauces*-doors as possibly designed to prevent damage to the 1st style stucco-decoration of the upper zone.

³⁵⁶ See discussion in Haug 2020, p. 59.

³⁵⁷ Moormann 2011, p. 85, n. 132, uses the term “*lararium*-like small temples”; Mac Mahon 2003, p. 67. However, the notion that a temple-like feature might automatically be considered equivalent to a *lararium* is in my view too speculative

the ornamental pilasters of the *fauces*, placed both by the sidewalk and by the transition to the *atrium*, where, in both cases, they framed the view that a visitor saw, and also created a perception of the *fauces* as an independent architectural space.³⁵⁸

The imitation-marble panels painted, with orthostats, on the middle section of the *fauces*-walls, do not seem to refer to actual marbles but instead to a preferred colour-palette, where the dominant colour was purple-red, visible in the *opus sectile*-floor (i.e., *rosso antico*), as well as in the inscription, *Have*, on the sidewalk. The faux marble on the walls should, thus, not be seen as a cheap version of the actual marble, but as an extension of a whole decorative programme, which made reference to the early import of marble to Rome around the same time (i.e., during the 1st style-period).³⁵⁹ The owner of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) could afford to adorn the entrance and the house itself by means of both real and faux marble, without losing status or credibility.³⁶⁰ In the core-sample, only one more *fauces*-passage, that of *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 5,3/24, no. 27), which is dated to the 4th style, has imitation-marble on its walls; but, specifically, on the dado rather than higher up.

The *fauces*-passage in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) was adorned with three different pavements, with the outermost of the three being a white mortar-pavement.³⁶¹ Beyond two large thresholds, the inner *fauces* exhibited two more floors: one main floor and one tessellated threshold-panel at the approach to the *atrium*. The main floor, still *in situ*, constitutes a unique rendering in an *opus sectile*-technique, even though not in marble (Fig. 32).³⁶² The small triangles, placed regularly on several rows,³⁶³ are of yellow, purple, black, white and green limestone and slate. As a result of trampling underfoot, some of the stones, especially

a suggestion. The common spatial context of a Pompeian *lararium* is at ground level, out of the public sight, and rarely in entrances. See also Boyce 1937, who does not include the *fauces*-walls in his corpus of *lararia*.

³⁵⁸ Haug 2020, p. 55.

³⁵⁹ Fant 2007, pp. 336-337; McAlpine 2014, pp. 100-101. However, McAlpine 2014, pp. 87-93, argues against the traditional interpretation of the masonry style during the 1st style as an imitation of marble or a substitute for real marble. She also argues against the traditional interpretation of the 1st style as evoking public monumental architecture, especially with reference to its common location in *fauces* and *atria*, the first parts of a house encountered by visitors. All around the Mediterranean, many more residential buildings than public have been found that are decorated in this 1st style. Moreover, it was not only the *fauces* and *atria* that were so decorated in the initial 1st style-period, but grander parts of the houses, too. In later periods, though, the confining of this style to the front parts of houses could have been done in order to relate to public architecture.

³⁶⁰ Fant 2007, p. 343; McAlpine 2014, p. 87.

³⁶¹ Mau 1908, p. 303.

³⁶² According to Pernice 1938, pp. 90-91, the *opus sectile*-floor was originally larger, the evidence for this being its truncated pattern to the north (i.e., the section facing the *atrium*). It may even have extended over the whole space of the *fauces*, for Pernice questions whether the original placement of the threshold-panel with the masks was part of the original flooring-scheme. *PPM* (M. de Vos/A. Hoffmann) discuss only the missing border of the *opus sectile* to the north due to the modern removal of the tessellated threshold-panel with the masks, see *PPM* V, p. 95, fig. 13. N.B. There is one *fauces*-example in Pompeii that employs larger marble slabs, i.e., the main *fauces* in *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7). The house is featured in this study due to its second *fauces* (VI 1,25, no. 4) containing a mosaic-inscription. However, since the main *fauces*-floor (VI 1,7) is not made of a mosaic, it has not been included in this present study.

³⁶³ Blake 1930, p. 39, explicitly states that due to the triangular design of this floor, it cannot be labelled as a *scutulatum*. The regularity of the triangles can be discerned through the colours as the white and black triangles form whole horizontal lines, and always one on top of the other, as pointed out by Pernice 1938, p. 91.

the green ones, are worn down, while others have been replaced at some unknown point, by pieces of marbles.³⁶⁴ The presence of *opus sectile* in the *fauces* of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), may be seen as initiating, in this grand house's reception area, a line of precious sectile pavements that includes the so-called *scutulata*-designed *impluvium* and *tablinum* (Fig. 35). Even the colour-scheme is more or less the same, although exemplified most clearly in the *fauces* and the *impluvium*.³⁶⁵ The shape of the triangles, with the tip of the white and yellow stones pointing inwards, both directs the beholder's gaze to the interior and encourages movement by the visitor in that direction.³⁶⁶

As *opus sectile* was the most exclusive technique employed in marble flooring, it is often found as *emblemata* inserted in the floors of such reception rooms as *tablina* or *triclinia*.³⁶⁷ It is therefore naturally even more rare to find *opus sectile*-pavements that stretch from wall to wall.³⁶⁸ The non-marble *opus sectile* in the *fauces* of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) does, on the other hand, occupy most of the width of the *fauces*. Its material, limestone and slate, reveals its relatively early date. Marble mosaics would not become fashionable until a later period (see also chap. 6). Thus, at the outset, this floor must have been perceived as a very prestigious entrance-decoration, given the vividness of the many bright colours; for polished limestone can shine just as easily as marble.³⁶⁹ The fact that the *atrium* was not paved in such an exclusive manner suggests that, at least in the case of this house, the spaces of the *fauces* and the *tablinum* were the important ones to highlight; particularly as they formed an architectural axis, on either side of the *atrium*. Still, the central *impluvium*, exhibiting the same exclusive paving, further pinpoints the axis between the *fauces* and the *tablinum*.

The visitor, walking towards the house-interior, sees that the tessellated threshold-panel that once divided the *fauces* from the *atrium* was executed in the fine *opus vermiculatum*-technique (Fig. 33).³⁷⁰ Across the panel, an embellished ribbon is depicted, with a festoon of intertwined fruits, flowers and various kinds of leaves and seeds,³⁷¹ with two theatrical (tragic) female masks placed centrally. The ribbon (in red, white and yellow) is tied in large rosettes

³⁶⁴ *Portasanta* (*marmor chium*), *pavonazzetto* (*marmor phrygium*) and *numidicum*. The marble *palom(b)ino* is also included, see PPM V, p. 95, fig. 13. Whether the restorations are ancient remains unknown, but the present floor consists of a mix of limestone, slate and marble, see McAlpine 2014, p. 96.

³⁶⁵ McAlpine 2014, pp. 97-98, notes that the perspective cubes in the *opus sectile*-floor of the *tablinum* are matched by a similar painted version on the dado of the *fauces*-walls, which clearly shows how the overall decoration was coordinated. The use of coordinating colours in this house is, in general terms, remarkable.

³⁶⁶ Haug 2020, p. 56.

³⁶⁷ De Vos 1979, p. 163; Dunbabin 1999a, p. 56.

³⁶⁸ See Barker et. al. 2013, pp. 6-7, n. 25: *Cd Cervi* (IV 21) and *Cd Atrio a mosaico* (IV 2) at Herculaneum, *Cd Fabius Rufus* (VII 16,22) at Pompeii; *Villa di Oplontis*.

³⁶⁹ Russell 2013, p. 10. Traditionally, many limestones have been described as being marble because they are capable of being polished. The various characteristics of stones have thus been of highest priority for the users. The appreciation of *opus sectile* is well illustrated by the fact that Julius Caesar even brought marble, together with mosaic-floors, along on his military field trips, see Suet. *Iul.* 46; Blake 1930, p. 44.

³⁷⁰ Today on display at MANN, inv. nr. 9994.

³⁷¹ More specifically: apples, pears, pomegranates, quinces, grapes, poppy heads, ivy, olive as well as pinecones, acorn and corn.

in the ends, and it runs like a band in loops (depicted in yellow, red and green), holding the festoon together.³⁷² As has been emphasised by Clarke, this fine *opus vermiculatum*-threshold belonged to a group of elaborate pavement designs that were made to interact with the non-figurative patterns of the contemporary walls of the 1st style.³⁷³

The mask-and-garland border has been found in numerous tessellated examples ranging from Pompeii and Rome,³⁷⁴ to the south-eastern Mediterranean (Fig. 34).³⁷⁵ To take one example, a much-studied hunt mosaic from Palermo has a surrounding frame that presents a similar intricate mask-and-garland border.³⁷⁶ Interestingly, this mosaic has been referred to as a pendant to the famous Alexander-mosaic of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), for the main scene of this “pendant” may portray Alexander the Great out hunting.³⁷⁷ Regarding another example, from Tel Dor (Israel), Andrew Stewart & Rebecca Martin conclude that this mosaic had more in common with similar floors from Delos and Pergamon (in banquet halls) rather than with a so-called western *fauces*-type, represented by the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7).³⁷⁸ For the present study, it is noteworthy that the existence of such a type has been postulated at all, since it is represented only by our example.

In general terms, the mask-and-garland *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) did indeed form part of a well-established decorative repertoire, popular in the late 2nd century B.C. and slightly later. However, unlike the other similar mosaics, where the motif frames the floors on four sides, the *fauces*-mosaic is the only one that serves as a single threshold-panel. It is also the only panel that decorated an entrance-passage, while the others adorned larger reception rooms inside houses (see below). Furthermore, it serves as a border of an *opus*

³⁷² Pernice 1938, p. 173, notes that the garland should be read as unfolding from the right side to the left, and that the composition is made up of three equally large sections, with the masks framing the middle part. Pernice also highlights the very colourful palette of the mosaic. I have deliberately chosen to use the term *mask-and-garland* for this *fauces*-mosaic as it is widely used within contemporary research on Hellenistic mosaics, and also explains easily how the motif is arranged. Other terms employed by scholars to describe such a garland are *rinceau* or *festoon*.

³⁷³ Clarke 2007b, p. 324.

³⁷⁴ See e.g., Blake 1930, pp. 129-131, 137-138; Pernice 1938, pl. 59, for Pompeii and vicinity: *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) itself (tiger-rider mosaic), *Cd Colombe a mosaico* (VIII 2,34: dove-mosaic, today at MANN, inv. nr. 114281) and *Villa Stephanus* (Greek philosophers, today at MANN, inv. nr. 124545). Rome: Via Ardeatina (lacunar design with masks, boathouse-arcades, shields etc.).

³⁷⁵ Pernice 1938: pp. 7-9, pl. 2 (*Domus Romana*, Malta), pp. 13-15 (Sicily), pp. 17-19 (Teramo), pp. 22-23 (Delos); Bruneau 1972, nos. 68 & 215. At the Hellenistic Palestinian site Tel Dor, recent discoveries have brought to light a similar contemporary high-quality *opus vermiculatum*-mosaic with a mask-and-garland border (but in this case with comic masks), see Stewart & Martin 2003; Wootton 2012; Ovadiah 2012. In fact, following stylistic and technical comparisons with other mosaics, notably with the *fauces*-threshold mosaic in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), a late Hellenistic date (mid-late 2nd century B.C.) has been suggested for the Tel Dor-mosaic by Stewart & Martin 2003, p. 141.

³⁷⁶ See also the brief discussion of the similarities by Pernice 1938, pp. 180-181, pointing out the fine workmanship of the *tesserae*.

³⁷⁷ Wootton 2002; Meyboom 1995, p. 92. Dunbabin 1999a, p. 38 refers to a suggestion that it is rather one of Alexander's successors who is portrayed. Pernice 1938, pp. 12-14, 180-181, refers to it as an “Alexandermosaik”. Both mosaics were most likely derived from works of the painter Philoxenos of Eretria, who is said to have painted a battle scene between Alexander and Dareios; Plin. *NH* 35.36.110. See also Blake 1930, pp. 136-137, on the similarities between the two mosaics and others, too.

³⁷⁸ Stewart & Martin 2003, p. 141.

sectile-floor, whereas the other mosaics primarily frame intricate figurative scenes representing philosophers, a lion, a hunt-scene or drinking doves.³⁷⁹

In a way, then, the two contrasting designs of the *fauces*-floors in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) do not compete for attention, but are quite harmoniously presented: a geometric design is followed by a figurative panel, and the two are consistent in colouring. And while other mask-and-garland mosaics present several masks, to be seen from any angle, this *fauces*-mosaic alone has the centre of the panel as its focal point. Moreover, as the two juxtaposed masks are turned away from each other, and tilted upwards, they signal to the visitor the direction to go in order to make an entrance.³⁸⁰ Together with the triangular design of the main *opus sectile*-floor, the composition of the figurative threshold-panel effectively served to underline an invitation to enter.

A general interpretation of this *fauces*-mosaic with theatrical masks has to be that they belonged to the Dionysian realm, in which theatrical performances were, naturally, essential.³⁸¹ During the Samnite period, Pompeii was under strong Hellenistic influence, as the fashion for mosaics notably demonstrates. To adopt a Dionysian image, then, for one's entrance seems to have been in line with a patrician practice seen elsewhere in Pompeii. Most noteworthy are the entrance-capitals portraying figures, some of which face the same street, Via della Fortuna.³⁸²

If we consider the theatrical motif in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) with the *tempietti* on the walls of the same *fauces*, the message may seem clear that the owner welcomed the visitors to a space that to some degree may have been characterised by a sacred sense, though also by the offering of hospitality. In its more common manifestation, the mask-and-garland motif decorated major reception-areas, typically those used for banqueting.³⁸³ Obviously, the *fauces* did not serve as a banqueting hall; it seems likely, rather, that the Dionysian symbols placed there were intended to influence the visitor's perception of the *domus* on the whole. The inscription *Have* furthermore highlighted this hospitable attitude towards visitors. It may thus be proposed that the responsible owner(s) of *Cd Fauno*

³⁷⁹ For a discussion on mosaic-borders, see first and foremost Toynbee & Ward-Perkins 1950.

³⁸⁰ Cf. Haug 2020, pp. 59-60, who puts emphasis on the figurative design as an invitation to pause.

³⁸¹ Pernice 1938, p. 173; *PPM V* (M. de Vos), p. 96, fig. 14; Westgate 2000a, p. 270; Haug 2020, p. 59, adding also a general allusion to education, culture and luxury.

³⁸² Cf. esp. *Cd Capitelli figurati* (VII 4,57), with a pair of richly embellished capitals depicting a maenad and a drunken satyr at a banquet, beside a couple interpreted as the owners themselves. Further down the street is *Cd Torello* (V 1,7), with capitals of a winged Eros facing the street, and Dionysos facing the *fauces*. Other examples are *Cd Capitelli colorati* (VII 4,31/51) and *Cd Sallustius* (VI 2,4). See discussion in Staub Gierow 1994, p. 73; Staub 2013, pp. 20-21.

³⁸³ Pesando 1996, p. 201; Stewart & Martin 2003, pp. 140-141 state: "These garland-and-mask mosaics are the visual equivalent of the floral "garlands" (*stephanoi*) of sympotic poetry "woven" for the Muses by the Hellenistic epigrammatists. They are the successors to the garlands that commonly embellish Classical and Early Hellenistic *symposion*-kraters, at least two of which have been found at Dor. By garlanding the room like the banqueters themselves, the mosaics define it as a hospitable space marked by Dionysiac *enthousiasmos* and the altered state of consciousness it creates". See also a discussion on the poet Meleager and his work *Garland* (*Στέφανος*) from the 90s B.C., by Gutzwiller 1998. In the epigrams, Meleager, while conversing with the muses, collects poems from several other poets, arranging them like different flowers and plants in a garland.

(VI 12,2, no. 7) made sure of communicating messages to the public to the effect that this was a *domus* that pre-eminently partook in the current trends and also upheld the political realities of the day, in Pompeii and beyond. The Hellenistic decorative language that characterises the whole house, combined with the Latin welcoming inscription, should not be perceived as contradictions; on the contrary, as a recognition of the fact that Roman power had emerged as the new political culture in the Hellenistic east as well.³⁸⁴

To conclude this discussion on the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7): studies of the mask-and-garland panel propose that its (unusually?) well-preserved status in fact seems to indicate that the mosaic cannot have been exposed to heavy pedestrian traffic. It has moreover even been suggested that the floors may have been covered up to a certain extent, in order to protect the valuable decoration, despite their prominent position as first-hand expressions of the house-owner's choices. Instead, the second *fauces* next door (VI 12,5) may have served as the regular entrance, while the main *fauces*-passage with the two floors instead was used only on out-of-the-ordinary occasions (however, some of the stones in the *opus sectile*-floor were evidently replacements for lost originals, which does point to employment of the *fauces* as an actual entrance, but also to concern for necessary maintenance).³⁸⁵ It follows that the value of the floors in this *fauces*-passage may have been so appreciated that its inherent function as an entrance had to be set aside on a regular basis so that it might primarily function as a display window instead. While the entrance to *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) was designed to impress all passers-by, the laying down of the mosaics within probably meant that it was mainly the most prominent visitors who were actually allowed to use this entrance.

Through the décor of its *fauces*, *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) provided an exemplar of the most luxurious display, which served as a model for later imitation. However, subsequent *fauces*-mosaics would never match in grandeur the *fauces* of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), which (almost like a museum) would keep its unique works of art for the years to come. Although the techniques of *opus sectile* and *opus vermiculatum* would not be reprised in subsequent *fauces*-mosaics, the use of stone-inserts in both mortar- and mosaic-floors, as seen in many *fauces*, can be traced back to the Samnite period. The theatrical theme of the threshold-panel would not recur either, although a Dionysian allusion has been detected in a couple more *fauces*-mosaics. All in all, the clearest legacy to Pompeian posterity was its welcoming stance towards the world outside, which left its mark on house-decoration of succeeding periods, as is witnessed by the employment of tessellated inscriptions in liminal spaces.

³⁸⁴ On the subject, see e.g., the multi-volumed *Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji* by Winter and Pernice; Zanker 1976, and more recently Prag & Crawley Quinn 2013. The owner has been suggested to have had some involvement with the *Tempio di Apollo* (VII 7,32) in the city, due to the Oscan dedicatory inscription in the temple, whose *cella* also features a similar *opus sectile*-floor comparable with the *impluvium* and *tablinum*-pavements of the *domus*. For a discussion, see particularly Meyboom 1995, appendix 17. See also Blake 1930, pp. 38-39, pl. 6:1.

³⁸⁵ *PPM V* (M. de Vos), p. 96, fig. 14.

4 The chronology of Pompeian *fauces*-mosaics

Introduction

This chapter begins with a short overview of the mosaics of Pompeii and how they gradually over time came to be an integrated part of the décor of the houses. The remaining part of the chapter constitutes the main inquiry, in which the proposed dates of the *fauces*-mosaics are revised. To take account of the fact that the scholarly view in many cases is inconsistent, with several alternative dates proposed for many *fauces*-mosaics, it is necessary to investigate thoroughly the documentation of the houses concerned. In connection with this, a brief explanation needs to be given of the revised chronology of the four wall-painting styles, which the dates of the *fauces*-mosaics depend upon.

4.1 Pompeian mosaics: a chronological background

When the *opus tessellatum*-technique was introduced to Samnite Pompeii in the late 2nd century B.C., during the 1st style-period,³⁸⁶ it brought with it the Hellenistic artistic language of polychrome designs and an interest in geometric patterns that created three-dimensional illusions (Fig. 35).³⁸⁷ Being a very exclusive type of artwork, fine mosaics could contain inserted figurative pictures, *emblemata*.³⁸⁸ Few houses at Pompeii yet had tessellated floors in this period, and a telling illustration of how small the city's social elite probably was is *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), with its resemblance, both in architecture and décor, to the Hellenistic palaces in Asia Minor (see chap. 3). As stated above, this house contains the only

³⁸⁶ Blake 1930, p. 70, initially assigns a date around 150 B.C. for the arrival of the *opus tessellatum*-technique in Italy, which, according to Pernice 1938, pp. 129-130, would mean that it reached Pompeii by the time of the late 1st style, i.e., around 100 B.C. Joyce 1979, pp. 255, 260, follows Pernice, while Westgate 2000a, p. 255, places the introduction in Pompeii between the late 2nd century and the early 1st century B.C. However, Blake 1939, p. 362, in her review of Pernice's work, in general terms accepts Pernice's suggestion that the earliest cube-mosaic work discovered around the Mediterranean dates from the last years of the 2nd century B.C. Finally, another variety of flooring, composed of white pebbles and other irregular pieces, can be seen as a kind of forerunner to the pure *opus tessellatum*, see Blake 1930, pp. 68-71. For a more recent study on the origins of the tessellated technique, see Salzmann 1982.

³⁸⁷ See e.g., Blake 1930, pp. 71-78; Pernice 1938, pp. 125-127; Dunbabin 1999a, p. 55.

³⁸⁸ Dunbabin 1999a, pp. 38-49: the technique employing really miniscule *tesserae* is called *opus vermiculatum*, as e.g., seen in only one of the Pompeian *fauces*-mosaics, namely the theatrical mask-threshold in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7). For an exposé of the *emblemata* and other figurative mosaics of Pompeii, see Blake 1930, pp. 125-145; Pernice 1938, pp. 149-181.

tessellated *fauces* known from such an early date; an entrance that consists of not just one paving but two (one *opus sectile* and one mosaic). The more common pavement-type in *fauces* elsewhere was, instead, of mortar, either in the red version of *cocciopesto* or the local black version of *lavapesta*, which could be enhanced by the insertion of stones or mosaic-*tesserae* in black or white (see chaps. 3 and 6.1).

From around the middle of the 1st century B.C., during the period of the 2nd style, the fashion of laying elaborate entrance-pavements came into being at Pompeii. A noticeable number of *fauces*-mosaics are preserved from this period. The black-and-white technique had by this time developed, and gradually, the bichrome contrast that it produced became typical of the floor-mosaics of Pompeii.³⁸⁹ Some houses from the core-sample were to a large extent decorated with geometric mosaics (Fig. 36), while the *fauces*-mosaics could have quite ornate motifs, including figures. The general effect sought after was that the mosaics - sometimes with all-over patterns that could adorn dynamic spaces like *atria*, or else with layouts including centrally placed square panels and ornamental borders - were designed to be seen as a unifying whole when co-ordinated with contemporary wall-decoration. The emergence of figurative artwork on the walls towards the end of the 2nd style-period has therefore been described as correlating with the disappearance of Hellenistic motifs from the floors.³⁹⁰ Remarkably, however, with regard to the *fauces*, one may talk of a reversed scenario: they presented generally a non-figurative wall-décor, but their resultant plainness could be offset by figurative mosaics. Another spatially circumscribed group of figurative mosaics dating from this period and onwards consisted of domestic bath-suites (see chap. 6) (Fig. 37).

From the time of the early Empire and onwards, black-and-white mosaics had grown in number.³⁹¹ The harmonisation between the mosaics and the wall-décor in Pompeian houses persisted during the periods of the 3rd and 4th styles.³⁹² In general, mosaics continued to exhibit primarily geometric patterns but also floral ones, though at this time in a mainly two-dimensional manner.³⁹³ Unlike the all-over patterns that could be made up by geometric designs, the less common figurative compositions exhibited a more specific focus or orientation in their design.³⁹⁴ As previously, the predominant spaces in which they featured

³⁸⁹ Blake 1930, pp. 78-86; the mosaics of the 1st century B.C. expressed perfection of workmanship and simplicity of designs; Pernice 1938, p. 134; Dunbabin 1999a, pp. 55-58. Still, the mosaics attributed to the period of the 2nd style could also employ polychrome details and perspective renderings, see Clarke 1991, pp. 41, 61.

³⁹⁰ Blake 1930, pp. 86, 96; Pernice 1938, pp. 134-146; Clarke 1979, p. xix; Joyce 1979, p. 262; Dunbabin 1999a, p. 56; de Vos 1991, p. 48. Clarke 2007b, pp. 327-328, emphasises the transitional character of the 2nd style-period mosaics (from the 1st style-period), and refers to these as “bilingual” due to this dual expression of colours and perspectives.

³⁹¹ Blake 1930, pp. 97-100; de Vos 1979, pp. 172-173; 1991, p. 54; Clarke 2007b, p. 331.

³⁹² Clarke 2007b, pp. 329, 331. Elsewhere, Clarke 1991, p. 63, lays emphasis on the black-and-white technique as a Roman adaptation of a Hellenistic decorative language.

³⁹³ Blake 1930, pp. 78-86, 102-121; Pernice 1938, pp. 134-146; de Vos 1979, p. 172; Clarke 1979, p. xix; Clarke 1991, pp. 61-63; Dunbabin 1999a, p. 56.

³⁹⁴ This can also be seen on threshold-decorations, which often consist of *emblemata* at Delos, whereas the Pompeian thresholds present geometrical compositions; meant to be seen from any angle, see Joyce 1979, p. 258; Clarke 1979, p. 105.

were *fauces* and bath-suites,³⁹⁵ although figurative mosaics are recorded also as featuring in some *atria* as well as other rooms (Fig. 38).³⁹⁶

Taken together, the houses in the core-sample stand out for Pompeii, given that they feature so many mosaic-floors; this claim may be confirmed by reference to the compilation-map in *Pompeii 1748-1980*. There are naturally other houses in the city, outside the core-sample, which have large, tessellated areas, but lack a *fauces*-mosaic.³⁹⁷ Nevertheless, there does seem to be a correlation between mosaic-paved *fauces* and a mosaic-paved *atrium* and beyond. It is therefore important, by way of contrast, to emphasise that in A.D. 79, the majority of domestic spaces were still paved mainly with mortar. Hence, it is clear that use of mosaic as an embellishment represented a special investment and perhaps one which reflected a desire to mark social status.³⁹⁸

4.2 Dating-criteria for Pompeian mosaics

Since the classification of the Pompeian wall-paintings into four styles by Mau in the 1880s,³⁹⁹ the dating of most decorative artistry and the building phases of architecture at Pompeii relates to that of the wall-paintings. As for the study of mosaics, there does not exist a corresponding style-framework by which one may date Pompeian floors.⁴⁰⁰ Floor-patterns were far more durable than the rapidly changing fashions in wall-painting, and therefore, a

³⁹⁵ Blake 1930, pp. 121-124; de Vos 1979, pp. 171-174; Clarke 1979, pp. 58-62; 1994, p. 98; 2007b, pp. 328-329: the rendering of the figures is termed the silhouette style, with the late silhouettes being associated with the late 3rd style/early 4th style-period.

³⁹⁶ A consistent view includes only the elaborate *atrium*-mosaics of *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) and *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17), see Clarke 1979, p. 8; Curtis 1984, pp. 564-565. However, at least six more deserve to be noticed: *Cd Citarista* (I 4,5/25: see *PPMI*, p. 170), *Cd Cornelia* (VIII 4,15: see *PPM VIII*, pp. 519-521), *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), and *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2). These mosaics depict either crenelated city-walls, functioning as mosaic-borders, ship-prows, or, in the case with the large *atrium*-like courtyard leading to the bath-section of *Praedia di Iulia Felix*, a marine *thiasos* (see *PPM III*, pp. 205, 208). Moreover, the *atrium* of *Cd Danzatrice/Diana I* (VI 17,10) seems once to have had one or two threshold-mosaics bordering on one of the *alae* and/or the *tablinum* portraying ship-sheds and marine items, see Allroggen-Bedel 1976. In *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4), the second *atrium* was decorated with several tessellated threshold-panels with a figurative decoration, such as *cornucopiae*, see Jones & Robinson 2004, p. 118. Also, the paving of the actual *impluvium* in *Cd Caccia antica* (VII 4,48) was once adorned with a mosaic with a small theatrical mask in its centre, see Allison & Sear 2002, p. 18.

³⁹⁷ See e.g.: *Cd Colombe a mosaico* (VIII 2,34), *Cd L. Caecilius Phoebus* (VIII 2,37), *Cd Fabius Rufus* (VII 16,22), *Cd Camillo* (VII 12,23), *Cd Caccia nuova* (VII 10,3) and *Cd Trittolemo* (VII 7,5).

³⁹⁸ De Vos in Bastet & de Vos 1979, p. 111; Dunbabin 1999a, p. 53.

³⁹⁹ Mau 1882.

⁴⁰⁰ However, the explanation offered by Pernice; that many of the city's mosaics have been taken out of their context (or worse, left to disintegrate), is in my view not entirely satisfying since Pompeii still exhibits many mosaics *in situ*. See Pernice 1938, p. 33 (and nn. 2-4), on the numerous mosaics, both figurative and ornamental, that were relocated during the Bourbon era. If they had instead been left *in situ*, Pernice believes a style-categorisation similar to Mau's for wall-paintings, would have been feasible. On the destructive winter climate, see also Blake 1930, pp. 12-13; Curtis 1984, p. 559.

similar categorisation into four styles is not directly transferable to the floors.⁴⁰¹ In what follows, I will therefore define the floors in terms of time-periods by e.g., ascribing a mosaic not to the 2nd style, but to the 2nd style-*period*.

The studies and dating published by Blake and Pernice are fundamental for a basic understanding of modern research concerning Pompeian mosaics.⁴⁰² Both scholars relate the mosaics to the wall-painting classification as a contextualising tool.⁴⁰³ They, moreover, rely heavily on the floors' styles, motif-choices and technical issues as well as the architectural context in which the mosaics are found. Blake's aim was to present a chronological framework for the Pompeian floors, by drawing comparisons with the style-dates of wall-decorations and the archaeological documentation of buildings (referring e.g., to Mau).⁴⁰⁴ However, when it comes to assign floors to individual building-phases, problems ensue. Blake argues that this would be difficult as the majority of houses had undergone several building-periods:

“In Pompeii we have had to depend for chronological data upon the relation of pavements to wall paintings. Though the various styles of wall construction have been given a more or less exact classification in chronological order, practically every house has undergone so many transformations that it is difficult to tell to which periods of wall construction the various pavements belonged”.⁴⁰⁵

In general terms, she continues, it is difficult to tell if a mosaic was laid before or after a wall-painting as the combination of the two can be so finely adjusted.⁴⁰⁶ Nowadays, however, archaeological studies of building have shown that adoption of different masonry materials and techniques cannot be correlated with different periods. Instead, the picture has been shown to have been even more complex, with parallel techniques employed contemporaneously.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰¹ Blake 1930, p. 96; Beyen 1960, p. 187; Haug 2020, p. 10. Dunbabin 1999a, p. 3, is especially critical to the *stylistic dating* as misleading since the art of the mosaic was highly traditional and made use of patterns for longer periods.

⁴⁰² Clarke, e.g., 1979, 1991, 1994; Joyce 1979; de Vos 1979, p. 161. See also Bragantini 2010, p. 174: “Nel caso di Pompei, nonostante i ben noti problemi di definizione degli aspetti cronologici dell'evidenza pompeiana, la possibilità di esaminare criticamente in parallelo pitture e pavimenti ha facilitato la definizione di una griglia tipologica, che si è rivelata sostanzialmente consistente con quella proposta dai due autori”.

⁴⁰³ Blake 1930, p. 11: “although the construction of the walls themselves must always remain the most important criterion, pavements vie with wall paintings for the honor of the second place in supplying the most evidence of value to chronology”; Pernice 1938, p. 33. Cf. Dunbabin 1999a, p. 3, who states that comparatively few mosaics in general can be dated closely on external grounds, such as absolute dates, why internal criteria instead are employed, which in turn may be problematic because of regional or chronological differences. See also Cf. Strocka 2007, p. 307, on the 1st style-décor of *Cd Labirinto* (VI 11,9-10), which belongs to a building-phase, dated not just by architecture but also by the mosaics of the house.

⁴⁰⁴ See Blake 1930, chap. 1.

⁴⁰⁵ Blake 1930, p. 86.

⁴⁰⁶ Blake 1930, pp. 14-16 (quotation from p. 15): If the floor border along the walls seems distinctly coarser, it may indicate that this part has been “mended” in the process of adapting the newer wall-décor with the older floor.

⁴⁰⁷ See reviews by Descoedres 2007, p. 13; Adam 2007, pp. 98-100; Wallace-Hadrill 2007, pp. 280-281

Pernice also discusses the problem that houses may display several co-existing wall-painting- and floor-phases. In his view, the best method of determining a relative time-sequence is to check whether the pavement goes under the wall-plaster and meets the raw wall-construction. He further states that the general rule is that the pavement and the wall-plaster are contemporaneous if the plaster covers the pavement.⁴⁰⁸ More recently, plasters studied in their own right have introduced new observations to this discussion. In his study of *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), Wolfgang Ehrhardt states that the *fauces*-mosaic here abuts on not the raw wall, but the under-plaster beneath the decorated fine plaster.⁴⁰⁹ But such detailed study has yet to be repeated in other cases and so one cannot yet state confidently whether this evidence for a fine-tuned decorative sequence: *wall – under-plaster – floor – plaster*, is valid also for other houses among those under discussion here.

In any case, as will be evident in what follows, there are naturally exceptions to any rule. The most evident comes about when the walls were newly plastered in a later phase while the older mosaics were kept. The problem with dating a covering wall-painting is that one cannot tell how long after the laying of the floor-pavement that the wall-décor was made, if made after. The walls could, moreover, have been deprived of older plaster when a new decorative project was undertaken. In most cases, the relationship can thus only provide a *terminus ante quem*-date for the mosaic, i.e., an indication that the mosaic may have been laid before the wall-painting and not after. Overall, this criterion may serve as corroboration when considered alongside other reliable criteria, but when it is used as a sole argument, it does not weigh heavily as evidence. As may be seen in some following examples, a more secure chronological relation is established when the wall-plaster actually covers and disturbs the pattern of the mosaic.

When studies of building-archaeology are referred to in mosaic studies from the 1930s, the primary sources are mainly Mau, in various publications on Pompeii in general, and Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben with reference to *regio VIII, insula 2* in particular.⁴¹⁰ Pernice, while regretting the uneven documentation of the houses, states, all the same, that he will not present information on each house's development unless it is necessary.⁴¹¹ Nevertheless, his work in fact presents a relatively detailed survey of many houses. Blake is, as we have seen, more cautious in relating the floors to particular building-phases as the houses have been so much restored over the years. Regrettably, the above-mentioned important study over *insula*

⁴⁰⁸ Pernice 1938, pp. 33, 36.

⁴⁰⁹ Ehrhardt 1998, pp. 26-27, 32, 43, 53, 141, 153, 159.

⁴¹⁰ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936. See Zanker 1998, p. 144, and Tybout 2007, p. 408, on this publication as the first survey of a complete *insula*. See also Bastet & de Vos 1979, pp. 14-16, on the impact that the study by Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben has had on the subject of relative chronology for Pompeian archaeology.

⁴¹¹ See foreword in Pernice 1938, in which he states that older literature has unfortunately been rather neglectful towards the mosaics, if it mentions them at all. But the omitting of any mention of the combination of wall-paintings with mosaics in the works by Mau, remains the greatest puzzle to Pernice.

VIII 2 had not been published by the time of Blake's writing, which in turn was most helpful for Pernice (and later scholars).⁴¹²

If we turn our attention to the mosaics themselves, we find that Blake and Pernice were very interested in the different technical procedures adopted in the making and layout of the mosaics. The suggestion was put forward that the following aspects of the mosaicist's craft might have changed over time: the size of the *tesserae*, the width of the spaces between the *tesserae*, the organization of the *tesserae* in rows or in different oblique or horizontal manners; also, the use of various stones and, correspondingly, of various colours. Over time, for various reasons, different materials might have gained or lost popularity, a fact exemplified by the more or less total replacement of limestone with marble, which was reckoned to have occurred during the late Republic.⁴¹³ Pernice states that since it is not possible to date a mosaic according to its style alone, the quality of the floor is what best can guide the scholar.⁴¹⁴ In his view, the rule of thumb to be applied is that the finer are considered older, and are thus safely placed in the Hellenistic period, while the less elaborate floors seem to belong to a later period.⁴¹⁵ He states, moreover, that the *tesserae* are generally rather large during the Hellenistic period, but that they diminish in size over time. Especially during the period of the 3rd style, quite small *tesserae* were employed, but larger ones reappear in later periods. By the time of the eruption, the larger *tesserae* had just started to be employed. Even in the late figurative mosaics, it is noticeable how much coarser the *tesserae* had become.⁴¹⁶

More recently, Mariette de Vos calculates Republican mosaics to contain 120-130 *tesserae* for each 10 cm², while mosaics from the 1st century A.D. comprise 90-110 *tesserae*.⁴¹⁷ De Vos also discusses the smaller *tesserae* of the Augustan period.⁴¹⁸ Dunbabin suggests that the larger and less regular *tesserae*-cubes from the mid-first century A.D. onwards may reflect emerging "mass production".⁴¹⁹ To propose a date based on the size or layout of the *tesserae* alone may nevertheless give rise to some uncertainty. Haug points to the irregularly hewn *tesserae* of the 1st style-period and the elongated rectangular *tesserae* of the 2nd style-period as possible date-indicators. But in these two periods, regularly hewn *tesserae* were also employed.⁴²⁰ As will now be evident, there seems to be no straightforward development with respect to the size of *tesserae*, which makes this a somewhat problematic date-criterion.

⁴¹² For Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936 in turn, Blake naturally served as an important aid for dating the mosaics, although they in some cases disagree with her and reach other conclusions.

⁴¹³ Blake 1930, e.g., pp. 14-21, 33-34, 49, 67, 78, 86, 93-96, 127-129; Pernice 1938, pp. 33, 119-148.

⁴¹⁴ Pernice 1938, p. 33, n. 2.

⁴¹⁵ However, this idea may perhaps to some extent reflect the time of Pernice, implying as it does a reversal of belief in the idea of a progress, and emphatically proposing instead a continuous degradation in quality.

⁴¹⁶ Pernice 1938, p. 130.

⁴¹⁷ De Vos in Bastet & de Vos 1979, p. 110. According to calculations, the sides of average *tesserae* do not exceed 6-7 mm in length.

⁴¹⁸ De Vos 1979, pp. 171-172.

⁴¹⁹ Dunbabin 1999a, p. 57.

⁴²⁰ Haug 2020, p. 9. For consideration of the varying density of *tesserae* in different rooms within *Cd Chirurgo* (VI 1,9-10/23), see Wootton 2018, pp. 493-494.

The material used is another possible criterion for dating suggested by Blake and Pernice. During the period of the 2nd style, for example, marble was found to become more common.⁴²¹ To turn to more recent scholarship on mosaics, the work of Will Wootton contributes to a better understanding of how different materials and techniques could be used during different time-periods. However, in many cases, an in-depth scientific analysis, for example, microscope-studies, would be required in order to arrive at more reliable answers.⁴²² Moreover, the employment of multiple techniques and different working methods contemporaneously by the ancient craftsmen results in a non-linear progression, which in turn makes technique a problematic dating-criterion. However, as will become evident in chap. 6, the use of different marbles during certain periods may nonetheless serve as an indicator of chronology.

The pure stylistic approach, that is, the discerning of changes of fashion in the prevalence of certain motifs, patterns or designs, was also employed quite often by Blake and Pernice in their discussions, which encompass the full range of all Pompeian mosaics. It will be referred to henceforth in this study as the “pattern approach”, the motifs under discussion being chiefly of a geometric character. Blake and Pernice argued that it was possible to trace development of the motifs, and especially to recognise certain patterns as being in vogue during certain periods or linked with certain techniques. Although this approach is much employed, it has nevertheless met with criticism due to its rather vague reliance on chronological fixed points. In fact, patterns could be employed over a longish period of time, given that mosaic-design in general seems to have developed in a slower pace than, for example, that of wall-decoration. As we will see, in some cases this method can arrive at quite reasonable results, while in others, not.

For the purposes of this study, criteria for dating are sought primarily in the secured contexts of the houses under consideration to which the mosaics occur. The leading hypothesis is that the *fauces*-mosaics belong to a major building-phase in the history of the individual houses, generally involving the decoration of the whole *atrium*-area, which places the interior decoration in a chronological context. Much in-depth study in this field has been engaged in since the days of Blake and Pernice.⁴²³ In spite of that, an uneven state of knowledge concerning the development of the houses is still the general rule. Results drawn from the study of the houses will be used in what follows to assess the usefulness of mosaic-motifs as a means of dating.⁴²⁴ Before entering upon a discussion of the building-

⁴²¹ Blake 1930, pp. 15, 19-20, 49; Pernice 1938, p. 131.

⁴²² Wootton 2012, p. 211; 2018. See also De Carolis, Esposito & Ferrara 2015-2016 on microscopic analysis of the different marbles used in the *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaics of *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18).

⁴²³ In his foreword, Pernice 1938, notes that it is regrettable that we do not have the history of each house sketched, as in the work done for *insula VIII 2* by Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936.

⁴²⁴ According to Dunbabin 1999a, p. 3, the only time that style can be used for dating is if dealing with a closely defined region, where local workshops could put their mark on certain patterns. Even so, one has to be careful and not to propose dates that are too narrow, but preferably broader ones. See also Clarke 2007b, p. 323, who emphasises the coordination of walls, floors and ceilings in terms of decoration, and Joyce 1979, p. 253, who refers to secure dating of Pompeian floors through association with distinctive and datable styles of the building-construction and wall-decoration; Martin

archaeological criteria relative to the contextualisation and dating of the mosaics in a house-by-house account, it is worthwhile to recall some generalities concerning the past study and the historical contexts of the houses under scrutiny.

Some houses have been studied as parts of an *insula*-based investigation: *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4), *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6), *VI 13,13* (no. 8), *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26), *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27), *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30) and the terrace-houses (seven houses) along the southern city-wall of *insula* VIII 2.⁴²⁵

The following houses have been individually studied, though not all at the same level of detail: *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2), *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11), *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16) and *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17).⁴²⁶

A small number of houses have not been studied with any degree of thoroughness or recently. In their case, we have to rely on documentation by primarily Mau, Blake, Pernice and various articles in *PPM*: *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5); *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12); *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13); *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25); *IX 5,6* (no. 28) and *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29).⁴²⁷

To be able to produce an approximate chronological framework as reasonable as possible, I have collected dates for the *fauces*-mosaics proposed in the arguments about building-archaeology, which have arisen from published investigations of the houses concerned. These dates will be compared to those proposed by Blake and Pernice, in order to discern how dependent we still may be on their suggestions from the 1930s. It is interesting to note that

2017, p. 57: "It is a common practice to date mosaics on stylistic grounds [...] Continued and better excavation will provide indispensable chronological information that operates independently from assumptions about stylistic development [...]".

⁴²⁵ *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3): Leander Touati, Staub & Forsell 2021 and www.pompejiprojektet.se; *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4): (articles, but not yet a publication) by the Anglo-American project (Jones & Robinson 2005a/b, 2007); *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6): *Rileggere Pompei*, 2006, ed. by Coarelli & Pesando; *VI 13,13* (no. 8): *Rileggere Pompei*, 2009, ed. by Verzár-Bass & Oriolo; *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26) and *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27): *Expositio Pompeiana Universitatis Helsingiensis*, and doctoral dissertation by Ynnilä 2012; *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30): Coralini 2017. See finally Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936 for the houses in *insula* VIII 2. For the *Terme del Sarno* bath-complex (VIII 2,17-21), see also the study by Koloski-Ostrow 1986.

⁴²⁶ *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1): Ehrhardt 1998; *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2): unpublished doctoral dissertation by Parslow 1989; *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11): Aoyagi & Pappalardo (eds.) 2006; *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14): Ehrhardt 1988; *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15): Franklin 1990; *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16): Bruni 2018; *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17): Costantino 2011.

⁴²⁷ To this group may be added the albeit studied but not yet published *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4) and *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2). For *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), see also doctoral dissertation by Krimpen-Winckel 2009, on a metrological analysis of a sample of Pompeian *atrium*-houses.

the reliance placed upon these two scholars varies considerably, with some scholars fully accepting their judgements while others do not even refer to them.⁴²⁸

The dating-criteria that may be applied to the *fauces*-mosaics fall into three groups, determined by the building-archaeology and decorative history of the houses concerned. The following discussion includes 28 *fauces* of 30 known to have held mosaics; two are omitted for different reasons.⁴²⁹

The first group (A) is the “time-coherent” decoration group, which comprises *fauces*-mosaics that were made simultaneously with the extant wall-paintings of that same space (five *fauces*). The floor- and wall-decoration of the *atria* will also be taken into account, as the mosaics in the *fauces* and *atria* in the majority of cases are chronologically connected with each other. The aim is to try to determine a reasonable dating for the *fauces*-mosaics through their interrelationship with the wall-paintings, which may be more securely dated. The second group (B) contains the *fauces*-mosaics that can be related to a phase other than that represented by the most recent wall-decorations of the *atrium*-area (16 *fauces*). The dating is dependent on what has been established regarding phases in the house’s constructional history, and the aim is to identify, if possible, in broad terms, the earlier, and large, phase of building and decoration, to which the mosaic belongs. The capacity of building-archaeology to highlight different phases within sequences is a factor very helpful for contextualisation. The third and last group (C) comprises the *fauces*-mosaics that primarily have been dated by the mosaic-patterns *per se* (seven *fauces*).

Before presenting the mosaics within the above group-categorisation, it is necessary first to include a brief introduction to the chronology of the wall-decorations, as it has been somewhat adjusted since the time of Mau. It is of importance to become familiar with the adjustments to the chronology of the Pompeian four styles that have gained acceptance in recent years, in order to avoid confusion when reference is made to datings proposed by Blake and Pernice, which were arrived at before the revision. What is of concern here is not the categorisation of *styles*, as this remains intact, but alterations concerning absolute dates or periods within the time-frame of history.⁴³⁰

Since the 1970’s, Mau’s chronology has been revised (see also chap. 1),⁴³¹ resulting in a today time-framework, which seems somewhat insecure when compared with the traditional

⁴²⁸ See e.g., Coarelli & Pesando 2006 who fully rely on Pernice for dating the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6) while Ynnilä 2012 does not take neither Blake nor Pernice into consideration when discussing *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26) but only *PPM* and *PPP*.

⁴²⁹ Excluded *fauces* are *Cd Leone* (VI 17,25, no. 9) due to having not been documented; and *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), because its *fauces*-decoration is seen as a forerunner, see chap. 3. Interestingly, *Cd Leone* (VI 17,25, no. 9) is the subject of a new and current investigation of the *Insula occidentalis* by Parco Archeologico di Pompei (from 2020).

⁴³⁰ In describing the floors, Pernice applies *style*-definitions, e.g., 1st style-floors etc., whereas Blake uses the term *types*.

⁴³¹ Revised chronology: 1st style: c. 170 - 80 B.C., 2nd style: c. 80 - 20/15 B.C., 3rd style: c. 20/15 B.C. - c. A.D. 45, 4th style: c. A.D. 45 - (A.D. 79) c. 100. See detailed chronology by Strocka 2007, table 20.1, and compilation of different proposed dates in Barbet 1985, table V, p. 182. However, for a critique of Barbet, see Tybout, 2001, p. 40. On the validity of Mau’s typological classification, see Bragantini 2015, pp. 361-362.

view as represented in the studies by Blake, Pernice and also the early Clarke (1979).⁴³² The principal revision has mainly dealt with the 3rd style, both with regards to its beginning and to its transformation into the 4th style.⁴³³ As seen in the works by scholars, succeeding Mau, concerned with both wall-paintings and mosaics, the period between 10 B.C. to A.D. 62/63 constituted the proposed time-frame for the 3rd style.⁴³⁴ But, following the publication of a ground-breaking study by Bastet & de Vos in 1979, the 3rd style was now proposed to have emerged around 20 - 10 B.C. and developed into the 4th style already by the time of emperor Claudius, c. A.D. 45. Another important work on the 3rd style was published slightly later (1987) by Ehrhardt, in which attention is drawn to overlaps between the styles.⁴³⁵

In the present study, as will become evident, the lack of secured chronological fixed points within the 3rd style has affected the dating of many of the *fauces*-mosaics, which in many cases, traditionally have been assigned in a generalising way to the Augustan period (and never to the succeeding Tiberian or Caligulan periods).⁴³⁶ In only one case, *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), do we have a fixed point of reference in the form of graffiti dated to the Claudian period (see below and chap. 5). Even if we cannot secure closer dates, it is worth underlining that the Augustan period may be too imprecise a dating for many of the mosaics. Furthermore, a date-revision has won acceptance that places the 4th style's emergence before the earthquake(s) of A.D. 62/63. As a consequence, some of the historical dates assigned to certain time-periods by Blake, Pernice and Clarke (1979) can be misleading.⁴³⁷

⁴³² See dating by Pernice 1938, p. 119: 1st style during the late Samnite period, i.e., the true Hellenistic period of Pompeii: 200-80 B.C.; 2nd style: Republican period to the early Empire; 3rd style: onwards up until A.D. 63; 4th style: from A.D. 63 and in vogue at the time of the eruption. With regards to Clarke, the chronology has been revised in his later studies (e.g., 1991; 2007b).

⁴³³ Clarke 1991, p. 55; Ling 1991, p. 52; Strocka 2007, p. 304. On the 2nd style, see e.g., Beyen 1938; 1960.

⁴³⁴ N.B., however, Mau's own proposal in 1882, p. 447: "Wenn aber nach dem Jahre 63 die neuen Decorationen durchaus im letzten pompejanischen Stil ausgeführt wurden, so dürfen wir weiter schliessen, dass dieser nicht damals erst üblich wurde, sondern schon etwas früher aufgekommen war und sich verbreitet hatte, und schwerlich greifen wir zu hoch, wenn wir das Jahr 50 n.Chr. als ungefähren Endpunkt der Zeit des dritten Stils bezeichnen". See also Mau-Kelsey 1899, p. 43. Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 17, and Ehrhardt 1987, p. 9, refer to this proposed date by Mau, i.e., that the 4th style developed already around A.D. 50 in Pompeii, as is suggested by architectural observations on its buildings. Compelling arguments on the use of the 4th style in the house of *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3, see below) already in the 40s A.D. have been presented in Leander Touati, Staub & Forsell 2021, see esp. pp. 213-216.

⁴³⁵ Bastet & de Vos 1979, esp. pp. 8-16, 24, 62, 100-103; Ehrhardt 1987. According to Strocka 2007, p. 317, there is still no consensus among scholars as to when the 4th style began other than it had already reached Pompeii before the earthquake(s) of A.D. 62 (63). In the later studies by Clarke, the lower date of A.D. 45 is used as the turning point for the 4th style, see Clarke 1991; 1994. See also Clarke 2007b, p. 331.

⁴³⁶ For a general overview of the 3rd style-period and fixed points within it, see Strocka 2007, pp. 314-315.

⁴³⁷ Clarke 1994, p. 96. Cf. Clarke 1979, p. 10, nn. 18, 27.

4.3 *Fauces*-mosaics sorted according to dating-criteria

For a contextualised date of all *fauces*-mosaics, the architectural and decorative relation of the *fauces* to the adjoining rooms of the *atria*, *alae* and *tablina* is most important, because these rooms, often more thoroughly studied, have yielded more secure dates than have the *fauces per se*. Following figure-references are to the pictures of the *fauces*-mosaics.

4.3.1 Group A: *Fauces*-mosaics coherent in time with the extant wall-decoration in the *atrium*-area

This first group contains the mosaics in the *fauces* that are chronologically coherent with the wall-paintings and other mosaics in the *atrium*-area of that house. Of the 28 *fauces*, five form part of a preserved time-consistent decorative assemblage, executed on both walls and floors: *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3); *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5); *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14); *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27) and *IX 5,6* (no. 28). The majority of this group leave no doubt that wall-paintings and mosaics were made at the same time, in some cases datable to the very last decades of life in Pompeii, (at least *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5); *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14); *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27), and possibly *IX 5,6*, no. 28), when redecoration work was necessary after the earthquake(s) of A.D. 62 and later.

The main decoration in the *atrium*-area of *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3) is attributed to the 3rd style, nowadays specifically placed in the Claudian period, when the house became a double *atrium*-house, and its southern *atrium*-area was lavishly tessellated. Shortly prior to this, piped water was installed. The high-quality paintings of the *tablinum* give the stylistic chronological key,⁴³⁸ independently established also by two graffiti repeating the name of the emperor (Claudius), inscribed in the plaster-covering of a column belonging to the phase when the double *atrium*-house was created.⁴³⁹ Earlier scholarship tended to put the mosaics in the Augustan period (Fig. 136).⁴⁴⁰

The well-known house of *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) has, remarkably, never been studied properly. But the uniform wall- and mosaic-decoration of the *atrium*-area is consistently assigned to one phase in the post-earthquake period (Fig. 137). The *impluvium*,

⁴³⁸ See e.g., Bastet & de Vos 1979, pp. 76-79; Strocka 2007, pp. 307, 315, table 20.1.

⁴³⁹ Leander Touati, Staub & Forsell 2021, esp. pp. 213-216; *CIL* IV 4089, 4090. The graffiti confirm the Claudian date of the creation of the double *atrium*-house, including the decoration of the *atrium*-area and the west peristyle-rooms in the late 3rd style and, in the same building-phase, the east part of the peristyle-decoration (to which the graffiti belong) in the 4th style. See also Mau 1882, e.g., pp. 302, 311, 321-322, 344, 364, 408; Bastet & de Vos 1979, p. 76; Ehrhardt 1987, pp. 101-104. In a preliminary report, Karivieri & Forsell (2006-2007, pp. 133-137) erroneously proposed two separate phases, one to the Augustan period, the other to the Flavian period; a view which has been revised in Leander Touati, Staub & Forsell 2021.

⁴⁴⁰ The earlier suggestions for dating: Blake 1930, pp. 64- 65, 122; Pernice 1938, p. 96: the mosaics belong to the 3rd style, and the kantharos and tendril-pattern of the threshold-mosaic of the right *ala* is Augustan in its design; Bastet & de Vos 1979, p. 76. Pernice's proposed Augustan date is followed by *PPM* III (A. de Vos), p. 579, where not only the size of the *tesserae* but also the silhouette-rendering of the dog depicted are seen as dating-criteria.

with a wide border of polychrome marble-slabs, may further confirm the late decoration-date.⁴⁴¹

The small house of *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), is (one of) the latest houses in the study as it was constructed *ex novo* some time between the 40s and 60s A.D. The wall-paintings and the mosaic-floors belong indeed together, although Ehrhardt concludes that it is not possible to pinpoint with security whether they belong to the first phase (the decade of the 40s-50s) or to the following (the 50s-60s) (Figs. 83/124).⁴⁴²

In *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27), the mosaics and wall-paintings in both the *fauces* and *atrium* may belong to the very last phase of the 4th style-period; at least to the post-earthquake period. This coincides with the time when this major part of the house was largely reconstructed, as seen from many of the brick walls. The paintings in the large *triclinium* (16), facing the *atrium*, have been compared with paintings in other houses securely dated to the 4th style-period.⁴⁴³ The *fauces*-mosaic continues into the *atrium* as one whole carpet (although it is badly preserved in the *atrium*), and meets the wall-structure neatly (Fig. 99).⁴⁴⁴

Finally, in the last of the five *fauces*, there are as yet question-marks surrounding the dating. In sum, the overall decoration of the entrance in *IX 5,6* (no. 28) seems to be late, and in my view, there is no reason why the wall- and floor-decoration could not have been made at the same time (Fig. 100). The *fauces*-mosaic was assigned a late by Blake, as it is much similar to the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27), which in turn has been securely dated to the late 4th style-period. But she also stated that the *fauces*-mosaic in *IX 5,6* (no. 28) was “clearly later” than its 4th style wall-paintings.⁴⁴⁵ Such a statement, without any additional information or arguments, is in fact typical for Blake, leaving the reader somewhat perplexed. Pernice discusses the irregularity of the *tesserae* as an indicator of a late date (as does Blake), but without mentioning the walls,⁴⁴⁶ while *PPM* instead stresses the ambiguous description by Mau of the *fauces*-walls: what Mau proposes to be the 2nd style of the middle sections must in fact have been made during the 4th style in conformity with the remaining *décor* of the walls.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴¹ Overbeck & Mau 1884, pp. 285-286; Mau-Kelsey 1899, p. 307; Blake 1930, pp. 111, 121-122; Pernice 1938, p. 98, the inscription *Cave canem* is not mentioned; *PPM* IV (Badoni), pp. 527-547.

⁴⁴² Ehrhardt 1987, p. 87; Ehrhardt 1988, pp. 57-60, 71, agreeing with the reviews by Blake and Pernice; *PPM* VI (Ehrhardt), pp. 742-751; Blake 1930, pp. 111, 122; Pernice 1938, pp. 98-99, who, together with Blake emphasises the similarities between this house and *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), both in regard to layout and date and patterns of the mosaics. However, as in the survey of this other house, the accompanying mosaic-inscription (*Have*) is not mentioned by Pernice.

⁴⁴³ Castrén et. al. 2008, pp. 336-339. A suggested date to the post-earthquake period is based on comparisons with wall-paintings in *Cd Vettii* (VI 15,1), while a later date, after A.D. 72, may be proposed in view of comparisons made with the securely dated paintings in *Cd Caccia antica* (VII 4,48).

⁴⁴⁴ Both Blake 1930, pp. 99-100, 109, and Pernice 1938, p. 105, agree on the late date for the mosaic and emphasise the new wall-construction made either just before the earthquake or after (Blake states both versions). Many of the house's mosaics are here compared with those in *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25).

⁴⁴⁵ Blake 1930, p. 100.

⁴⁴⁶ Blake 1930, p. 100; Pernice 1938, p. 117.

⁴⁴⁷ *PPM* IX (Sampaolo), pp. 403-408, claims that Mau himself, in *BdI* 1879, p. 113, stresses the fact that caryatids, as found in 2nd style-paintings, do indeed occur in the 4th style as well. But, in *BdI*, Mau states only, regarding the *fauces*-figures,

4.3.2 Group B: Building-phase and sequence as main dating-tools

This group consists of 16 *fauces* out of 28. Three important criteria have formed the basis for the following dating, mostly based on studies more recent than those of Blake and Pernice. It is important to note which building-archaeological and/or redecoration-phases the study of the houses has revealed. In some cases, a relationship between the mosaics, the walls and the paintings could be established, which has resulted in the proposal of a reliable date for the mosaics. Of special interest are cases where later walls or paintings have actually disturbed mosaic-flooring in any way; they are hence seen as later than the mosaics. Although this criterion only indicates an *ante quem*-date for the mosaic, documented building- or decoration-phases earlier than the one extant in A.D. 79 may be used to suggest a plausible date of the mosaics, most especially if it is representative of a major decoration-phase. The problem with establishing a chronological sequence when a mosaic extends under the last decorated wall-plaster has been discussed above. Apart from wall-decorations, the construction of the walls themselves, and also the relation between the mosaics and the surrounding thresholds in the *atrium*-area, all fall within the domain of the investigator of building-archaeology.

Already Blake regarded early patching and mending of floors as clues for dating, as well as the use of different materials for thresholds during different time periods, i.e., lava-thresholds during the Samnite period, and travertine-thresholds from the 1st century B.C. onwards (plus marble ones from the Augustan time).⁴⁴⁸ More recently, Thomas Staub has discussed threshold-material. Lava was used for stone-thresholds throughout Pompeii's history although in later periods primarily for simpler rooms. Instead, travertine is associated with the periods of the late 1st and the 2nd styles, and marble, primarily as side-plates, with the early Imperial period. The relation between floor-pavements and thresholds may thus yield propositions for dating.⁴⁴⁹ As will be evident, many houses allow some of the observations described above, although not all.

In the following survey, the houses are sorted in chronological order, with the period of the 2nd style presented first, thereafter the periods of the 3rd and 4th styles. Within each sequence, the reliability of the proposed dates will govern the order of each house. The reports will include the following information: the suggested dating of the mosaics, the most recent or most thorough study of the house, the date of the extant wall-decorations of the *fauces*- or *atrium*-area, the observations that demonstrate that by A.D. 79, the mosaics were not part of the same decorative phase as the surrounding walls; there will also be reference to the earlier phase of decoration detected for the front part of the house and to the observation(s) on which the dating of this earlier phase is based.

that: "sono assai svanite, ma pare che rassomigliano alle figure analoghe nella casa reg. VII is. I n. 40 (domus M. Caesi Blandi) nella stanza a d. del tablino". *PPM* agrees with the similarity, but points out that the architectural remains of the house IX 5,6 (no. 28) do not testify to a building-phase in the early 1st century B.C. See also Schefold 1957, p. 253, stating that the middle section is not in the true 2nd style.

⁴⁴⁸ Blake 1930, pp. 14-15, following Mau 1882, pp. 56-57.

⁴⁴⁹ Staub 2009, pp. 207-212.

The following two houses share a spatial closeness to each other in the city-centre, and, equally importantly, a diagnostic 2nd style-period scheme of decoration, to which the *fauces*-mosaics are attributed. Both earlier and modern scholars advocate unanimously the same proposed dates for the mosaics.

Cd M. Caesius Blandus (VII 1,40, no. 12) was largely redecorated during the late Republican period of the 2nd style, and that includes the *fauces*-mosaic with marine motifs (Fig. 113). The date is secure, mainly due to the diagnostic nature of the overall décor of the house (including the bath-suite). It is indeed considered, together with a few other houses, as representative of the 2nd style. The *fauces*-walls were decorated at the same time, but were later repainted in the 4th style.⁴⁵⁰

A comparison is often drawn with *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13), located not far from *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12). Today, much of the decoration has vanished, but the *atrium*-area used to have many mosaics and decorated mortar-floors.⁴⁵¹ The mosaics in the *fauces* and *atrium*, which shared the same stone-inlay pattern (cf. the *atrium*-mosaic in *Cd M. Caesius Blandus*, VII 1,40, no. 12), are assigned to the extensive redecoration-phase of the 2nd style that once characterised much of the house (Fig. 91).⁴⁵² One important argument for this, presented by both Blake and Pernice, is that later (Augustan?) walls have been erected partly on top of the tessellated meander-thresholds of the contemporaneous *alae*. However, Blake does not present any arguments for why the later walls must belong to the Imperial period, stating only that the *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaics cannot be later than the Augustan period.⁴⁵³ The fact that at least one of the *alae* (n) was adorned with a marble-threshold in the new wall-construction may serve as a time indicator.⁴⁵⁴

The *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) has attracted much scholarly interest over the years, which has resulted in a wide range of suggested datings that point

⁴⁵⁰ Blake 1930, pp. 60, 75-76, 80, 83, 85, 121: the *atrium*-mosaic is later than the lava *impluvium* and has been much mended in modern times. The *fauces*-mosaic was probably remade in a later period with coarser *tesserae*, as indicated by the preservation of finer *tesserae* alongside; Pernice 1938, pp. 53-55, compares with mosaics in *Cd Criptoportico* (I 6,2) and *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13), as does Beyen 1960, pp. 234-259, who dates the mosaics to phase IIa, ca. 40-30 B.C. Beyen also agrees (p. 252) with Blake that the restoration of the mosaic did not alter the design and motif as such. Clarke 1979, pp. 9-10, n. 25, prefers the early dating (to the late Republic) given by Pernice to Blake's revised date (i.e., to a later period when the *tesserae* were replaced). See also Heinrich 2002, p. 55.

⁴⁵¹ *PPM* VI (Sampaolo), e.g., pp. 624-625, on mortar-floors in *cubicula* dating to the 2nd century B.C.

⁴⁵² Blake 1930, pp. 60-61, 74-75, 78-80, sorts the mosaics of the house into two groups, one from a previous phase (the mosaics in the *tablinum*, next to it and behind) and the other, in front of the *tablinum*, belonging to the large decorative phase of the 2nd style-period. This division is questioned by Beyen 1960, p. 258, n. 6. For the 2nd style-paintings, see Mau 1882, pp. 93, 209-214, 274-276, where a comparison is also drawn with wall-paintings in *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12); Beyen 1960, pp. 113, 115, 183, 253, attributes the mosaics to phase IIa, while the wall-paintings are assigned to phase Ic. In Heinrich 2002, pp. 54-55, both these houses are considered representative of large or indeed very large houses with 2nd style wall-painting remains.

⁴⁵³ Blake 1930, pp. 74-75; Pernice 1938, pp. 54-55, refers to the walls of the *alae* and also to the polychrome limestone-pieces inserted into the *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaics, and their sizes, as indicators of date.

⁴⁵⁴ *PPM* VI (Sampaolo), p. 632, fig. 34.

variously to the periods of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th styles, respectively (Fig. 135).⁴⁵⁵ The latest contribution is Ehrhardt's in his *Häuser in Pompeji* study, which by all accounts presents a thorough study of the house as a whole. His proposed dating of the mosaic to the period of the 2nd style seems reliable. According to Ehrhardt, the dates formerly suggested are not convincing for various reasons. The understanding of the mosaics in the *atrium*-area as of different periods (*fauces*-, *atrium*- and *tablinum*-mosaics placed in the Augustan period, the *oecus*-example in that of the 2nd style) is contradicted by the fact that they form one continuous whole from the *fauces* to the *oecus* behind the *tablinum*, including, also, the polychrome figurative mosaics in the peristyle-area.⁴⁵⁶ Moreover, the use of glass *tesserae* in the *atrium*-mosaic is not as strong an argument against an early date to the period of the 2nd style, as was maintained by Pernice.⁴⁵⁷

Instead, Ehrhardt puts emphasis on the interconnected flow of the mosaics in the *fauces-atrium-tablinum-oecus*-area as a single composition made previous, certainly, to the 4th style wall-paintings that dominate the area.⁴⁵⁸ However, a niche in the *tablinum* preserves paintings in the so-called candelabrum-style, which, Ehrhardt argues, are contemporaneous with the mosaics and indicative of their date, so that all belong to the same "closed context".⁴⁵⁹ Moreover, even the under-plaster acts as a date-criterion, since the mosaics in the *atrium*-area extend under the current wall-paintings, and meet the under-plaster, that belongs to the 2nd style. Special attention is paid to the pilasters that separate the *atrium* from both the *fauces* and the *tablinum*, and whose bases, neatly meeting the mosaics, are attributed to

⁴⁵⁵ Blake 1930, pp. 121-123, places the *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaics in the 4th style-period, mainly due to the popularity of animal representations in *fauces*-mosaics that, according to her, belonged to this late phase. The elaborate all-over pattern of the *atrium*-mosaic, comparable to the *atrium*-mosaic of *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), seen as indicative of *horror vacui*, is also a late work in her view. A dating to the 3rd style-period is advocated by Pernice 1938, p. 95; Bastet & de Vos 1979, pp. 33, 113; *PPM I* (Parise Bedoni & M. de Vos, pp. 483-487), and Clarke 2007b, pp. 330-331. A dating to the 2nd style-period is advocated by Ehrhardt 1998.

⁴⁵⁶ Ehrhardt 1998, pp. 140-142. Ehrhardt argues against Bastet & de Vos 1979, pp. 33, 113, who dated the mosaics in the *atrium*-area to the Augustan period because of the candelabrum-paintings in the *tablinum*-niche that encroach upon the mosaic there (see below). Ehrhardt also queries *PPM I* (Parise Bedoni & M. de Vos, pp. 483-487), where the *oecus*-mosaic is assigned to the period of the 2nd style, while the other mosaics in the *atrium*-area are placed within the Augustan period.

⁴⁵⁷ Ehrhardt 1998, p. 140, *contra* Pernice 1938, p. 95, who concludes that many of the mosaic details (like the polychrome *tesserae* but also the motifs as such) are reminiscent of the decoration from the period of the 2nd style, but that such an early date cannot be supported due to the fact that glass *tesserae* (as found in the *atrium*-mosaic) are not known from older floors. Pernice therefore dated it within the period of the 3rd style.

⁴⁵⁸ Ehrhardt 1998, pp. 30, 125 (n. 785), 141, *contra* Pernice 1938, p. 95, who regards the overall *atrium*-décor as contemporaneously executed in one phase: "der Wandbewurf liegt überall über dem Paviment, das bis an die rohe Mauer herangeht". According to Ehrhardt, Pernice is tempted to give a late mosaic-date (incorrectly) because of the overhang of the 4th style wall-paintings. N.B. the west *atrium*-wall does not bear any paintings, which is indicative of the restoration-phase that the house was undergoing in A.D. 79.

⁴⁵⁹ Ehrhardt 1998, p. 142: "Sie bilden einen geschlossenen Komplex [...]". For the "candelabrum-style", related to the late 2nd and early 3rd style, see Mau 1882, notably pp. 302-304, 362, 374-377, where paintings in *Cd Capitelli figurati* (VII 4,57) are adduced as examples deserving an intermediate position between the two styles. According to Strocka 2007, p. 312, the "candelabrum-style" should not be considered an independent style in its own right. While Mau proposed a dating of its beginning to the late 1st century B.C., Ehrhardt 1987 has thereafter advocated a dating to the 40-30s B.C. See also brief summary in La Rocca 2008, p. 241.

this former decoration-period.⁴⁶⁰ Concerning thresholds, the *fauces*-mosaic is finely adjusted to the lava-threshold in the middle of the entrance, and the *atrium*-mosaic is also aligned to the travertine-thresholds here.⁴⁶¹

Ehrhardt finally points to the pattern-design of the mosaics in the *atrium*-area as very reminiscent of other mosaics from this period (both in Pompeii as in Rome), which include figurative motifs (e.g., various animals, busts, marine, military, mythological and prosperity symbols) and also an abundant use of polychrome *tesserae*.⁴⁶² Regarding the historical framework, Ehrhardt states on the one hand that no exact date can be reached for the mosaics, although they clearly belonged to the late 2nd style-period, and not to the early Imperial period. On the other hand, he proposes that all the mosaics, including those of the peristyle-area, ought to be seen as one group, laid at the same time, around 30 B.C.⁴⁶³ By this time, the house had already joined with the neighbouring *Cd Fabius Amandus* (I 7,3), and it was not until the mid-first century A.D. that the houses were separated.⁴⁶⁴

The next two houses in this chronologically ordered survey are neighbouring terrace-houses along the western edge, i.e., the *Insula occidentalis*. The proposed dates for their *fauces*-mosaics are within the period of the 2nd style; being based mainly on building-archaeological studies, pattern-analogies with other contemporaneous mosaics and their own contemporaneity with wall-paintings.

The proposed date of the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16) to the period of the (late) 2nd style has recently been advocated by Valerio Bruni (Fig. 105). Having thoroughly studied the architectural and decorative development of this ruinous house, Bruni has arrived at a dating different from that of Pernice, who instead had placed the *fauces*-mosaic within the period of the 3rd style.⁴⁶⁵ The uneven levels of two floors (the *atrium*-mosaic is placed on a marginally higher level than one of the *ala*-floors) does not after all seem to be a basis for a very different dating of them.⁴⁶⁶ Instead, Bruni argues that both these floors are datable to the period of the 2nd style, but to different building-phases,

⁴⁶⁰ Ehrhardt 1998, pp. 26-27, 32, 43, 53, 141, 153, 159.

⁴⁶¹ Ehrhardt 1998, pp. 26, 30, states that the *atrium*-mosaic is connected to the *fauces*- and *tablinum*-mosaics without any joint.

⁴⁶² Ehrhardt 1998, pp. 141-143, 154-158. See also Tammisto 1997, p. 400, who agrees with a late Republican date for the mosaics based on the patterns, albeit the various depictions of birds could suggest an Augustan date as well, if one compares wall-paintings from this period.

⁴⁶³ Ehrhardt 1998, p. 141: "Es läßt sich folglich nur eine allgemeine Einordnung in die Periode des späteren Zweiten Stils, aber keine genaue Datierung der Mosaike der Casa di Paquius Proculus begründen". Cf. p. 142: "Innerhalb der oben aufgeführten Motivreihen gehören die Mosaikböden in Fauces 2, Atrium 3 und Tablinum 6 der Casa di Paquius Proculus nicht ans Ende des 1. Jh. v.Chr. und ins 1. Jh. n.Chr. Die ausgeprägte Polychromie und Räumlichkeit der darin eingelegten ornamentalen, gegenständlichen und figürlichen Motive datieren sie zusammen mit den übrigen Mosaikböden im Trakt nördlich des Peristyls in die Jahre um 30 v.Chr."

⁴⁶⁴ Ehrhardt 1998, pp. 124-125, 138-139.

⁴⁶⁵ Pernice 1938, p. 79, states that the floral *fauces*-mosaic exemplifies an Augustan artistic idiom comparable with that of the Hildesheim silver-treasure. The *atrium*-mosaic is believed to be contemporaneous (i.e., 3rd style-period) or else a little later, while the *alae*-floors belong to a redecoration during the 2nd style-period.

⁴⁶⁶ Bruni 2018, pp. 100, 102.

with the mosaics and wall-paintings of the *atrium* belonging to an extensive redecoration, which took place towards the end of the style-period. The combination of both limestone- and marble-inserts in the *atrium*-mosaic favours Bruni's interpretation.⁴⁶⁷ The few fragments preserved of the *atrium* wall-paintings that cover the *atrium*-mosaic are interpreted by Bruni as an indicator of contemporaneity between the two. This date counts for the *fauces*-decoration as well.⁴⁶⁸ However, since the wall-paintings of especially the *atrium* have almost disappeared, the question is justified whether the walls were deliberately left bare for a repainting in the last phase or not. The well-preserved fragment behind the *lararium* on the northern wall is dated by Ernst Heinrich to the 2nd style.⁴⁶⁹

The much-damaged terrace-house of the neighbouring *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17), has been recently studied by Claudia Costantino. Costantino suggests a late Republican date, around 50 B.C., for both the *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaics, which disagrees with a previously proposed dating of the *atrium*-mosaic to the Augustan/Tiberian period, based on the tessellated *urcei* in the *atrium*-mosaic.⁴⁷⁰ However, because of the relatively ruinous state of the house, she stresses that the proposed building- and decorative-phases must remain tentative (Fig. 85).⁴⁷¹ The main criteria that she adduces for the proposed 2nd style-period dating of the mosaics are walling constructed in the *incertum*-technique (with lava and limestone blocks) and also a few remains of preserved décor found in the *atrium*-area. Although the latest walls here (in a mixed technique of reticulate and brickwork) are mainly assigned to the post-earthquake phase, the southern partition-wall of the *atrium* (separating the house from its neighbour, *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I*, VII 16,12-13, no. 16), is assigned this late Republican phase. The lower parts of the *fauces*-walls by the *atrium*,

⁴⁶⁷ Together with the guilloche-border around the *impluvium*, the floor-design of the *atrium* is compared to the *atrium* of *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18) by both Pernice 1938, p. 79, and Blake 1930, pp. 61, 65, 78. Blake 1930, p. 61, put much emphasis on the fact that the black *atrium*-mosaic contains coloured pieces of both limestone and marble, which perhaps may suggest it had been repaired at some point. She does not suggest a more detailed date than that "the *fauces*, although perhaps laid in Roman times, is absolutely Hellenistic in spirit", see Blake 1930, p. 108. Interesting to note is that later researchers, like Esposito 2006 and Bruni 2018, do not mention the pieces of limestone, but only those of marble. *PPM VII* (Bragantini), p. 850, also assigns the *atrium*-mosaic a late Republican date.

⁴⁶⁸ Bruni 2018, pp. 94, 100, 102. Beyen 1960, p. 19, describes the *fauces* and the *ala* as having few remains of wall-decoration from phase Ic (or Ib) of the 2nd style. Cf. Cassetta & Costantino 2008, p. 206, who advocate a dating of the mosaics to the small redecoration-phase in the early days of the Empire. *PPM VII* (Bragantini), pp. 845-850 (see especially p. 848, fig. 3, and p. 850, figs. 9-11), unfortunately makes a self-contradictory statement by assigning the *fauces*-mosaic both an earlier but also a later date in comparison to the *atrium*-mosaic. The date of the flower-design of the *fauces*-mosaic seems to be based on Pernice, i.e., attributed to the early Principate. This mosaic is also compared in date to the *atrium*-mosaic (and *fauces*-mosaic) in the house next door, i.e., *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17), which previously has been attributed to the 3rd style-period, a dating which recently has been queried (see below).

⁴⁶⁹ Esposito 2006, pp. 518, 522, discusses the almost bare walls in the *atrium*, and the fact that a group of rooms in the *atrium*-section seems to have awaited new plaster. However, if he includes the *atrium* itself in this group is not entirely clear. Bruni 2018, esp. pp. 94, 100-104, also mentions the bare *atrium*-walls, but relies on Heinrich's 2nd style-date for the fragment behind the *lararium*; see Heinrich 2002, pp. 31-32, cat.no. 88.

⁴⁷⁰ Costantino 2011 *contra* Curtis 1984. N.B. *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17) was not fully excavated until 1958-1960, long after the time when Blake and Pernice were writing. See Curtis 1984, p. 558, n. 9, on confusion from the 1850s onwards, between *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I & II* (VII 16,12-13 & VII 16,15, nos. 16-17) and the neighbouring *Cd Scavo del Principe di Montenegro* (VII 16,10).

⁴⁷¹ Costantino 2011, p. 157.

moreover, show large limestone-orthostats, also belonging to an early phase, which the *fauces*-mosaic seems to meet.⁴⁷² In many of the rooms around the *atrium*, earlier floors are still preserved. A noteworthy example is room (12) on the south side, where a white floor of the so-called “*a canestro*”-technique (typically attributed to the 2nd style-period, see chap. 6), meets the earlier wall-construction; also of note is the *ala* (9) on the same side, where 2nd style-paintings cover the wall from this early phase. Finally, the house seems to have undergone a major reconstruction just before the time of the eruption, and due to this there are no other paintings.⁴⁷³

By her arguments associating this house with the 2nd style-period, Costantino contests both the Imperial date of the wall-construction (to the Augustan period), as proposed by Robert I. Curtis, and especially the Tiberian date of the *atrium*-mosaic.⁴⁷⁴ This famous mosaic once had a meander-border around the *impluvium* (reminiscent of the border in the *fauces*-mosaic). By its four corners, tessellated vessels, *urcei*, were depicted, containing inscriptions that presented the owner (Aulus Umbricius Scaurus) and his *garum*-business (Fig. 11).⁴⁷⁵ The tessellated inscriptions are probably, she argues, a later addition, which indeed could have been made during the Tiberian period, as Curtis suggests.⁴⁷⁶ The meander-border of both the *fauces*- and the *impluvium*-mosaics is, in her view, reminiscent of 2nd style-decoration, whereas Curtis, referring to Blake, attributes this pattern to the Augustan period.⁴⁷⁷ A further argument in favour of the 2nd style-period date may be the use of polychrome pieces of limestone that were once found scattered in the *fauces*-mosaic.⁴⁷⁸ In sum, Costantino proposes the following outline of the history of the house, which saw at

⁴⁷² Costantino 2011, pp. 100-106, 153-167. The lower limestone-orthostats belong, according to Costantino, pp. 155-156, to the original construction-phase, around the early 1st century B.C. The mosaics belong to the second reconstruction- and decoration-phase around 50 B.C., see fig. 44. For the mending of the *atrium*-mosaic due to the late wall-construction, see fig. 7.

⁴⁷³ Costantino 2011, pp. 112-116, 157-158. The 2nd style-painting is described as belonging to the 4th style by Esposito 2006, p. 512; this is queried by Costantino, pp. 115, 157, with reference to Heinrich 2002, p. 31, cat.no. 92.

⁴⁷⁴ Curtis 1984, pp. 557-566. Curtis dates (pp. 558, 562) the wall-construction of e.g., the *fauces* to the Augustan period at the earliest because of the rubble work with brick and *reticulatum*. A *terminus ante quem non*-date for the mosaic is thus proposed; it cannot be pre-Augustan. Nonetheless, the *atrium*-house, as Curtis points out (p. 557), still awaits proper publication. See also *PPM VII* (Bragantini), pp. pp. 882-884, who assigns a 3rd style-period date to the *fauces*-mosaic.

⁴⁷⁵ Curtis 1984, pp. 562-563, proposes a mosaic-date to around A.D. 25-35. In the 1st century A.D., the house belonged to members of the *gens Umbricia*, one of whom became a *duumvir* in Pompeii's last period. According to Curtis, it is probable that the whole *atrium*-mosaic was laid all at one time, as was the *fauces*-mosaic. Stylistically, the *urcei* can be placed in the late Tiberian period, due to the late silhouette technique (cf. Clarke 1979), which belongs to the period from the A.D. 30s onwards. However, Curtis acknowledges difficulties in dating the *atrium*-mosaic.

⁴⁷⁶ Costantino 2011, p. 173; Cassetta & Costantino 2008, p. 206. Curtis 1984, p. 563, also raises the possibility that the *urcei* were a later addition, although detailed studies in the 1970s could not detect any such later interventions. But, as Curtis himself states, it is not possible any longer to solve the question since the tessellated *urcei* were lifted in 1976 and taken out of their context (to MANN).

⁴⁷⁷ Costantino 2011, p. 161, *contra* Curtis 1984, pp. 562-564, who refers to Blake 1930, p. 96, when assigning a date for the *atrium*-mosaic, with reference to the meander-pattern of the *impluvium*-border, the size of the *tesserae* and the diagonal placing of the *tesserae*.

⁴⁷⁸ In Heinrich 2002, p. 54, this house and the neighbouring *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16) feature in the map showing large and very large houses with 2nd style-decoration remains.

least two different sets of owners. The first owners were responsible for the laying of the *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaics in the late Republican period, while the second, Umbricius Scaurus, enlarged and enriched the house during the 1st century A.D. The tessellated inscriptions belong most certainly to this latter phase.⁴⁷⁹ For the purposes of this study, the dating to the late Republican period offered by Costantino, following her thorough study of the house, will therefore act as the plausible guide.

Insula VIII 2, abutting on the southern city-wall, has yielded many lavishly tessellated houses, and no less than seven *fauces*-mosaics.⁴⁸⁰ As stated above, it was studied in the 1930s by Noack and Lehmann-Hartleben. The dates settled by them for the observable building-phases of the houses and the mosaics were known to Pernice, who respected most of their findings; they were, however, not known to Blake. It is important to note also that Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben respected Mau's framework, which took into consideration the emergence of the 4th style already by A.D. 50.⁴⁸¹ These terrace-houses, together with those in the *Insula occidentalis* (*regiones VI and VII*) along the western city-wall, provide a general chronological framework that dates back to 1st century B.C. when the city-wall lost its defensive character and instead came to house private edifices that advantageously used the city-limits for multi-storey complexes.⁴⁸²

The *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaics preserved in *Cd Championnet II* (VIII 2,3, no. 19) are attributed to a reconstruction-phase during the period of the 2nd style, which resulted in many new mosaics in the house. Unfortunately, not much of the wall- or floor-decoration is preserved, although the *fauces*-mosaic has recently been restored (Fig. 79).⁴⁸³ The arguments by Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben for the dating of the mosaics were based on the fact that the *atrium*-mosaic, today mostly gone, extends under the later 3rd style wall-paintings in niches on the west wall (indicating former openings). Moreover, the lava-threshold of the *fauces* is most likely contemporaneous with the entrance-mosaic, while the marble threshold-plates around the *atrium* belong to the succeeding phase, i.e., to the late Augustan period, as they break into the otherwise nicely executed major reconstruction of the house in the later phase.⁴⁸⁴ Pernice, instead, proposed a date in the period of the 3rd style for the *fauces*-mosaic, since the geometric design clearly expressed what he called the "fineness" and "elegancy" of

⁴⁷⁹ Costantino 2011, pp. 172-181.

⁴⁸⁰ See chap. 1 on at least one more potential *fauces*-mosaic, from *Cd L. Caecilius Phoebus* (VIII 2,37).

⁴⁸¹ Mau 1882, p. 447; Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 17.

⁴⁸² Tybout 2007, pp. 407-411. The study by Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936 (e.g., pp. 166-170) has shown that some of the houses along the southern stretch of *insula VIII 2* date back to the 2nd century B.C. (then as single-storey *atrium*-houses) when the *pomerium* inside the wall was built over. See also map in Heinrich 2002, p. 54, over larger houses with 2nd style-paintings, including especially the southern part of the *Insula occidentalis*.

⁴⁸³ As part of the *Grande Progetto Pompei* by the Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei/Parco archeologico di Pompei.

⁴⁸⁴ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 121-128, state that this phase coincides with the large redecoration-phase of the neighbouring *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18). The two houses exhibit wall-paintings in the 3rd style and similar mosaics with geometric and floral patterns but also slightly elevated *tablinum*-floors, lined by marble-rims; *PPM VIII* (Sampaolo), pp. 63-65, follows the proposed date, although it is here regarded that the pattern of the *fauces*-mosaic speaks of an early Augustan period.

that period. Also, in his view, the *atrium*- and *ala*-mosaics exhibit typical Augustan patterns.⁴⁸⁵ For the purposes of this present discussion, the date suggested by Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben is followed, as their thorough study of the house entailed a comparatively detailed and well-argued examination of the different phases.

The *fauces* in VI 13,13 (no. 8) had three different floors, of which the outer *cocciopesto* belongs to a major reconstruction of the old house within the period of the 1st style (note the limestone façade and the portal's cubic capitals from the original phase).⁴⁸⁶ During its second phase, the house became a double *atrium*-house (by annexing the neighbouring VI 13,16), and the *fauces*-passage was reconstructed with an L-shaped threshold in lava that divides the space into two parts. The mortar-floor is also aligned with the lava-threshold bordering on the sidewalk and with the middle threshold of the *fauces*-space, which implicitly confirms the early date, as do the few remains of painting on one wall in the 1st style.⁴⁸⁷

According to Pernice, the mortar-floor once covered the whole *fauces*-space, but during the period of the 2nd style, it was replaced by two mosaics in its interior, i.e., behind the threshold (Figs. 14, 77 and 103). This proposition about the original extent of the *cocciopesto* is, however, not mentioned by Beatrice Gobbo in the references she makes to Pernice in her own study of the house, where she discusses the addition of the two *fauces*-mosaics: one central black-and-white mosaic and a polychrome one acting as an *atrium*-threshold.⁴⁸⁸ Much of the house was redecorated in the 2nd style-period; both walls and floors (e.g., a *triclinium*-mosaic, see below), and later as well, in the 4th style-period.⁴⁸⁹

The designs of the *fauces*-mosaics are considered typical of their time by both Blake and Pernice (and later Gobbo). The geometric black-and-white mosaic finds counterparts dated to the 2nd style-period: in *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13) and in *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), with décor belonging to the transition period between the 2nd and 3rd

⁴⁸⁵ See Pernice 1938, p. 100 (and n. 4), who claims that Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 128, arrive at the same Augustan date. However, they clearly state (pp. 123, 125, 128) that the Augustan phase incorporates the *tablinum*-mosaic and the mosaic-thresholds around the *atrium*, but not the *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaics. These later, Augustan, mosaics are also composed of larger and coarser *tesserae*. Blake 1930, p. 109, states only that the *fauces*-mosaic pattern is typical of the 1st century A.D.

⁴⁸⁶ See Gobbo 2009, pp. 338, 362-363, assigning this phase to the Samnite period, i.e., to the end of the 3rd century B.C.

⁴⁸⁷ Gobbo 2009, pp. 335, 338-340, 356-357, describes the entrance-space as an outer *prothyron* and an inner *fauces*. See pl. CI & CII for the two first building-phases. The houses were separated in the post-earthquake period. Gobbo thus both confirms Mau's dating of the mortar-floor to the period of the 1st style, while arguing that this large construction took place in the second building-phase, and not in the first. See Mau 1882, pp. 86, 264; Mau in *BdI* 1877, pp. 161-169. Cf. Zulini 2011-2012, p. 437, who dates the *cocciopesto* of the *fauces* to around 150 B.C. in her survey of the house, while the *atrium* is not included at all.

⁴⁸⁸ Pernice 1938, p. 67, dates the front *cocciopesto* to the period of the 1st style, while the black-and-white middle mosaic belongs to the period of the 2nd style, together with other mosaics in the house. See Blake 1930, pl. 25:3, for a picture of the black-and-white *fauces*-mosaic still *in situ*, and see Gobbo 2009, pp. 340, 358, n. 36, regarding the restoration of the black-and-white *fauces*-mosaic carried out in 1926. One may well ask what happened to the mosaic after that period; was it removed to the museum or left to disintegrate?

⁴⁸⁹ Mau 1882, pp. 240, 264-265; Pernice 1938, p. 67, Gobbo 2009, pp. 335, 373-375.

styles.⁴⁹⁰ The polychrome flowers of the tessellated threshold-panel between the *fauces* and the *atrium* of VI 13,13 (no. 8) are further reminiscent of the mosaic-pattern in the *triclinium* by the *atrium*, sharing the same proposed date.⁴⁹¹ No decoration seems to have been preserved in the *atrium* (such is the general state of the house), apart from a fragmented *lavapesta*-floor, which was laid at the same time as the mortar-floor of the *fauces*.⁴⁹² The tufa *impluvium*, once embellished with corner-columns, is typologically dated to the late Samnite period, i.e. when the *atrium* and the outer *fauces* were paved with mortar-floors.⁴⁹³

Cd Ancora (VI 10,7, no. 6) has unfortunately not much preserved in its *atrium*-area of either wall-paintings or floors, although the two mosaics of the two-levelled *fauces* still remain *in situ* (Fig. 112). The use of pieces of polychrome limestone, rather than marble, in the *atrium*-mosaic (today almost gone), prompted both Blake and Pernice to suggest a date to the period of the 2nd style for this mosaic as well as for the other mosaics of the house.⁴⁹⁴ In the same phase, which saw the tessellation of the house, the thresholds of the *atrium* were changed to travertine while the *fauces* and the *tablinum* received marble-thresholds.⁴⁹⁵ In the recent study of the *insula* by Filippo Coarelli & Fabrizio Pesando, the late Republican date for the mosaic, proposed by Pernice, is accepted without further discussion.⁴⁹⁶ While it is suggested that the wall-structure of the *fauces* belonged to an earlier construction-phase, given a few remains of paintings either in the 1st style or an imitation of it, the *atrium* was repainted in the 4th style. The side-stones of lava by the upper *fauces* level, containing the pivot-holes for the doors, may belong to the previous phase, earlier than the mosaics.⁴⁹⁷ In sum, the imbrication-pattern in the *fauces*-mosaic on the upper level is truly in accord with a traditional mode of decorating *fauces*-floors at Pompeii during the late Republic, which will be discussed in detail in chap. 6.

As the name of the following house indicates, *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20) is adorned with many geometric mosaics, all suggested to belong to one phase. Later brick and reticulate walls frame the *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaics (Fig. 80). It is also noticeable

⁴⁹⁰ See also the 2nd style-decorated house *Cd Criptoportico* (I 6,2); Blake 1930, pp. 78-80; Pernice 1938, p. 67; Gobbo 2009, p. 357, assigns the black-and-white *fauces*-mosaic specifically to phase IIa of the 2nd style, and the polychrome threshold to the (same) period of the third quarter of the 1st century B.C.

⁴⁹¹ Pernice 1938, p. 67; Gobbo 2009, pp. 346-347, 374. Mau in *BdI* 1877, pp. 164-165, offers a description of all three preserved *fauces*-floors. See also Mau 1882, pp. 86, 240, 264-265; Blake 1930, p. 79. The polychrome threshold-panel with stylised flowers had gone already by his time, so Pernice 1938, p. 67, concludes that we only can rely on the (illustrative) information as provided by Presuhn 1882 (VI), p. 4, pl. 4.

⁴⁹² Gobbo 2009, p. 357. Several rooms around the *atrium* were tessellated, one of which was the *tablinum*.

⁴⁹³ Gobbo 2009, pp. 340, 357; *PPMV* (Sampaolo), pp. 179-184.

⁴⁹⁴ Blake 1930, pp. 62, 82, 85, assigns them to the early part of the 1st century B.C.; Pernice 1938, p. 78, draws attention to the patterns of the mosaics as typical for the period although stating that the imbrication-pattern in fact is typical of the 1st style-period.

⁴⁹⁵ On the travertine thresholds, see also Staub 2009, esp. pp. 207-211.

⁴⁹⁶ Coarelli & Pesando 2006, pp. 167-171, 221-222, 229-230.

⁴⁹⁷ The lava-blocks by the *fauces* are unfortunately not given a date by Coarelli & Pesando 2006, p. 170, but the authors state that the thresholds around the *atrium* were made of lava in the previous phase, before being exchanged for travertine-thresholds.

that both mosaics have been mended along the walls as a consequence of the later building-work. Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben propose a date for the mosaics in the early Imperial period, which was followed by the new wall-construction phase (from which there are scanty traces of paintings, which have been dated to the mid-60s A.D.).⁴⁹⁸ The *fauces*-threshold in travertine by the sidewalk also dates back to the same phase as the mosaic, as do the other travertine-thresholds around the *atrium*, which are neatly adjusted to fit with the *atrium*-mosaic.⁴⁹⁹ According to Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben, the assigned date of this building-phase to the early Empire is relatively secure, and hence they question Blake's proposed dating of the *fauces*-mosaic to the period of the 2nd style as most likely too early.⁵⁰⁰ Pernice, on the other hand, focuses primarily on the reticulate design of the *fauces*-mosaic as a date-indicator, pointing to the late 2nd style-period.⁵⁰¹ Indeed, the pattern finds equivalents on contemporaneous (i.e., late Republican) mortar-paved *fauces* (see chap. 6), and its date, based on studies of the building-archaeology of the house, can most probably be placed in the period between the late Republic and early Empire.⁵⁰²

The *fauces*-mosaic in the nearby *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15) has been dated by Pernice to the transition-period between the 2nd and 3rd styles, i.e., plausibly to the early Augustan period, when much of the house was redecorated (including its bath-suite) (Figs. 84/114). The *atrium*-walls were later redecorated in the 4th style, while the *fauces*-walls contained both 2nd style and 4th style-sections.⁵⁰³ For Pernice, a phase of decoration in the transition-period fits in well with the date of the mosaic-patterns of the house, which are comparable to those of similar floors around Pompeii.⁵⁰⁴ The travertine-block that the *puteal* (wellhead) by the *impluvium* stands on is a further indication of a late Republican date as it is placed on top of the meander-border of the *impluvium*. Although this may imply a

⁴⁹⁸ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 137-159 (esp. pp. 145-146).

⁴⁹⁹ In the doorways leading to the *cubicula* around the *atrium*, the new doorposts stand both on travertine-thresholds and on lava-blocks, to which the travertine-thresholds are adapted. According to Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 146, the lava-blocks actually point to a reconstruction of the doorways in a *succeeding* phase.

⁵⁰⁰ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 145-147, assign the mosaics to what they labelled as phase C, and refer to Mau in *RM* 7, 1892, p. 7, regarding the tessellation of the house. Cf. Blake 1930, pp. 76, 82.

⁵⁰¹ Pernice 1938, pp. 75-77, refers to the triangular ornament of the *fauces*-threshold as one such indicator, along with the labyrinth mosaics of the *alae* that resemble the 2nd style-period mosaic in the eponymous house of *Cd Labirinto* (VI 11,9-10). Moreover, Pernice proposes a later date for the *atrium*-mosaic than for the *fauces*-mosaic, but still one made before A.D. 62 (63), because of the tessellation's departures from the previous mosaics, and because of the fact that later walls stand upon it; *PPM* VIII (Sampaolo), pp. 72-77.

⁵⁰² One of the *cubicula* (c) facing the *atrium* has a *cocciopesto*-floor with a similar reticulate design to the *fauces*-mosaic. This floor is dated to the late Republic, see Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 143-144.

⁵⁰³ See Mau in *BdI* 1874, pp. 98, 148-155, on the different decorative phases of the house, including the widely spread 2nd style; *PPM* VII (Sampaolo), pp. 705-711 *contra* Franklin 1990, pp. 21-22, who wrongly refers to Mau, when describing the wall-decoration in the *atrium* as belonging to the 3rd style, whereas in fact the reference concerns the peristyle-area. For this, see Staub 2009, p. 210, n. 45, who also relates the form of the travertine-thresholds around the black *atrium*-mosaic to the period of the 2nd style.

⁵⁰⁴ Pernice 1938, p. 64, states that the design consisting of a black *atrium*-mosaic with rows of *tesserae* became more common during the 3rd style-period, as did the meander-border around the *impluvium*, hence the dating to the transition-period. The lack of coloured details in the marine-themed *fauces*-mosaic could also point to a later date than the period of the 2nd style.

posterior date for the travertine *puteal*, typological characteristics point more to a contemporaneity with the mosaic.⁵⁰⁵ Blake, finally, places the mosaics with meander-patterns in the *atrium*-area (excluding the later *tablinum*-mosaic) in the late “pre-Roman period”,⁵⁰⁶ which is a date that is no longer defended. To sum up, in view of the extensive redecoration around the time of the transition from the late Republic to the early Empire, and considering also the various mosaic-patterns, including the marine theme of the *fauces*, the mosaics are most likely datable to the transition-period between the 2nd and 3rd styles.

The *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23) is, together with the *atrium*-mosaic, dated by Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben to a large reconstruction- and decoration-phase during the Augustan period (3rd style), which predated the 4th style wall-paintings in the *fauces* that cover the mosaic, and also those of the *atrium*.⁵⁰⁷ The manner in which these two mosaics abut upon the (earlier) travertine- and (later) marble-thresholds around the *atrium* is neat. The large travertine-threshold that divides the *fauces* in the middle also belongs to a previous phase, together with the other travertine one (Figs. 86/125).⁵⁰⁸ The later marble-clad footings of the entrance-pillars between the *fauces* and the *atrium* belong to a post-earthquake phase when the walls were repainted. As they rest upon, and break into the mosaics (which is especially visible in the case of the *fauces*-mosaic), they illustrate, together with the mosaics, two different reconstruction-periods of this *atrium*-area. These criteria are, in my view, more reliable than the date based on the pattern-design as given by Blake, who ascribed some of the animals depicted in *fauces*-mosaics to one and the same late workshop.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁵ PPM VII (Sampaolo), p. 711, figs. 9-10. N.B. the actual travertine-block as such by the *impluvium* has been removed since the recent restorations of the house (2018), but see watercolour by Luigi Bazzani, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. no. 1073-1886), and plate in Pernice 1938, pl. 18:4.

⁵⁰⁶ Blake 1930, pp. 79-81, 84-85, refers to the floors as old, and showing Hellenistic influence. They have been mended much, as black *tesserae* have been replaced, in some cases with more blue ones. The *tablinum*-mosaic is, in Blake's view, later than the lava *impluvium* and travertine-thresholds. Both Pernice 1938, p. 64, and Blake refer to similar mosaics (regarding both patterns and date) in *Cd Nozze d'argento* (V 2,i); *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12); *Cd Trittoleum* (VII 7,5); *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13) and *Cd Criptoportico* (I 6,2).

⁵⁰⁷ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 77-84, state that the mosaics belong to a phase that they label C, while the marble-clad entrance-pillars are datable to phase E, i.e., after A.D. 62 (63). Pernice 1938, p. 99, proposes an Augustan or immediate post-Augustan period date for both the *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaics. De Vos 1991, p. 54, dates the *fauces*-mosaic to the 4th style-period between Claudius and Vespasian, but without stating how such a date has been reached. In Bastet & de Vos 1979, p. 15, de Vos refers to Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 83, 94, as assigning a date between Caligula and Claudius to the *fauces*-mosaic. In fact, Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 83-84, 94, were discussing here the relation between the house and the neighbouring *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22). There is no other proposed date given by them for the *fauces*-mosaic than the Augustan period.

⁵⁰⁸ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 78, 80. While Pernice 1938, p. 99, believes that the *cocciopesto*-floor in the outer *fauces* was made prior to the mosaic of the inner *fauces*, i.e., in the Republican period, Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 84, instead date it to the same phase as the mosaic. Blake 1930, pp. 26-27, does not make a clear chronological relation between the *cocciopesto*-floor and the mosaic, but implies a date around or later than the period of the 2nd style for the mortar-floor.

⁵⁰⁹ Blake 1930, p. 122, compares with the *Cave canem*-dog in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) and the wounded bear in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14). She also refers to the reconstruction in brick and blocks, and along with that, the redecoration in the 4th style, as a date-indicator for the *fauces*-mosaic. According to Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 80, Blake wrongfully ascribes the *fauces* wall-paintings and mosaic to the same date.

In *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18), the *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaics can be assigned to a redecoration-phase of the house during the late Augustan period, according to Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben (Fig. 92).⁵¹⁰ In their view, this can be demonstrated by the *atrium*-mosaic's relation not just to the adjoining (earlier) travertine-thresholds, the (contemporaneous) marble-thresholds and the marble-rim of the *tablinum*-floor but also to a closure of the western part of the *atrium*-area in a succeeding phase.⁵¹¹ Moreover, the marble *impluvium*, too, belongs to this (late Augustan) phase, although the framing brick columns, standing on the *atrium*-mosaic, are later. In addition, many walls were also painted in the 3rd style when the mosaics were laid, although the current wall-paintings in both *fauces* and *atrium* belong to the succeeding phase, i.e., after A.D. 62 (63).

The *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaics in the original *domus* of VIII 2,18 (no. 21, later incorporated in the *Terme del Sarno* bath-complex, but perhaps remaining a *domus*) are attributed by Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben to the first construction-phase of the house, i.e., to the Augustan period (Fig. 98).⁵¹² In a second building-phase, dated to the early Claudian period and shortly prior to the creation of the bath-establishment, the walls in the *fauces*, *atrium* and so on, were newly constructed but followed the same layout as their predecessors. The interconnected mosaics here were preserved but it is clear that they were mended along the walls, which carry 4th style-paintings (from a later phase), and that the travertine-threshold of the *fauces* adjoining the sidewalk was placed under the new walls. There are also small marble-plates; remains of former corner-pillars (one at the transition between the *fauces* and the *atrium*), that also indicate that the mosaics belonged to an earlier (hypothetically Augustan) phase of construction relative to the later reconstruction of the walls.⁵¹³ In a later study of the bath-complex, Ann Olga Koloski-Ostrow reaches a slightly different chronological outline for the complex but one which does not alter the previously proposed dating of the mosaics to the Augustan period.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹⁰ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 110-121, query the different dates given by Blake to the many black-and-white mosaics in the house, for which there seems to be no reason. Instead, the mosaics belong to what they label as phase C (Augustan period), while the current wall-paintings belong to phase D, i.e., after A.D. 62 (63). Pernice 1938, p. 97, refers to the date proposed by Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben, by stating that the mosaics cannot date to the "pre-Christian" period (despite the coloured guilloche-band around the *impluvium*), but at the earliest to the early Empire. However, he continues, the house's many black-and-white mosaics belong to the 2nd style-period. Blake 1930, pp. 65, 97-98, describes the house as repaved during the early part of the 1st century A.D. (quite in line with Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936). In her view, the majority of the mosaics, although not those in the *fauces* and *atrium*, predate the candelabrum-phase of the walls' 3rd style, while the *atrium*-and *fauces*-mosaics belong to a later period.

⁵¹¹ According to Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 111-112, the floor at ground level was raised during their phase B, i.e., prior to the large tessellation. To this phase belong the travertine-thresholds, including that of the *fauces*. See also Staub 2009, p. 212, on the 3rd style-décor of the house and how the form of the travertine-thresholds, creating a narrow door-niche, can mostly be associated with wall-paintings of the 3rd style.

⁵¹² Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 97-99. The two first phases of the house, labelled A and A I by them, are both attributed to the Augustan period.

⁵¹³ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 97-110.

⁵¹⁴ Regarding the mosaics, Koloski-Ostrow 1986, pp. 26-27, 99, judges it impossible to relate the designs of selected pavements to wall-decorations, due to the worn state of the former. She further states that the part around the *impluvium*, a guilloche-border documented by Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 97, is missing. In a later article, Koloski-Ostrow 2007, p. 240, attributes all the surviving decoration of the complex to the period after c. A.D. 50, though with

The mosaic in the rear *fauces* (VI 1,25) of *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4) has been attributed to the period of the 3rd style, when the house was largely reconstructed and lavishly redecorated in the period between the late 1st century B.C. and the early 1st century A.D. (Fig. 82). However, proper documentation of the house is still awaited.⁵¹⁵ Since the tessellated *Salve*-inscription in the *fauces* no longer remains *in situ*,⁵¹⁶ the hypothesis of the date is based on the redecoration of the second *atrium*-area of the house, after this formerly independent unit (VI 1,25) was annexed to *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7) in the late 1st century B.C. During an extended period of transformation, a connection to the aqueduct was made, which led water through the *fauces* of VI 1,25. This suggests that the floor was tessellated some time thereafter, and not before (however, see also chap. 5 and 6).⁵¹⁷ With the installation of the pipes, the street onto which the *fauces* opens, Vicolo di Narciso, was also paved for the first time and the sidewalks were raised.⁵¹⁸ Moreover, the depicted triangles that featured in the tessellated threshold-panel containing the inscription are similar to the comparably dated threshold-panels in the mosaics of *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20) and *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26) (see Figs. 80-81 and chap. 6).

In the so-called *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22), the many mosaics, including the exceptional wrestler-mosaic of the *fauces*, were laid in the context of the construction of this semi-public bath-complex, which is attributed to the early Claudian period (Fig. 143).⁵¹⁹ The walls in the *fauces* and the *atrium* "palaestra" were thereafter painted in the 4th style around the mid-60s, i.e., during the last building-phase. The *fauces*-mosaic's neat alignment with the travertine-threshold by the sidewalk is noticeable, while the walls' 4th style-decoration

no explicit mention of the mosaics. However, Koloski-Ostrow (pers. comm. January 2021) relates the mosaic-decoration to the Augustan period, following Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben, and further proposes that the *domus* maintained its original domestic function even after the installation of the bath-complex.

⁵¹⁵ Neither Blake 1930 nor Pernice 1938, pp. 109-110, includes this mosaic in their works, but Pernice discusses only the mosaics dated to the 2nd style-period. However, the Anglo-American Project has conducted extensive excavations of the house, see summaries in Jones & Robinson 2004, p. 118; 2005a, esp. pp. 699-701; Jones & Robinson 2005b. The *atrium*-mosaic of this second *atrium*-area is described as once having been white with a red leaf-and-tendrill border. Pernice mentions remains of a red tessellation, which he believes constituted part of a white floor. The recent excavations revealed a mosaic-threshold towards the peristyle on which a central *caduceus*, flanked by two *cornucopiae*, was depicted, see Jones & Robinson 2004, fig. 16. Old engravings point to several similar thresholds around the *atrium*. See Blake 1930, pp. 91-92, on a white mosaic with once red borders in the so-called *Auditorium of Maecenas* at Rome, dated to the late Republic.

⁵¹⁶ Pesando & Guidobaldi 2006b, pp. 164-166, state that the mosaic was moved to MANN, but they do not provide any inventory number. Rick Jones (pers. comm. October 2014) states that he does not know if the mosaic was lifted or simply eroded away. In his review of the *fauces* in *Cd Pansa* (VI 6,1), Breton 1855, p. 196, n. 1, mentions a similar inscription, already removed to MANN, which reminded him of the inscription of *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4), at that time still *in situ*.

⁵¹⁷ Jones & Robinson 2005b, p. 264: "The demands of the piped water meant that the floors had to be raised to a consistent level throughout the house. The new floors were nearly all made of mosaic [...]."

⁵¹⁸ Before the paving, the street consisted of a "trampled earth pathway", see Jones & Schoonhoven 2003, p. 133. See also Jones & Robinson 2005a, p. 699.

⁵¹⁹ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 84-96. Pernice 1938, p. 116, agrees with Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben, when stating that the decoration cannot be attributed to the very last phase. Clarke 1979, p. 12 (and n. 33), follows Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben and Pernice in his dating of both the *fauces*-mosaic and the wall-paintings.

overlaps the outer black lines of the mosaic. Thus, Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben, convincingly, query the previous hypothesis of one homogeneous decoration-phase for both paintings and mosaics, presumed to have taken place close to the end of the city's life.⁵²⁰

With regard to *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24), Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben propose that the *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaics belong to a late phase, around A.D. 50, when the façade and the *fauces*-walls were totally reconstructed in reticulate and brick technique while the existing travertine-threshold was kept (Fig. 93). In doing so, they argue against Blake's view that the mosaic was laid prior to the late walls.⁵²¹ In the *fauces*, the doorways to the two eastern side-rooms had thresholds of limestone and travertine (?).⁵²² In a succeeding phase, the walls were repainted in the 4th style and brick columns by the *impluvium* corners were erected on top of the *atrium*-mosaic. There are 4th style paintings (from around A.D. 65) in the *atrium* though none remain on the *fauces*-walls. These paintings overlap the *atrium*-mosaic on its western side. This *atrium*-mosaic is, on the one hand, considered later than the travertine-threshold of the opening that leads to the stairs to the lower level, but, on the other hand, contemporaneous with: the *fauces*-mosaic; a water-channel in marble to the north of the *impluvium*; the marble-rim of the slightly elevated *tablinum*, and finally a *lararium*, which the mosaic frames.⁵²³ The combination of evidence presented by Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben suggests a plausible dating to *c.* A.D. 50.

4.3.3 Group C: Pattern criterion: the mosaic-design as a primary dating-tool

This final group consists of seven *fauces* out of 28. An approach common to Blake and Pernice is the observation of analogies between similar mosaics around Pompeii (and outside) with special reference to mosaics whose contexts were considered more securely dated than most. As we have already seen, many of the *fauces*-mosaics have also been dated by this method in combination with an approach based on building-archaeology. Blake concludes that floor-designs of one period can be distinguished from those of preceding or succeeding periods. Although, as she puts it, "the taste of a people changes slowly", it is, for example, possible to discern a change toward the end of the reign of Augustus.⁵²⁴ Even though this kind of

⁵²⁰ Blake 1930, p. 123, regards the construction, wall-paintings and the coarse *tesserae* as indicating a date to the late 4th style-period; *PPM* VIII (Sampaolo), p. 168, also attributes both wall- and floor-decoration to the late 4th style-period.

⁵²¹ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 55-70 (esp. p. 64). Cf. Blake 1930, p. 65, who assigns the *fauces*-mosaic to a generally late date for technical reasons (coarseness and layout of *tesserae* as well as the presence of porphyry as a material). Cf. Pernice 1938, pp 73, who also queries the date of the *fauces*-mosaic as proposed by Blake and instead supports the date by Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben.

⁵²² Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 64-66. One of the rooms is proposed to have housed the doorkeeper, while the other contained the stairs up to probable apartments on the upper floor.

⁵²³ The *atrium*-mosaic is also earlier than the later marble-clad steps leading into the neighbouring *atrium* at VIII 2,30, see Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 67.

⁵²⁴ Blake 1939, p. 363; Blake 1930, pp. 86, 96 (quotation), 120-121, underlines that pattern, technique and material are guiding factors for determining if a mosaic belongs to an early or a later group.

reasoning may create a rather tentative basis for chronological conclusions, in a few cases, this “pattern approach” is the best we have to guide us.

Praedia di Iulia Felix (II 4,1-12, no. 2) is a property, whose early building-history is not entirely clear. The floor-decoration of the *fauces*, for which a dating to the period of the 2nd style is proposed, belongs to an early phase of its construction (Fig. 97). This decoration-phase includes thus the mosaics in the *atrium*-part with the former entrance next to nr. 10, which later would be walled up when the large building-complex that the *praedia* (estate) became was constructed after A.D. 62.⁵²⁵ According to Christopher Parslow, who had previously conducted a thorough study of the complex (published only as preliminary excavation reports), the large complex was possibly first constructed during the late 1st century B.C. as one single master-plan, which included the western and northern sections, i.e., the bath-section and the front shops. However, from the reading, it is still not clear if the *domus* in the south-west corner already existed by this period, or what its relationship to the bath-section looked like then, or indeed later.⁵²⁶ The so-called “*a canestro*” (basket-weave) technique of the white *fauces*-mosaic, as found, for example, in *Villa dei Misteri*, and traditionally dated to the period of the 2nd style, could, on the other hand, indicate an earlier construction- and decoration-date for the *domus*.⁵²⁷ In the discussion that will follow, therefore, the *fauces*-mosaic will be treated as belonging to a single and independent *domus*, which in later periods would merge into a larger complex.

Cd Bracciale d'oro (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11) is a terrace-house constructed in the late Republican period over the former city-wall to the west. Both the *fauces* and the stairway-entrance next door, providing access to the *atrium* and to a lower level, are tessellated (Figs. 78 and 104). The two mosaics have been attributed to the period of the 2nd style, on the basis of the straight borders and the oblique manner in which the *tesserae* in the *atrium*-mosaic were laid.⁵²⁸ In a study of the *Insula occidentalis*, Rosaria Ciardiello states that excavations conducted in the late 1970's still have not been published. However, she mentions in her discussion that the architectural space comprising the *atrium* and the main *fauces* (VI 17,42) was reconstructed after the earthquake of A.D. 62, as is evident from the pilasters in *opus vittatum mixtum* between these rooms. The door-posts of the *fauces* in the façade are made of “*piedritti in opera vittata, realizzata con tufelli*”. The three steps leading up to the *fauces*

⁵²⁵ *PPM* III (Sampaolo), pp. 184, 258-259. Pesando & Guidobaldi 2006b, pp. 141-145, state instead that the house dates back to the 2nd century B.C., and that the *fauces*-passage next to nr. 10 was decorated around 50 B.C. The walls were eventually painted in the 4th style.

⁵²⁶ Parslow 1995-1996; 1998; 1999a; 2000. Parslow's unpublished doctoral dissertation (1989) has unfortunately not been accessible to me. A monograph on the complex is to be published at a future date.

⁵²⁷ Blake 1930, pp. 52-53 (labelling the technique as *lithostroton*, see chap. 6); Pernice 1938, pp. 55-58, 131-132. N. B. This complex is discussed neither by Blake nor Pernice due to its still being reburied in their time.

⁵²⁸ *PPM* VI (Sampaolo), pp. 44-48, discusses also the connection between the *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaics. This house is included neither by Blake nor by Pernice.

are made of black lava-stone.⁵²⁹ There were wall-paintings in both of these spaces (though none are preserved in the second entrance at VI 17,44, no. 11) and these are dated to the Neronian period of the 4th style, but unfortunately, Ciardiello does not give a date for the mosaics. However, a dating of the mosaics to the period of the 2nd style could be proposed on the strength of the fact that the *impluvium* was made of lava. The single *ala* on the ground floor also used to be decorated in the 2nd style, and together with rooms on the lower level, it has been suggested that the house by the time of the late Republic had at least two storeys that were decorated in this style.⁵³⁰

Another *fauces*-mosaic presumably dating to the period of the 2nd style is the one in the *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26), which has been dated accordingly by Pernice, who refers to the late Republican mosaics of the house (Fig. 81).⁵³¹ Unfortunately, no wall-decoration from this period remains, only some in the 3rd style. A few other mosaics in the house could, however, be suggestive of the same decoration-phase as the *fauces*-mosaic, especially the one presenting a polychrome meander-pattern in perspective, found in a room next to the *fauces*.⁵³² The imbrication-pattern of the *fauces*-mosaic is surely in accord with a date in the 2nd style-period, similar to the mortar-paving of other *fauces* (see chap. 6.1), and the added polychrome stones in the threshold.⁵³³

In the inadequately studied house *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), the contemporaneous *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaics are primarily dated due to later brick walls standing on top of the *atrium*-mosaic, covering one of the city-wall towers depicted in one corner. In her metrological analysis of the architecture of the house, Leonore Maria van Krimpen-Winckel concludes that just after the middle of the 1st century A.D. alterations were made because of the addition of an independent apartment above the front of the *atrium* (and the insertion of a stairway). The *fauces*-walls had thus to be adjusted, resulting in moving the very *fauces* slightly to the east and the front (northern) wall of the *atrium* to the south.⁵³⁴ The mosaics *per se* have also been unanimously attributed to the period of the 4th style (Figs. 87 and 126). Both Blake and Pernice discuss the size and quality of the mosaic-*tesserae*, which,

⁵²⁹ Ciardiello 2006, pp. 72, 81-82 (quotation from p. 81). Cf. Dobbins' remark (regarding the constructions of the buildings of the forum) that the technique of *opus vittatum mixtum* appears already before the earthquake of A.D. 62 but that it was more used in the renovations afterwards; Dobbins 1994, p. 637.

⁵³⁰ Ciardiello 2006, pp. 71-76, 81-85, 151, 157. The *ala* was once a *cubiculum*, decorated in the 2nd style, but was later changed into an *ala*, with a 3rd style-decoration in the candelabrum-style. For the 2nd style-paintings, see Heinrich 2002, cat.nos. 68-70.

⁵³¹ Pernice 1938, p. 70. The house was later converted into an *officina*, a dyeing establishment, sometime during the Imperial period, see Ynnilä 2012, pp. 18, 46-47 (vol. 1), pp. 3, 21 (vol. 2), referring only to *PPM* and *PPP* for her suggested 2nd style-period date.

⁵³² Blake 1930, pp. 71, 82; Pernice 1938, p. 70, pl. 36:5; *PPM* IX (Bragantini), pp. 128-132.

⁵³³ Pernice 1938, p. 70, considers the triangular threshold-pattern, with added yellow stones, typical of its time, and the overall design is viewed as of the highest quality of the 2nd style ("alles bester II. Stil"). Morriconne Matini 1967, pp. 57-58, draws a comparison with the *atrium*-mosaic in the so-called *Casa di Livia* on the Palatine (black mosaic with a white imbrication-pattern), and suggests that they share a contemporaneous date to the late Republic's 2nd style.

⁵³⁴ See Krimpen-Winckel 2009, vol. 2, pp. 218-234, for a smaller study of the house, acting as a sample in her doctoral dissertation.

in their view, truly point to a late date, as do many of the mosaic-patterns in the rooms around the *atrium*.⁵³⁵ Unfortunately, no wall-paintings are preserved in the *fauces*, while few remains of 4th style-paintings are preserved on the *atrium*-walls.⁵³⁶ In sum, the mosaics seem to belong to the pre-earthquake period, after which new walls were erected. If one compares the wild hunt-motif on the *fauces*-mosaic with similar representations in wall-paintings (see chap. 6), the suggested date for the *fauces*-mosaic to the (early) 4th style-period could perhaps be strengthened.⁵³⁷

Turning to a *fauces*-mosaic of very uncertain date, we find that the one in *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29) has been assigned a 3rd style-period date on the ground that the volute-flowers in the threshold-panel adjacent to the *atrium* are reminiscent of the artistic language of the Augustan period (Figs. 101/106).⁵³⁸ The *fauces*-mosaic is one of few tessellated floors in the whole house,⁵³⁹ and no parallels on other floors have been found. The façade and *fauces*-walls were newly constructed in brick in the last period, which may explain the lack of *fauces*-paintings.⁵⁴⁰ If we look for clues in the *atrium*-decoration, neither walls nor floor offer any further guidance: the *atrium*-floor consists of *cocciopesto* with inserted white and black *tesserae*, and has been assigned a date to the period of the 2nd style, while the *atrium*-walls are decorated in the 4th style.⁵⁴¹ No help is offered either by the lava-threshold of the *fauces* beside the sidewalk, or by the marble *impluvium*, whose ruinous state by the time of excavation instead suggests that the house was undergoing some kind of renovation. The overall decoration of the house is that of 4th style wall-paintings, some of which overlap earlier Republican mortar-floors.

In my view, the pattern-date of the *fauces*-mosaic is uncertain, mainly because the mosaic cannot be placed within its original architectural or decorative context. The volute-design is

⁵³⁵ Blake 1930, pp. 99-100, 103, states that the house belongs to the middle of the 1st century A.D., and that the coarse *tesserae* indicate the late date. Moreover, the mosaics of the house show, in her view, a resemblance to the late mosaics of *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27); Pernice 1938, p. 66, discusses the earlier peristyle-area as it contains décor from the 1st and 2nd styles and that the architectural layout of this rear part is, moreover, reminiscent to the one of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), while the mosaics in the front part are of poorer quality, and hence dated to a later phase. Some of the mosaic-patterns, like the Solomon's knot in the *fauces*-mosaic, also indicate the date, according to both Blake and Pernice; Clarke 1979, p. 9, n. 23. According to de Vos 1979, p. 172, the mosaics in *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25) belong specifically to the period between Claudius and Vespasian, but she does not provide any arguments; de Vos in Bastet & de Vos 1979, pp. 112-113. See Mau 1882 p. 281, regarding the wall-construction in the peristyle-area as older than the front part, which includes the *fauces*-walls.

⁵³⁶ *PPM* VIII (Bragantini), pp. 362-376.

⁵³⁷ Although Blake 1930, p. 99, believes the wild boar-scene to be "quite original", there are similar representations in 4th style wall-paintings, e.g., the late 4th style in the *tablinum* of *Cd Caccia antica* (VII 4,48), see Allison & Sear 2002, p. 30. However, the wild boar hunt-motif is attested on Pompeian mosaics already from the 2nd style-period, see chap. 6.

⁵³⁸ Pernice 1938, p. 117; de Vos in Bastet & de Vos 1979, p. 109, n. 14; *PPM* IX (Bragantini), p. 601.

⁵³⁹ *PPM* IX, pp. 652-653, mentions another white mosaic, once with a meander-threshold, found in room (m), opening on to the peristyle. No date has been proposed.

⁵⁴⁰ For a review of the house, see Sogliano in *NSc* 1878, pp. 180-184; Mau in *BdI* 1879, pp. 188-190, 207-210, 252-256, 258-268; *PPM* IX (Bragantini), pp. 600-618.

⁵⁴¹ For the *atrium*-area décor, see excavation-reports in note above and Presuhn 1882 (VIII), pp. 5-6; Schefold 1957, pp. 259-262, of which many paintings have been taken to MANN.

popular in 3rd style-paintings (e.g., the *tablinum* in *Cd Granduca*, VII 4,56) but is also found in later wall-decorations, as exemplified in the stucco on the outer *cella*-walls of the *Tempio di Iside* (VIII 7,28), which was decorated in the 4th style, after A.D. 62.⁵⁴² It follows that the pattern was not confined to the Augustan period solely. Moreover, the neat alignment of the mosaic to the lava-threshold by the sidewalk could in fact indicate an earlier, pre-Augustan, date, which then would be consistent with the presence of mortar-floors in the *atrium*-area, dated to the late Republic. The very act of presenting a large tessellated threshold-panel may perhaps also serve as a time-indicator of this period, when the “trend” of demarcating *fauces*-mosaics from *atria* with elaborate threshold-panels were in vogue.⁵⁴³ In sum, it is not possible to propose a date for this *fauces*-mosaic although much is in favour for a date to the late Republic and early Empire.

The last *fauces*-mosaic is found in *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30), whose marine theme has been assigned a date to the period of the 4th style by Pernice (Fig. 115).⁵⁴⁴ The badly preserved wall-paintings in the *fauces* and *atrium* have been dated either to around A.D. 50 or to the 4th style by scholars.⁵⁴⁵ The relationship to the mosaics in this part is, however, a tricky question. Blake proposed that the mosaics were late although laid before the wall-paintings.⁵⁴⁶ Later scholars, such as Sampaolo from *PPM* and Antonella Coralini, the current one in the field, suggest instead, partly by referring to Mau, that the mosaics in the *atrium*-area were laid slightly after the wall-paintings.⁵⁴⁷ All in all, the basis for the dating of the

⁵⁴² Bastet & de Vos 1979, figs. 6-9, 12, pl. 12, 33; Moormann 2011, pp. 149-162. Other post-Augustan *comparanda* are, e.g., the mosaic fragments found on the Nemi ships (since destroyed), which, according to Strocka 1987, p. 32, show ornamental filigree borders (including the heart-shaped volute-pattern on the Pompeian *fauces*-mosaic) that are reminiscent of the 4th style-design. The ships were constructed around A.D. 40, but Strocka is inclined to date the fragments to a later phase, presumably to the era of Claudius and Nero. He moreover relates (p. 32) these mosaic-patterns to the classical tradition, as they show a more geometric than vegetal design. However, for Bastet & de Vos 1979, pp. 13-14, the material serves as an important date of the Caligulan period (A.D. 37-41). For the Nemi-mosaics, see Ucelli 1950 (esp. pl. D, fig. 254), who points (p. 228) to their uneven surfaces as indicating a parietal function (or as adorning fountain-niches) rather than that of a flooring. See also Ehrhardt 1987, pp. 34-40, on volute-patterns in the dados of the 4th style-paintings of Villa B (Oplontis).

⁵⁴³ Ehrhardt 1998, p. 143, n. 1124, includes this *fauces*-mosaic in his overview of *fauces*-mosaics with threshold-panels, and assigns a possible date to the late Republican period.

⁵⁴⁴ Pernice 1938, pp. 43-44, 146, states that the *fauces*-mosaic belongs to a late redecoration of the house, and refers to the mosaic's chased dolphin-design as often found as a small vignette-motif in late wall-paintings. The black *atrium*-mosaic is assigned a similarly late date.

⁵⁴⁵ See first and foremost Mau in *BdI* 1881, pp. 121-124.

⁵⁴⁶ Blake 1930, pp. 98, 121, states that the coarseness of the *tesserae* in both rooms could confirm a late date. The mosaics in the *atrium*-area are, in her view, late but nevertheless earlier than the 4th style-paintings (which imitate the 3rd style), and the mosaics are probably not made much before A.D. 50. Clarke 1979, p. 11, n. 31, refers to Blake and Pernice, and concludes that the *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaics were made at the same time during the 1st century A.D.

⁵⁴⁷ Coralini from the project *Pompei. Insula del Centenario (IX 8)* refers to Mau, Blake and Pernice in her dating of the decoration of the *atrium*-area. Mau states that the decoration belongs to the last period, but that the *atrium*-mosaic was laid after the wall-paintings of that room. Coralini places the mosaics here to the last phase, from A.D. 50 onwards. See Coralini 2001a; Coralini 2001b; Coralini 2017 (see esp. pp. 82-86, 93-94, 115). *PPM IX* (Sampaolo), pp. 903-906: the *atrium*-mosaic was laid after the production of the wall-paintings, which are dated to c. A.D. 50. The *fauces*-mosaic is attributed to the last decades.

fauces-mosaic is somewhat shaky, as stated by Coralini herself,⁵⁴⁸ although a date to the second half of the 1st century A.D. may be proposed.

4.4 Concluding discussion

Only a relatively small group of *fauces*-mosaics (group A: five examples) are fairly securely dated thanks to the time-consistent decoration of both walls and floors. Most of these mosaics were made during the second half of the 1st century A.D. Three of the *fauces*-mosaics depict animals, the other two are all-white floors with black borders.

The largest group of *fauces*-mosaics are instead dated through contextualisation by means of building-archaeology (group B: 16 examples). By combining the criteria adopted by archaeologists for distinguishing major phases in a house's construction with the art-historical "pattern approach" to the dating of tessellated designs, it is in my view possible to gain reliable proposed dates for many of the mosaics. To exemplify, half of group B consists of various terrace-houses in *insula* VIII 2, which have been studied in detail, resulting in relatively secure dates.

The houses assigned to group C (six houses containing seven *fauces*) have not been adequately studied, or are still awaiting publication. The proposed dates for these mosaics are therefore mainly based on a "pattern approach" to the mosaic-designs, in combination with data from building-archaeology. Consequently, some of the proposed mosaic dates here must remain tentative.

As has been demonstrated in this survey, the study of the relation between the mosaics and the surrounding wall-paintings and built structures, is the most secure dating-method to employ. Still, it must be underlined that one faces difficulties when trying to determine secure dates for certain periods. Generally, there seems to be a scholarly lacuna in the understanding of wall-paintings produced in the period between 30 B.C. and the beginning of the 1st century A.D.⁵⁴⁹ The lack of secured fixed points for dating decorative artworks from the early Imperial period has resulted in a tendency to suggest the Augustan period as a particular heyday, at least for the *fauces*-mosaics (as seen, e.g., in the volumes of *PPM*).⁵⁵⁰

However, the preceding late Republican period of the 2nd style seems, in fact, to have been the time of production for more mosaics than the traditionally proposed early Imperial period. The time-gap that follows between Augustus and Claudius, as witnessed by the dates hitherto proposed for *fauces*-mosaics, appears to be more artificial than real. It seems unlikely that a lacuna would exist between the reigns of the two emperors, in which no *fauces*-mosaics

⁵⁴⁸ Coralini 2001a, p. 50: "Le proposte di datazione dei pavimenti della Casa del Centenario, fondate, per mancanza di altri dati, sulla sola analisi formale, concordano nell'attribuire i nuclei più cospicui a fasi di III e IV stile".

⁵⁴⁹ Moormann 2018, pp. 397-398.

⁵⁵⁰ See Clarke 2007b, p. 331: "A gap in our knowledge of late Third- and early Fourth-Style developments arises from the lack of a securely dated pre-earthquake program", and Strocka 2007, p. 314, on the very few fixed chronological dates for wall-paintings in the 3rd style.

at all were being made even though we have none that has been assigned a dating to this period. In order to underline that this lacuna poses questions, the term “post-Augustan” has been added, see below. Instead, there seems to be only one true, detectable time-gap in the sequence of Pompeian *fauces*-mosaics, and that is between the very first tessellated *fauces* of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) around 100 B.C., and the first group in the 2nd style-period, around 50 B.C. As known to us, no *fauces*-floor was tessellated in the intervening period.

How may the *fauces*-mosaics be grouped and placed on a time-scale more precisely? As shown in Tables 5 and 6 below, two main chronological groups are presented: from the late Republican to the Augustan period (period of the 2nd and 3rd styles) and from the “post-Augustan”/Claudian period to A.D. 79 (period of the 3rd and 4th styles).⁵⁵¹ Of the 27 *fauces* included,⁵⁵² a clear majority (18 examples) were decorated during the first period that followed on *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7 = chronological group 1), while the remaining nine *fauces* were tessellated in the subsequent period.

- Chronological group 1: Samnite period, around 100 B.C. (1st style): one *fauces*
- Chronological group 2: late Republican period to Augustan, from c. 50 B.C. to c. A.D. 20 (2nd to 3rd styles): 18 *fauces*
- Chronological group 3: “post-Augustan”/Claudian period to the Vesuvian eruption, c. A.D. 40-50 to 79 (3rd to 4th styles): nine *fauces*

So, despite the growing “popularity” over time of paving the floors with mosaics, many *fauces*-mosaics actually belong to the period between the late Republic and early Empire (which covers a period of a generation or more). By the time of A.D. 79, most *fauces*-tessellations were therefore more than two generations old. The walls, on the other hand, were often redecorated after the contemporary fashion (the majority, therefore, displaying 4th style-paintings). In some cases, in the core-sample, the walls of the *fauces* or the *atria* were not plastered but awaiting new decoration (see also chap. 3).⁵⁵³ To repaint the walls was evidently easier than to replace a floor, and it illustrates, moreover, a tendency to keep older mosaics

⁵⁵¹ This pattern is consistent with de Vos’ investigation of mosaic-coverage within nine *insulae* in *regio* I, which includes mosaics dated to the periods of the 2nd and 3rd styles only. Of the total 730 m² mosaic coverage, 390 m² contained mosaics belonging to 2nd style decorative contexts, while 340 m² contained mosaics belonging to those of the 3rd style-period, see Baster & de Vos 1979, pp. 111-112. The investigation comprises 70 houses that cover a total area of 29.100 m². Mosaics that belong to the period of the 4th style are unfortunately not included in the investigation because of the *regio*’s changed character when turning into a more commercial neighbourhood in the later period. Instead, one has to search elsewhere for these later mosaics, notably in *regiones* VI, VIII and parts of VII, where a boom in black-and-white mosaics can be seen.

⁵⁵² Apart from the exclusion of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) and *Cd Leone* (VI 17,25, no. 9), *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29) is also excluded due to the inconclusive dating of the *fauces*-mosaic.

⁵⁵³ For the hypothesis that there were several earthquakes, instead of just one major one, before the eruption of Vesuvius, see e.g., Descoedres 2007, p. 18; Allison 2004, pp. 17-19. Moreover, it is important to keep in mind that some houses were not inhabited any longer by the time of the eruption, which could explain the lack of decoration.

as their patterns could pass as acceptable for longer periods.⁵⁵⁴ This is an important aspect to keep in mind when studying Pompeian decoration as it underlines the complex nature of the use and perception of domestic art. In other words, one is more likely to step upon a mosaic dated to the period of the 2nd style than to find a wall-painting from that same style-period preserved in a Pompeian house.

Tables 5 and 6: The proposed dates for the *fauces*-mosaics, i.e., in the two chronological groups that succeeded the first chronological “group” containing only *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7).

Table 5:
Chronological group 2: late Republican to Augustan period

Proposed date	Motif	<i>Fauces</i> /house
Late Republican: 2 nd style	Figurative (canine)	<i>Cd Paquius Proculus</i> (I 7,1, no. 1)
Late Republican/early Augustan: 2 nd style	Plain-bichrome	<i>Praedia di Iulia Felix</i> (II 4,1-12, no. 2)
Late Republican: 2 nd style	Two mosaics: figurative (marine)/geometric	<i>Cd Ancora</i> (VI 10,7, no. 6)
Late Republican: 2 nd style	Two mosaics: geometric/floral	<i>VI 13,13</i> (no. 8)
Late Republican: 2 nd style	Floral	<i>Cd Bracciale d'oro</i> (VI 17,42, no. 10)
Late Republican: 2 nd style	Geometric	<i>Cd Bracciale d'oro</i> (VI 17,44, no. 11)
Late Republican: 2 nd style	Figurative (marine)	<i>Cd M. Caesius Blandus</i> (VII 1,40, no. 12)
Late Republican: 2 nd style	Pattern w. stone-inlays	<i>Cd Popidius Priscus</i> (VII 2,20, no. 13)
Late Republican: 2 nd style	Floral	<i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I</i> (VII 16,12-13, no. 16)
Late Republican: 2 nd style	Pattern w. stone-inlays	<i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II</i> (VII 16,15, no. 17)
Late Republican: 2 nd style	Geometric	<i>Cd Championnet II</i> (VIII 2,3, no. 19)
Late Republican: 2 nd style	Geometric	<i>Officina offectoria di Ubonius</i> (IX 3,2, no. 26)
Augustan: transition-period between 2 nd and 3 rd styles	Geometric (inscription)	<i>Cd Vestali</i> (V 1,7/25, no. 4)
Augustan: transition-period between 2 nd and 3 rd styles	Figurative (marine)	<i>Cd Marinaio</i> (VII 15,1-2, no. 15)
Augustan: transition-period between 2 nd and 3 rd styles	Pattern w. stone-inlays	<i>Cd Championnet I</i> (VIII 2,1, no. 18)
Augustan: transition-period between 2 nd and 3 rd styles	Geometric	<i>Cd Mosaici geometrici</i> (VIII 2, 14-16, no. 20)
Augustan: transition-period between 2 nd and 3 rd styles	Plain-bichrome	<i>VIII 2,18</i> (no. 21)
Augustan: transition-period between 2 nd and 3 rd styles	Figurative (wild animal)	<i>Cd Cinghiale II</i> (VIII 2,26, no. 23)

⁵⁵⁴ See discussion in Mau 1882, e.g., pp. 444-448, on the wall-painting styles as fluctuating and simultaneously occurring, depending on the tastes of the owners who could favour “retro” styles; also, Pernice 1938, p. 119; Ehrhardt 1987; Wallace-Hadrill 1990, pp. 180-181. Moreover, Ehrhardt 1987 states (pp. 12, 85) that it must be noted that walls during the period between A.D. 42-62 could have paintings in both 3rd and 4th styles in juxtaposition, while the period from A.D. 50 onwards saw paintings mainly in the 4th style (see the décor in *Cd Caecilius Iucundus*, V 1,23-26, no. 3). See Tybout 2001 for a summary on this research, and Wootton 2018, p. 496, on the subject of how pavements might be retained, and how floors could be maintained and repaired or, when necessary, substituted for others.

Table 6:
Chronological group 3: “Post-Augustan”/Claudian period to A.D. 79

Proposed date	Motif	Fauces/House
Claudian (A.D. 41-54): transition-period between 3 rd and 4 th styles	Figurative (canine)	<i>Cd Caecilius Lucundus</i> (V 1,23-26, no. 3)
Claudian (A.D. 41-54): transition-period between 3 rd and 4 th styles	Figurative (wrestlers)	<i>Palaestra</i> (VIII 2,23, no. 22)
Claudian (A.D. 41-54): transition-period between 3 rd and 4 th styles	Pattern w. stone-inlays	<i>Cd Severus</i> (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24)
Post-Claudian	Figurative (canine w. inscription)	<i>Cd Poeta tragico</i> (VI 8,3/5, no. 5)
(Post-)Claudian	Figurative (wild animal w. inscription)	<i>Cd Orso</i> (VII 2,45, no. 14)
(Post-)Claudian	Figurative (wild animal), geometric and floral	<i>Cd Cinghiale I</i> (VIII 3,8, no. 25)
Post-Claudian	Plain-bichrome	<i>Cd Marcus Lucretius</i> (IX 3,5/24, no. 27)
Post-Claudian	Plain-bichrome	<i>IX 5,6</i> (no. 28)
Post-Claudian	Figurative (marine)	<i>Cd Centenario</i> (IX 8,3-6, no. 30)

5 The houses and their contextualisation

Introduction

This chapter is divided into two parts, concerned with different aspects of the contextualisation of the houses. The initial part examines the houses themselves, with the aim of assessing their level of elaboration. Important parameters in this assessment will be the size of the houses and along with that, the presence or absence of certain architectural features, notably peristyle-gardens and connection to the aqueduct from the early Imperial period onwards. Another parameter will be the interior décor in terms of wall-paintings and mosaics. Because the individual houses vary in their state of preservation, and this affects our ability to assess, in particular, their interior décor, a smaller sample of houses has been selected for this last parameter.

The second part discusses the location of the houses within the streetscape from a chronological point of view, referring back to the datings arrived at in chap. 4 for the *fauces*-mosaics. The purpose of this is to track down possible patterns linking the houses, especially the clustering of some kinds of houses in certain areas. A topographical mapping of the houses is also made as to discern if their location on, e.g., certain streets could have played a role in promoting the laying of the *fauces*-mosaics.

The identity of the house-owners is not a matter of concern for this study. The reasons are firstly that attempts to link houses to particular owners have tended to reach only speculative conclusions,⁵⁵⁵ and secondly that many of the *fauces*-mosaics were made long before Roman Pompeii's last period, and consequently prior to the life-time of many of the residents of the city whose names are known to us.

5.1 Architectural contextualisation

Is there something special with the houses under examination in this study that may explain why their *fauces* were tessellated? The central parameters set forth by Damian Robinson will be taken into consideration:

⁵⁵⁵ The attempts by Della Corte 1965 to identify house-owners on the basis of e.g., electoral *programmata* painted on the façades, have been much criticised, see e.g., Castrén 1975, pp. 155-156; Mouritsen 1988, pp. 13-27.

“The Pompeian house can be socially characterized through a consideration of the interaction of three factors: the size of the property; the quantity and quality of the dwelling’s decoration and the presence or absence of certain architecturally distinctive rooms”.⁵⁵⁶

The houses will be studied according to these parameters despite the varying degrees of their ruinous state of preservation. However, the parameter of interior décor is the most problematic since many wall-paintings have vanished either due to unintentional fading or to deliberate removal. A compromise will therefore be employed, including only the five houses that were listed in group A in chap. 4, being grouped together thus because of the chronological consistency between the preserved wall- and floor-decoration of the *fauces*.

The houses in the core-sample were all, in origin at least, *atrium*-houses,⁵⁵⁷ but whether they all belong to the category of the largest houses is an interesting question, of relevance to the part of our enquiry concerned with their owners’ self-presentation. In what follows, the houses will be matched with the so-called quartile classifications developed by Wallace-Hadrill and Robinson in order to study the social standing of the house-owners in relation to the respective house-sizes (based on the somewhat risky presumption that the larger the house was, the wealthier the owner must have been).⁵⁵⁸

The matter of defining sizes of Pompeian houses is a truly complicated matter since we do not always have sufficient information on the architectural layouts, most of all where the houses’ upper floors are concerned.⁵⁵⁹ The terrace-houses provide further good examples of how confusing it can be to interpret ruins, as their architectural layouts have made them especially vulnerable to destruction over time. In many cases, their ruinous state makes it extremely difficult to study all their levels and their boundaries.⁵⁶⁰ This has led to complicated analyses of certain house-plans, notably those of the two houses known as *Cd Aulus Umbricius*

⁵⁵⁶ Robinson 1997, p. 137.

⁵⁵⁷ Even the so-called *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22), constructed *ex novo* with a bath on the ground floor, was designed as an *atrium*-house, with a *fauces* and a central hall. The upper storey probably contained rental apartments.

⁵⁵⁸ Wallace-Hadrill 1994, pp. 72, 80-83. Four types of property are included here, ranging from shops/workshops to the largest *atrium*-houses, whereas Robinson 1997 (pp. 135-144) had made an all-over quantification of Pompeii. As a result, we find some differences in an average square-metre calculation. Robinson’s classification is, moreover, almost exclusively an account of *atrium*-houses alone. In recent scholarship on the matter, more attention has been paid to the intermingling of different socio-economic strata within the residences since “not every large house necessarily contained, or even belonged to, wealthy people, and [...] not every small shop belonged to, or was inhabited by, poor people”. See chap. 4 in Wallace-Hadrill 1994 for the quartile division calculation and discussion, especially pp. 72, 80-82, 90 (quotation).

⁵⁵⁹ See discussion of the problem by Wallace-Hadrill 1990, pp. 157-158; Pirson 1999, pp. 56-68, 97: c. 23% of all rentable *tabernae* that were integrated in *domus* are estimated to have been in dependency with the *domus*. Haug 2020, p. 41, criticises the size-parameter as it risks neglect of smaller dwellings, which could also be home for a wealthy owner or let out to a family member while the proper owner resided in a rural villa instead. Moreover, elaborate architecture is an important factor but one which also may result in a circular conclusion. As Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 82, state, regarding *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23): “Das Haus macht in seiner Totalität den Eindruck einer reichen, wenn auch nicht großen, aber sehr vornehmen Stadtrandvilla“.

⁵⁶⁰ N.B., some houses have additionally suffered much due to the war bombings in 1943. Moreover, many of the houses’ lowest levels have not been fully excavated.

Scaurus I & II (VII 16,12-13/VII 16,15, nos. 16-17), which is now being treated as two separate and independent houses by many current scholars and not as one large complex as previously believed.⁵⁶¹

Houses with a long architectural history are particularly liable to have elaborate plans. Many are the houses that experienced alterations of property-borders over time; either going from being single *atrium*-houses to double *atrium*-houses or the other way around.⁵⁶² It all depends on the time-period that one is looking at. The primary objective of this study is to discover the particular situation within the house's building-history which provided the context for the laying down of each *fauces*-mosaic.

Another alteration over time is the function of the *domus* in itself. Take first, for example, the indecisive case of *VIII 2,18* (no. 21), which either remained as a *domus* within the newly constructed *Terme del Sarno* bath-complex (VIII 2,17-20), or perhaps came to act as a lounge for the bath-visitors, as has previously been proposed.⁵⁶³ The ruins of the complex are indeed difficult to interpret, but as things stand today, they do not seem to present any architectural connection between the *domus* on the ground level and the bath on the lower levels.⁵⁶⁴ Therefore, it is a possibility that the *domus* retained its domestic independence after all. Other examples are, on the one hand, the *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26), incorporating a dyeing establishment within what was possibly still functioning as a *domus* at the time and, on the other hand, *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30), a grand *domus*, which has recently been suggested to have turned (at least partly) into a semi-public entertainment

⁵⁶¹ Eschebach & Eschebach 1993, pp. 348-349, among others, treat the complex as one. Bruni 2018, having conducted an investigation into *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16), is critical of the application of the same name to the two houses (although he confusingly refers to this house as *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II*). Instead, he argues for a name change of *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus (I)* to *Cd Maras Spurnius* (as listed by Eschebach & Eschebach 1993 as well), due to the Oscan *étuns* that were painted on a façade nearby, mentioning this house and its owner.

⁵⁶² Evans 1980, p. 148: the intentionally double *atrium*-house derives from Hellenistic times, while the developed double *atrium*-house evolves over time.

⁵⁶³ Koloski-Ostrow 1986, pp. 25, 27, 75-76, 84, 149, 152-153, proposed that the *atrium* of VIII 2,18 had perhaps lost its domestic character in the final phase and instead had come to act as a communal space for the bath-visitors, entered through the side-entrance (VIII 2,20: now the main one), and that the original *fauces*-passage was kept locked for safety reasons (see note below). Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 106, state that the whole bath-complex, together with the neighbouring *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22) came to include apartments for rent in the early Claudian period, perhaps under the supervision of one and the same owner. Moreover, the *atrium*-house is omitted from their survey of preserved *domus* relating to the later years (pp. 184-187). In his discussion of the complex, Pirson 1999, pp. 133-136, describes the rented apartments as the primary dwellings, and does not take the *domus* into consideration where the last period is concerned.

⁵⁶⁴ Koloski-Ostrow (pers. comm. January 2021) stresses the ruinous state of the complex, but nevertheless argues for a revision of the structures; was the *domus* preserved and independent? The public entrance to the baths (VIII 2,17), leading in a covered tunnel to the lower levels, does not connect with the *domus*, and neither is there an internal stairway that connects the two spaces. The earlier proposition that the *atrium* served as a lounge for the bath is therefore put into question, as the visitor thus would have had to exit the bath before entering the lounge from the street again. In the recent thinking of Koloski-Ostrow, the *fauces* instead retained its function as a (private) entrance. Cf. Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 108, 110, who conclude that the stairs connecting the corridor of entrance VIII 2,20 with the baths on the lower levels were abandoned due to reconstruction-work in the post-earthquake period, leaving the entrance VIII 2,17 as the only access to the baths.

building in Pompeii's last phase.⁵⁶⁵ Such a change can be compared with that of *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2), where at least parts of the original *domus* were most likely preserved in one smallish corner of the new semi-public bath and dining establishment (including apartments for rent), created in the post-earthquake period (Fig. 39). We have no information, though, of why the original, tessellated *fauces* became walled up in this reconstruction and thus ceased to function as an entrance.⁵⁶⁶ Instead, a new entrance was created just next door to the former *fauces*.⁵⁶⁷ The last example is *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), which has been tentatively suggested by Ehrhardt to have housed or turned into (or perhaps even been originally constructed as) a *hospitium* (an inn).⁵⁶⁸

It is true that not all dwellings at Pompeii were *atrium*-houses,⁵⁶⁹ and the design of an *atrium*-house was, moreover, not restricted to one specific form but instead offered many different solutions to issues of planning.⁵⁷⁰ The overall architectural design of the terrace-houses, which constitute a significant group within the core-sample considered in this study, differed from the more common version of an *atrium*-house by e.g., at times even lacking the traditional *tablinum* (the "office") (Fig. 40).⁵⁷¹ The vertical design with several storeys and terraces arranged one below the other on a gradient, enabled the construction of large, and particularly exclusive, reception rooms in a row (including luxurious *triclinia* and baths), facing towards the Bay of Naples and the Sarno plain (Figs. 41-42). The view in itself was a distinct marker of luxury.⁵⁷² In some instances, the terrace-houses could also present different

⁵⁶⁵ Ynnilä 2012, vol. 1, pp. 46-47, 152, argues that the *officina* functioned as a domestic dwelling at least during the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., and at some time during the Imperial period became an independent workshop, though perhaps still housing the owner. Coralini 2017, pp. 38, 82-83, 508, follows the proposition of Mau regarding the late changes to *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30).

⁵⁶⁶ See *CTP IIIA* 1986, pp. 46-47, where the former *fauces*-entrance next to nr. 10 is marked on the map with the sign for an *ostium murata ab antiquo* (i.e., a blocked entrance already in antiquity). Cf. Eschebach 1970, where only the current entrances (10-11) are marked on the map.

⁵⁶⁷ Nappo 2007, p. 359. See preliminary excavation reports by Parslow 1995-1996; 1998; 1999a; 2000.

⁵⁶⁸ Ehrhardt 1988, pp. 76-79; *PPM VI*, pp. 742-744, refers to the large *atrium* and the inscribed price-list for wine on the south *atrium*-wall as possible indicators of a *hospitium*, considering the public nature of the quarter, with its many taverns and *hospitia*. The large kitchen may have the same implication. Following this train of thought further, one may arrive at the conclusion that the mosaic in the *fauces* of the wounded bear with the inscription *Habe* could be identified as a "pub-sign" (see also chap. 6).

⁵⁶⁹ See e.g., Packer 1975; Hoffmann 1979; Wallace-Hadrill 1994; Robinson 1997; Pirson 1999. Flohr 2017, p. 72, estimates that about 70% of the Pompeian population may have lived in houses (*domus*), while 15-20% lived in *taberna*-units, and a small group of c. 5% in upper-floor apartments.

⁵⁷⁰ See e.g., Evans 1980. Of the 29 houses, four present tetrastyle *atria*, i.e., with four columns around the *impluvium*: *VI 13,13* (no. 8; no columns preserved today); the second *atrium* in *Cd Fauno*, VI 12,2, no. 7); *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18), and *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29, no. 24). Evans 1980, I, pp. 33-34, states that the tetrastyle *atria* are of two kinds; those serving a decorative effect and those serving a practical purpose of supporting an upper floor. Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 174, discuss tetrastyle *atria* as a sign of a high living standard. Both *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23) and *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29) lack a traditional *tablinum*.

⁵⁷¹ See e.g., *Cd M. Fabius Rufus* (VII 16,22), which lacks a *fauces*-passage, adjoining rooms on either side of the *atrium* as well as a *tablinum*, Anguissola 2014, p. 400. The "traditional" *tablinum* is also missing in *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23). Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 192, refer to the adaptation to the topography as the main explanation.

⁵⁷² For a thorough discussion, see Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 188-236; Aoyagi & Pappalardo 2006; Tybout 2007, pp. 407-420; Cassetta & Costantino 2008, pp. 197-208; Anguissola 2014, pp. 392-408. According to Tybout,

solutions regarding access from the street to the lower levels, through stairways next to the main entrance, as e.g., seen in *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23). Finally, an already complicated house-plan could be even further elaborated by the provision of internal passages connecting the houses with the outside world through the old city-wall.⁵⁷³

5.1.1 House-sizes

An estimate of house-sizes has been contributed by Miko Flohr to a database on houses and public spaces within Pompeii.⁵⁷⁴ However, the database illustrates the basic interpretive problems associated with size-estimates.⁵⁷⁵ Moreover, as a result of differences in classificatory approach, one also finds a certain lack of congruence between the findings of Wallace-Hadrill and Robinson in their classifications. So, what must guide us in the present study can only be approximations of my own. It is to be hoped, nevertheless, that a fairly uniform picture of the houses concerned will emerge. In the list below, the houses will be grouped according to the suggested time-period when they had their *fauces* tessellated, even though we do not always have exact information about all house-sizes.

500 m² and beyond will serve as a starting point, since it is the average estimation for the so-called “type 3” houses in both Wallace-Hadrill (i.e., the “typical” Pompeian house; the majority of those with an *atrium*) and Robinson (i.e., *atrium*-houses often with *impluvia* and peristyles).⁵⁷⁶ In the core-sample, 25 houses out of 29 most likely exceed this size. Of the four houses that present lesser sizes, *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) and the *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26) are regarded as the smallest (around 200 m²), see Table 7 (and Fig. 43).

Table 7:
Houses in the core-sample smaller than 500 m² in extent

House	House-type
<i>Cd Poeta tragico</i> (VI 8,3/5, no. 5)	(single) <i>atrium</i> -house
<i>Cd Orso</i> (VII 2,45, no. 14)	(single) <i>atrium</i> -house
<i>Officina offectoria di Ubonius</i> (IX 3,2, no. 26)	(single) <i>atrium</i> -house
<i>IX 5,6</i> (no. 28)	(single) <i>atrium</i> -house

2007, p. 411, the design of these houses can be described as a typically Roman creation, combining the layouts of the traditional *atrium*-house and the villa.

⁵⁷³ Cassetta & Costantino 2008, p. 200; Anguissola 2014, pp. 394-395, 405; Bruni 2018, p. 89, discuss *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16) as one such example.

⁵⁷⁴ See Flohr 2018, *Database of Pompeian houses*, <http://www.mikoflohr.org/pompeii/>; Flohr 2017, appendix.

⁵⁷⁵ For example, Flohr counts *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I & II* (VII 16,12-13 and VII 16,15, nos. 16-17) as being one large complex while I follow the Italian suggestions, which regard them as two independent structures. Flohr 2017, pp. 57-62, himself points out some of the inevitable problems, like the identification of a “room”. The number of rooms is based on the calculations by *PPM*. The square-metre calculations include the neighbouring *taberna*-units that are supposed to belong to the houses, while the possible upper floors are excluded.

⁵⁷⁶ Wallace-Hadrill 1994, pp. 80-82; Robinson 1997, p. 140.

A middle group consists of the majority of houses (16 examples), ranging in size between 500 and 1000 m², see Table 8 (and Fig. 44). Many terrace-houses are included here, although estimates of their size are debatable. One such house is *VIII 2,18* (no. 21), whose function and delimitations, as we have seen, are unclear. Another is house *VI 13,13* (no. 8), which was a double *atrium*-house by the time of the tessellation of the *fauces*, but which was later reduced to a single *atrium*-house.⁵⁷⁷ The most problematic example yet is *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2), as its *fauces*-mosaic probably belongs to the original, independent house, the size of which is unclear.

Table 8:
Houses in the core-sample ranging in extent between 500 and 1000 m²

House	House-type
<i>Praedia di Iulia Felix</i> (II 4,1-12, no. 2)	(single) <i>atrium</i> -house
<i>Cd Caecilius Iucundus</i> (V 1,23-26, no. 3)	double <i>atrium</i> -house
<i>Cd Ancora</i> (VI 10,7, no. 6)	(single) <i>atrium</i> -house
<i>VI 13,13</i> (no. 8)	double <i>atrium</i> -house
<i>Cd Bracciale d'oro</i> (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11)	terrace (<i>atrium</i>)-house
<i>Cd M. Caesius Blandus</i> (VII 1,40, no. 12)	(single) <i>atrium</i> -house
<i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II</i> (VII 16,15, no. 17)	terrace (<i>atrium</i>)-house
<i>Cd Championnet I</i> (VIII 2,1, no. 18)	terrace (<i>atrium</i>)-house
<i>Cd Championnet II</i> (VIII 2,3, no. 19)	terrace (<i>atrium</i>)-house
<i>VIII 2,18</i> (no. 21)	terrace (<i>atrium</i>)-house
<i>Palaestra</i> (VIII 2,23, no. 22)	terrace (<i>atrium</i>)-house
<i>Cd Cinghiale II</i> (VIII 2,26, no. 23)	terrace (<i>atrium</i>)-house
<i>Cd Severus</i> (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24)	terrace/double <i>atrium</i> -house
<i>Cd Cinghiale I</i> (VIII 3,8, no. 25)	(single) <i>atrium</i> -house
<i>Cd Marcus Lucretius</i> (IX 3,5/24, no. 27)	double <i>atrium</i> -house
<i>Cd Ristorante</i> (IX 5,14-16, no. 29)	double <i>atrium</i> -house

The truly large houses, measuring 1000 m² (a few even 2000 m²) in extent, are nine in number, see Table 9 (and Fig. 45). Included here is also *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) as it was a double *atrium*-house by the time of the *fauces*-tessellation.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁷ Following the calculations by Flohr 2017, house *VI 13,13* (no. 8) is rightly placed in the middle group even when estimated as a double *atrium*-house.

⁵⁷⁸ Even when *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) is reckoned a single *atrium*-house, different calculations are made about it by different scholars. Ehrhardt 1998, p. 138, incorporates the upper floor in his estimate of 1176 m², while Flohr 2017, arrives at an estimate of 741 m², due to the exclusion of the upper floor.

Table 9:

Houses in the core-sample exceeding 1000 m² in extent

House	House-type
<i>Cd Paquius Proculus</i> (I 7,1, no.1)	double <i>atrium</i> -house
<i>Cd Vestali</i> (VI 1,7/25, no. 4)	double <i>atrium</i> -house
<i>Cd Fauno</i> (VI 12,2, no. 7)	double <i>atrium</i> -house
<i>Cd Leone</i> (VI 17,25, no. 9)	terrace (<i>atrium</i>)-house
<i>Cd Popidius Priscus</i> (VII 2,20, no. 13)	double <i>atrium</i> -house
<i>Cd Marinaio</i> (VII 15,1-2, no. 15)	double <i>atrium</i> -house
<i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I</i> (VII 16,12-13, no. 16)	terrace/double <i>atrium</i> -house
<i>Cd Mosaici geometrici</i> (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20)	terrace/double <i>atrium</i> -house
<i>Cd Centenario</i> (IX 8,3-6, no. 30)	double <i>atrium</i> -house

Many of the studied houses were either double *atrium*-houses and/or terrace-houses,⁵⁷⁹ which clearly shows that, at least by A.D. 79, the majority of the core-sample consisted of large houses.⁵⁸⁰ It is worth noting that three of the terrace-houses equally were double *atrium*-houses as well (*Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I*, VII 16,12-13, no. 16, *Cd Mosaici geometrici*, VIII 2,14-16, no. 20 (including also *Cd Championnet II*, VIII 2,3, no. 19, in the last phase⁵⁸¹) and *Cd Severus*, VIII 2,29-30, no. 24).⁵⁸²

In many cases, the laying of a *fauces*-mosaic is associated with the expansion of the houses. A handful of examples of contemporaneous extension and beautification, apart from the terrace-houses, are *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3); *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4); *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6) and *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15). Both *Cd Paquius Proculus*

⁵⁷⁹ Zanker 1998, p. 144, refers to the fact that the western terrace-houses of the *Insula occidentalis* were on the whole larger than those of *insula VIII 2*.

⁵⁸⁰ Two of the houses no longer presented a double-*atrium* structure by A.D. 79: *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) and *VI 13,13* (no. 8). With regards to *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13), it is sometimes described as a single *atrium*-house and sometimes as a double *atrium*-house. The annexed house is VII 2,38, with an entrance towards Via degli Augustali, the same road which communicated with *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13) through its *atrium*, see E. Brizio in *GdSc* 1868, p. 109. According to *PPM VI* (Sampaolo/Bragantini), the small house could possibly have served as an independent unit, but as no more information on this interrelationship is given (pp. 615-616, 658, 733), it is therefore not possible to outline the chronological development of the double-*atrium* structure. Fiorelli 1875, pp. 192, 196, states only that the two houses were joined together in a late period. Evans 1980, p. 150, describes them as “certainly connected at some time [...]”. For the size of the house, see Pedroni 2007, pp. 237, 240; Feil, Pedroni & Tasser 2005, p. 257. Finally, *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25) might also have been a double *atrium*-house once, joined with VIII 3,4, but as *PPM VIII* (Bragantini), p. 362, states, we do not have enough information for certainty. However, according to Krimpen-Winckel 2009, vol. 2, p. 234, the house was constructed as a single *atrium*-house and remained so over the years.

⁵⁸¹ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 128, 152, 157-160.

⁵⁸² According to Bruni 2018, pp. 94, 98-99, *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16) even became a triple *atrium*-house, incorporating the small house VII 16,1 in a “proto-Augustan” phase (from around 50 B.C.), suggesting, among other things, that it perhaps housed rentable apartments or functioned as a *hospitium*.

(I 7,1, no. 1) and VI 13,13 (no. 8) seem to have been enlarged as double *atrium*-houses already when their *fauces*-mosaics were laid in the late Republican period.⁵⁸³

Three houses with late-dated *fauces*-mosaics stand out, illustrating that a reduced house-size did not have to prevent owners from sharing similar cultural aspirations with those residing in large houses.⁵⁸⁴ The two houses of *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) and *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) exhibit such a *horror vacui* regarding mosaic-decoration, that one inevitably connects the impact of the all-over tessellation with the actual compactness of the houses (Fig. 46). Much the same can be said about IX 5,6 (no. 28), with its all-white mosaic-floors (with black borders) that swept over and connected the whole *atrium*-area as one space (for the interior décor of these three houses, see below).

One of the smallest examples in the core-sample, *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 25), on the other hand, acquired its *fauces*-mosaic during the period of the 2nd style. This house illustrates how mosaic-floors, which here included the *fauces*-mosaic, were considered worth keeping even when a small-scale industry (as witnessed by large masonry cauldrons in the *atrium*) was later incorporated within the domestic house.

In sum, the individual house-sizes, as seen at the time of the laying of each *fauces*-mosaic, point to a correlation between such decorative paving-work and a general enlargement. Many of the houses in the core-sample either had double *atria* and/or several storeys climbing the steps of a terraced slope. It may further be observed that the few small houses in the sample date mainly from Pompeii's last phase: by that time, evidently, a limited house-size was of no hindrance to an owner who wanted to tessellate the entryway.

⁵⁸³ *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) had already joined with *Cd Fabius Amandus* (I 7,3) next door when a large redecoration and expansion phase took place shortly after the mid-first century B.C., which resulted in the new décor (2nd style) in the *atrium*-sector as well as in the new bath-suite. Around the mid-first century A.D., the house was separated in two, and *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) was thereafter newly decorated in the 4th style between c. A.D. 60-69, and reduced to a size of 1176 m², see Ehrhardt 1998, pp. 124-125, 138-139. The house known as VI 13,13 (no. 8) was joined with the neighbouring house VI 13,16 from the late Samnite period until the post-earthquake period, when the houses were separated, see Gobbo 2009, pp. 335, 338-340, 356-357.

⁵⁸⁴ For a comparable example, see *Cd Granduca* (VII 4,56); a small house with a most elaborate mosaic-fountain in the garden, which also contained statues, on straight axis from the *fauces*. See Zanker 1979, pp. 503-504.

5.1.2 Peristyles

Almost all of the houses in the core-sample have colonnaded gardens,⁵⁸⁵ but of different sizes and with varying layouts,⁵⁸⁶ which are much discussed in modern scholarship on the ancient history of gardens. However, the labels applied to different garden-layouts, such as true/full peristyles (Fig. 47) or truncated/pseudo-peristyles (Fig. 48),⁵⁸⁷ will not be taken into account here as I will not treat the gardens that feature relatively few columns as necessarily inferior in status to those with a complete colonnaded structure. As Summer Trentin states, gardens could be imposing without a fully colonnaded walkway on all four sides, and could be regarded as high-status elements that were meant to be seen, even when found in smaller houses.⁵⁸⁸

The core-sample includes four houses with the most outstanding gardens in the whole Pompeii: both the largest and the second-largest peristyles in the city,⁵⁸⁹ as well as two unparalleled sunken gardens. Of the houses in the first group, *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) could boast of two large peristyles, the more northern of which measured 1175 m² in extent. Placed in between the peristyles, the *exedra* with the Alexander-mosaic connects the two green spaces. It is reasonable to assume that *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) acted as an architectural and decorative model imitated by owners of other houses around the city in more respects than only *fauces*-tessellation.⁵⁹⁰ The second-largest true peristyle, found in *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30), measures 650 m² in extent.⁵⁹¹ Trentin discusses the symbolic function of porticoed walkways as not only a manifestation of the owners' possession of the means to construct

⁵⁸⁵ Full colonnades (11 ex.) are found in: *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1); *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4); *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7); *Cd Leone* (VI 17,25, no. 9); *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12); *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13); *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16); *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18); *Cd Championnet II* (VIII 2,3, no. 19); *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), and *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30). No full colonnades (7 ex.) in: *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3); *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5); *VI 13,13* (no. 8); *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15); *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20); *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27), and *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29). The case with the *atrium*-house of *VIII 2,18* (no. 21) is somewhat unclear because of the later, extensive reconstruction of the building into a bath-complex. According to Koloski-Ostrow 1986, pp. 26, 69, the blocked-off door behind (i.e., to the west of) the *tablinum* in *VIII 2,18* might indicate a former garden; a space which the adjoining *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20) acquired, perhaps sometime in the earthquake-period in the 60s A.D. Moreover, from the time of the Augustan period, there was a four-sided peristyle in the adjoining house *VIII 2,21*, see Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 97-98.

⁵⁸⁶ Four gardens of the core-sample had at least partially tessellated walkways, a quite unusual decorative feature: *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4); *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18), and *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25). The house *VI 13,13* (no. 8) had *cocciopesto* combined with a small black-and-white mosaic set into its south colonnade, see Trentin 2014, pp. 47-48, 222. The tessellated peristyles in Simelius 2018, pp. 107-109, are 10 in number. Mortar-paving was more often favoured.

⁵⁸⁷ For definitions within recent research, see e.g., Trentin 2014, tables A1 and A5; Simelius 2018, pp. 35-40.

⁵⁸⁸ Trentin 2014, p. 263.

⁵⁸⁹ Cf. the large terrace-house *Cd Leone* (VI 17,25, no. 9) with two peristyles; see discussion in Simelius 2018, pp. 115, 210.

⁵⁹⁰ Cf. the fish-mosaic from *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20, MANN inv. nr. 888/120177), which belongs to the same mosaic-tradition as the fish-mosaic in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7, MANN inv. nr. 889/9997), see Blake 1930, pp. 138-141, pl. 50:3-4; Pernice 1938, pp. 149-154.

⁵⁹¹ Trentin 2014, p. 34; Jashemski 1993, pp. 145-146, 244-245: while the northern peristyle in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) contains 43 columns, the peristyle in *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30) has 22 columns.

these expensive garden-features but also as an emphatic assertion that they had time available for *otium* instead of *negotium*.⁵⁹² Even though the owners of these two houses surely took pride in their gardens as a truly conspicuous decorative feature of their homes, one may question whether strict separation of *otium* from *negotium* really was an architectural or a social reality for a city like Pompeii.

The sunken gardens are found in *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6) and *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15).⁵⁹³ In *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6), the peristyle, flanked by arcaded corridors with recesses for statues, had as its focal point the short south wall featuring three large niches, of which the central one contains a temple-façade and the outer two, fountain-*aediculae* (Fig. 49).⁵⁹⁴ A *triclinium* overlooked the garden from above,⁵⁹⁵ and it has been suggested that this layout was a deliberate imitation of villa-architecture with its associated manifestation of wealth. It is evident that the garden was intended to be the prime focus of attention as the rooms overlooking it are not particularly large.⁵⁹⁶ All the same, the topographical situation, on land sloping towards the south, naturally played an important part for its creation. The sunken garden, constructed already by the late 2nd century B.C., acquired its walkway alongside the arcade in the same phase as the laying of the *fauces*-tessellation during the late Republican period, and its monumentalised form in the Imperial period following Augustus.⁵⁹⁷

The other sunken garden, in *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), was constructed with a two-sided portico and a lower level below, because of the steep sloping of the land towards the north. Two large rooms on the upper level (two *triclinia* flanking the *tablinum*) faced a colonnade that overlooked the sunken garden. Below, one finds an even more unusual structure, not paralleled in any other domestic structure in Pompeii: a complex of *horrea* consisting of fourteen rooms (for storage) with an adjacent bakery.⁵⁹⁸ Samuli Simelius treats

⁵⁹² Trentin 2014, pp. 82-83.

⁵⁹³ The only other true sunken garden is the one in *Villa di Diomede* outside Porta di Ercolano. However, Simelius 2018, p. 39 includes also those of *Cd Apollo* (VI 7,23) and *Cd Octavius Quartio* (II 2,2), even though he recognises that their layouts are not as clearly defined as those of the sunken gardens.

⁵⁹⁴ See discussion in Zanker 1998, pp. 160-163: at one end, two large fountain-*aediculae* frame a middle *aedicula*, dedicated to Fortuna or Venus Pompeiana. Stuccoed rudders adorn the sides. See also Jashemski 1993, p. 141.

⁵⁹⁵ 2,70 m. below the surface, see Coarelli & Pesando 2006, pp. 163-164, 213-220; Simelius 2018, p. 39.

⁵⁹⁶ Zanker 1998, pp. 161-162.

⁵⁹⁷ The central *aedicula* was added in the post-earthquake period, see Coarelli & Pesando 2006, pp. 213-232; Pesando & Guidobaldi 2006a, pp. 63-67, fig. 34 a-b.

⁵⁹⁸ See Franklin 1990, chap. 2, counting for 27 rooms in total on this underground level. The house's second *atrium* (VII 15,1) may have served as a business-section related to the bakery (p. 56). Franklin proposes (pp. 41-42, 56) that by the time of the early Empire, the commercially successful owner most likely served the public community with grain and baked bread on a daily basis. See also Newsome 2009. According to Nicolas Monteix, the bakery was probably installed between the late 1st century B.C. to the early 1st century A.D., which coincides with the laying of the *fauces*-mosaic, see Monteix 2017, pp. 269-270. Cf. Franklin 1990, p. 40, who suggests instead that the bakery was added to the *horrea* in a later period, perhaps around A.D. 50 or in the post-earthquake period.

these remarkable sunken gardens as perhaps even surpassing some of the most splendid peristyles in their display of wealth and status.⁵⁹⁹

The gardens in the terrace-houses were mainly located on the lower levels of the properties, where their elaborate designs took advantage of the view of the surrounding landscape.⁶⁰⁰ A telling example is *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11), which features a most lavish, marble-decorated, summer *triclinium* with an *aedicula*-fountain and pool on the lower storey that overlooked the garden. Even without colonnades, this garden clearly signalled the utmost wealth. In *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20), a very large garden with lower terraces was situated in a three-quarter position, with a view to the south.⁶⁰¹

Non-colonnaded gardens without porticoes are found in small houses within the core-sample, such as *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26) and *IX 5,6* (no. 28).⁶⁰² Both *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) and *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), the latter featuring a small colonnaded *viridarium*, made sure to draw attention to the rear garden-wall by mosaic-decorated fountains/*aediculae*, already visible from the *fauces*. The focal point of the sightline was indicated even more emphatically in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) where a large animal-painting occupied the wall above the fountain (Fig. 50).

In sum, the sample consists mainly of properties with large and colonnaded peristyles, including both the largest and the second-largest in the whole of Pompeii. Moreover, the properties which contain the city's only two sunken gardens also form part of the sample, and all in all, the peristyle-parameter testifies to the high status of most of the houses under consideration in the present study of *fauces*-decoration. The two small *viridaria* belonging to smaller houses surely seem to have been designed with a *Durchblick* from the *fauces* in mind, which would focus on the sizeable *aediculae* situated to the rear of the garden-area (see below).

5.1.3 Water-supply

Through a connection to the Serino aqueduct, presumably during the reign of Augustus, supplying not only Pompeii (possibly from 30-20 B.C.) and Herculaneum with water but also the cities of Neapolis and Puteoli, many house-owners were able to raise their living standards by connecting to the pipe-system.⁶⁰³ Thereby, especially conspicuous fountains in the peristyles and *atria* (preferably placed within the sightline from the *fauces*), but also private bath-suites, could now enhance the residences of the wealthy.

⁵⁹⁹ Simelius 2018, pp. 39-40.

⁶⁰⁰ Trentin 2014, p. 31, deliberately excludes the gardens of the *Insula occidentalis* from her discussion due to poor preservation and documentation and also because of these peristyles' different architectural form.

⁶⁰¹ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 147, fig. 37.

⁶⁰² According to Jashemski 1993, p. 231, the garden in *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26) (with preserved 1st style-stucco) was probably used as a drying space after the conversion into an *officina*. The garden had passageways on two sides (north and west), one of which had (only) one pier to support the roof in the last phase. According to Simelius 2018, p. 125, a window in the other passageway towards the *atrium* served to create an impression of multiple porticoes.

⁶⁰³ See de Haan 2001, p. 46; Jansen 2007, pp. 259-260; Keenan-Jones 2015; Olsson 2015, p. 14, and Ohlig 2001, on the scholarly debate about the water-system of Pompeii.

If the way in which the aqueduct was administered was comparable with the system in Rome, private owners would have had to be granted access to the pipe-system by the local authorities, and it would be strictly regulated how much water one could use. As this grant most likely was a costly matter, the number of private residents who were permitted access was restricted.⁶⁰⁴ As Jones & Robinson have observed in their studies of *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4), the use of water in this house was absolutely fundamental for the owner's self-presentation as someone belonging to the highest stratum: "pressurized water was a luxury rather than a utility".⁶⁰⁵ For these reasons, fountains and, specifically, private baths act as a suitable diagnostic luxury parameter.⁶⁰⁶

Turning to the research by Gemma Jansen on the aqueduct-supply, at least 91 Pompeian houses (perhaps more than 120 in total) were connected, although the unequal preservation status of, e.g., lead pipes results in a patchy picture.⁶⁰⁷ The number of excavated *atrium*-houses at Pompeii has been assessed as amounting to around four hundred by Hans Eschebach.⁶⁰⁸ From the core-sample, at least 11 houses were connected.⁶⁰⁹ These are found scattered around the city, with a majority consisting of large and imposing houses.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁴ Andersson 1994, p. 31; Jones & Robinson 2005a, pp. 698-699; Olsson 2015, p. 71.

⁶⁰⁵ Jones & Robinson 2005a, p. 702. See also Andersson 1994, pp. 29-31.

⁶⁰⁶ See Koloski-Ostrow 2001, pp. 1-15.

⁶⁰⁷ Jansen 2001, p. 27. Cf. Andersson 1994, who includes around 160 houses while Eschebach 1979, p. 75, lists only 63. For this, see also Jones & Robinson 2005a, p. 699, n. 36. Olsson 2015, p. 23. As emphasised by Jansen 2001, p. 27, and Jones & Robinson 2005a, pp. 695, 699, 704, the inclusion of houses is restricted to those where the lead pipes have survived *in situ*. In the post-earthquake period, the pipe-system may have been disconnected for certain houses, thus leaving no trace of the former connection. In early excavations, also, many of the pipes were removed with a view to reuse of the lead.

⁶⁰⁸ According to Eschebach & Eschebach 1993, p. 466, the total number of excavated private houses amounts to 413 entities. Cf. Jashemski 2002, p. 15, who calculated that "only" about 300 had been unearthed so far (although the number may be higher). In a hypothetical calculation, Flohr 2017, p. 62, estimates that fewer than 200 houses (approximately) are left to be excavated at Pompeii.

⁶⁰⁹ Excluded houses: *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2) was connected, but whether the original *domus* in the south-west corner also had access to the running water is for the moment unclear. The house *IX 5,6* (no. 28) is also recorded to have had pipes leading to a water-basin in the non-colonnaded garden. It is, however, not stated whether the house was properly connected to the overall pipe-system, as lead pipes could be used solely for carrying away rain water from gutters to cisterns, see Jansen 2001, p. 27, n. 6. For the house, see Mau in *BdI* 1879, pp. 91-95, who describes (pp. 93-94), the (broken) lead pipes as present under a stairway, appearing again before entering the garden. No more information is, however, provided. For the house in general, see also Overbeck & Mau 1884, p. 290; Jashemski 1993, pp. 236-237; *PPM IX* (Sampaolo), pp. 403-485. Jansen 2002, p. 48, n. 204, does not include this house: only the neighbouring house of *Cd Pigmei* (IX 5,7-9/15).

⁶¹⁰ See Jansen 2002, p. 48, n. 204, fig. II.55, for the total amount of houses in each *regio* that had supplied aqueduct-water.

Table 10:
Houses in the core-sample connected to the aqueduct

House	Type of water-feature
<i>Cd Paquius Proculus</i> (I 7,1, no. 1)	bath/pool/fountain
<i>Cd Caecilius Lucundus</i> (V 1,23-26, no. 3)	fountain
<i>Cd Vestali</i> (VI 1,7/25, no. 4)	bath/pool/fountain + swimming pool
<i>Cd Ancora</i> (VI 10,7, no. 6)	fountain
<i>Cd Fauno</i> (VI 12,2, no. 7)	bath/pool/fountain
<i>Cd Bracciale d'oro</i> (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11)	fountain/pool
<i>Cd Popidius Priscus</i> (VII 2,20, no. 13)	fountain
<i>Cd Orso</i> (VII 2,45, no. 14)	fountain/pool
<i>Cd Marinaio</i> (VII 15,1-2, no. 15)	bath
<i>Cd Marcus Lucretius</i> (IX 3,5/24, no. 27)	fountain/pool
<i>Cd Centenario</i> (IX 8,3-6, no. 30)	bath/fountain/pool

This sample, like the one concerned with gardens, is chiefly composed of large and imposing houses, apart from one example, which illustrates that even small houses could be connected to the pipeline as well. Due to its modest size, *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) does not even enter the two top quartiles in either Wallace-Hadrill or in Robinson due to its modest size. Even so, the owner of this house made sure of contributing to the current fashion for grand artistic gestures by means of a mosaic-covered *aedicula*-fountain in the *viridarium*, and a fountain besides the *impluvium*.⁶¹¹ A related example is the small house *Cd Granduca* (VII 4,56), where an *aedicula*-fountain in the garden was clearly visible from the *fauces* when the sightline was free from obstacles.⁶¹²

Jansen states that the use of aqueduct-water in the domestic setting was mainly for fountains (with an overflow to cisterns), while the connection to private bath-suites was rarer.⁶¹³ Through the conspicuous consumption of running water for the fountain displays, the owners made sure to manifest their wealth.⁶¹⁴ It was during the early 1st century A.D. when the aqueduct enabled such grand embellishments, that the owner of *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11), acquired a luxurious summer *triclinium* with a jetting fountain.⁶¹⁵ Another exceedingly lavish version of a *nymphaeum* is found in *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30) in a separate room off the peristyle. Other variants on the *nymphaeum* are the *aedicula*-shaped version found in the sunken garden of *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6), and the grotto-

⁶¹¹ In all, the pipe served four fountains in the house (the *nymphaeum* in the *viridarium* consisting of three fountains), see Jansen 2001, pp. 32-33.

⁶¹² On the house, see Staub Gierow 1994.

⁶¹³ Jansen 2001, p. 37; Jansen 2007, p. 261, thus confirming the study by Andersson 1994. Lavatories connected to the pipe-system were a very rare feature.

⁶¹⁴ Andersson 1990, p. 213; Andersson 1994, p. 31; Jashemski 1993, p. 7; Jones & Robinson 2005a, p. 700; Trentin 2014, pp. 8, 77.

⁶¹⁵ Ciardiello 2006, pp. 73-76.

shaped version imitated by the small fountain in the elevated peristyle of *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27); a garden much adorned with marble sculptures (Fig. 51).⁶¹⁶

Both the terrace-houses in the western and the southern section of the core-sample are absent from Jansen's list in her 2002 study, although *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11) does receive mention.⁶¹⁷ Interestingly, therefore, none of the core-sample's houses in *insula* VIII 2 is included in her list of six houses from the whole of *regio* VIII.⁶¹⁸ It is particularly surprising that *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20) is not included, given that the house could boast of both a large fish-pond and a bath-suite. Its proximity to one of the city's water-towers, behind the Basilica (VIII 1,1),⁶¹⁹ could point to a supply. While the general poor preservation, excavation status and overgrown state of the terrace-houses are the main reasons why they are not included in Jansen's study,⁶²⁰ the parameter to be considered next, the presence of private bath-suites, nevertheless illustrates how the terrace-houses could employ lavish water-features. After all, a connection to the pipe-system was perhaps not necessary, since the terracing in itself could have made possible a supply of pressurised water.

In sum, around one third of the core-sample's houses were connected to the aqueduct. Of these, all are large and imposing houses, apart from one (which is one of the smallest houses).

5.1.4 Private bath-suites

In a couple of studies on private baths, Nathalie de Haan has estimated that around 40 Pompeian houses were equipped with such an exclusive feature.⁶²¹ Categorised into three size-groups, Pompeian private baths varied in their architectural layouts and amounts of water-consumption. While the majority of bath-suites belong to the middle group with two rooms, the third group with several rooms (and a higher demand for water) are only found

⁶¹⁶ Van Aken 1951, p. 274.

⁶¹⁷ Jansen 2002, p. 48, n. 204. Jansen does not explicitly state why the terrace-houses are omitted.

⁶¹⁸ As they are baths, the *Terme del Sarno* (VIII 2,17-20, including the *domus* VIII 2,18, no. 21), and the *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22) are naturally excluded.

⁶¹⁹ See the description of water-tower 10 in Olsson 2015, pp. 41, 53-54, where it is suggested that the water-tower supplied water to the two street fountains located on Via delle Scuole, on either side of *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20).

⁶²⁰ Jansen 2001, p. 27. The early excavation of *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20) in the early 1800s may mean that lead pipes were removed. See Jansen 1996, p. 48, on the fact that pipes found in the early excavations were not scientifically appreciated and therefore might be sold in order to finance further excavations.

⁶²¹ De Haan 1996; 2001; 2010. In the final (doctoral) study, de Haan calculates that there were 40 houses instead of at least 30 houses, as stated in her earlier, similar, studies. However, far from every bath-suite has their system of lead pipes still preserved, see de Haan 2001, p. 43. The pipes in *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15) and *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30) are still *in situ*.

in a handful of luxurious houses, including one within the core-sample: *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30).⁶²²

According to Vitruvius, bath-suites formed part of the architectural space of the house that was reserved for invited guests to enter.⁶²³ Naturally, the smaller the bath (i.e., belonging to de Haan's first two groups containing one to two rooms), the more restricted the number of people that could constitute a party.⁶²⁴ Of the total number of private bath-suites at Pompeii, the core-sample makes up approximately one third.⁶²⁵ Furthermore, of the total amount of houses with *fauces*-mosaics (26 examples due to the exclusion of the three semi-public baths), half of them (13 examples, see Table 11) were equipped with baths. The correlation between a house with a *fauces*-mosaic and one with a bath is therefore quite strong.

The suggested dates of the *fauces*-mosaics are included in Table 11 below for comparison with the installation of the bath-suites.

⁶²² De Haan 2001, pp. 41, 42, 45-46, 99, estimates that around 400 private houses have been excavated, which results in 7,5 % being equipped with a private bath-suite. All of them belong to the so-called upper or middle class as deduced by house-size, architectural features and decoration.

⁶²³ Vitr. *De arch.*, 6.5.1.

⁶²⁴ De Haan 2001, pp. 41-42. Dickmann 1999, pp. 264-266, supports the idea that the small private baths, too, were reserved for visiting guests.

⁶²⁵ Semi-public bath-complexes are excluded, such as the *Terme del Sarno*-complex (VIII 2,17-20, which includes the *domus VIII 2,18*, no. 21) and *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22). Concerning *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2), it has been suggested that the bath itself was constructed prior to the late semi-public complex, i.e., in the early Augustan period, see Parslow 1995-1996; 1999a; 2000. At first, the bath was supplied with rainwater while in the later Imperial period, entirely with piped water; see Parslow 1999a, p. 195; 2000, p. 246. However, as this bath is not included in any of de Haan's lists, maybe there is confirmation here that the bath never served the private original *domus* (with the *fauces*-mosaic). The bath in *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30) is, on the contrary, included, as the hypothesis of the bath's semi-public nature is still rather tentative (and new).

Table 11:
Houses in the core-sample with private bath-suites

House	Bath and <i>fauces</i> -mosaic dates
<i>Cd Paquius Proculus</i> (I 7,1, no. 1)	Contemporaneity: pre-Augustan. ⁶²⁶
<i>Cd Vestali</i> (VI 1,7/25, no. 4)	Contemporaneity: Augustan, c. 20 B.C. (second bath). ⁶²⁷
<i>Cd Fauno</i> (VI 12,2, no. 7)	Contemporaneity: c. 100 B.C. ⁶²⁸
<i>Cd Leone</i> (VI 17,25, no. 9)	Bath from 1 st century B.C. ⁶²⁹
<i>Cd Bracciale d'oro</i> (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11)	Imperial bath later than presumed late Republican <i>fauces</i> -mosaic. ⁶³⁰
<i>Cd M. Caesius Blandus</i> (VII 1,40, no. 12)	Contemporaneity: late Republican (c. 30-25 B.C.). ⁶³¹
<i>Cd Marinaio</i> (VII 15,1-2, no. 15)	Likely contemporaneity: c. 20 B.C. – A.D. 20 (expansion of bath at least). ⁶³²
<i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I</i> (VII 16,12-13, no. 16), bath in annexed house VII 16,1	Likely contemporaneity? Annexation of adjacent house (VII 16,1) with bath, in late Republican phase. ⁶³³
<i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II</i> (VII 16,15, no. 17)	Bath in restoration. No contemporaneity: bath either from early 1 st century B.C. or early 1 st century A.D. ⁶³⁴
<i>Cd Mosaici geometrici</i> (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20)	Uncertain contemporaneity: bath from second half of 1 st century B.C. ⁶³⁵
<i>Cd Cinghiale II</i> (VIII 2,26, no. 23)	No contemporaneity: bath from 1 st century B.C. ⁶³⁶
<i>Cd Severus</i> (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24)	Bath older than <i>fauces</i> -mosaic, i.e., from c. 50 B.C. ⁶³⁷
<i>Cd Centenario</i> (IX 8,3-6, no. 30)	Likely contemporaneity? Post-50 A.D. ⁶³⁸

As discussed above, the correlation between the pipe-connected houses and those that had private bath-suites is not always one of exact correspondence. Hardly any of the terrace-

⁶²⁶ De Haan 2001, p. 46; de Haan 2010, pp. 167-170; Ehrhardt 1998, pp. 125, 139.

⁶²⁷ De Haan 2010, p. 154; Jones & Robinson 2005a, p. 699.

⁶²⁸ De Haan 2010, pp. 201-204: excavations have revealed an even older bath, about which, however, very little information is available. It has been proposed that the extant bath dates to around 100 B.C.

⁶²⁹ De Haan 2010, p. 328: 2 rooms; Eschebach & Eschebach 1993, p. 236.

⁶³⁰ De Haan 2010, pp. 204-206: date of bath uncertain, changes to the house during 2nd style-period; 3 rooms.

⁶³¹ De Haan 2010, pp. 206-211: 2 rooms; perhaps still in use in A.D. 79.

⁶³² De Haan 2010, pp. 214-217: impossible to study due to vegetation; likely construction-date in late 2nd style-period; possibly not in use in AD 79.

⁶³³ The house is treated as combined with *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17) to form a large complex by de Haan 2010, p. 328, and Eschebach & Eschebach 1993, p. 346, but as an independent house by Bruni 2018, p. 99. For the bath in house VII 16,1, see de Haan 2010, p. 328, who states that the bath could not be accessed, because of which no date is proposed.

⁶³⁴ De Haan 2010, p. 160: 1st century B.C.? *contra* Costantino 2011, pp. 101, 104, 133-137, 164-166: early 1st century A.D.

⁶³⁵ De Haan 2010, pp. 328-329 (3 rooms but not accessible); Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 156-157, suggested the date.

⁶³⁶ De Haan 2010, p. 329 (bath not accessible); Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 77-84; Eschebach & Eschebach 1993, pp. 358-359

⁶³⁷ De Haan 2010, p. 329 (bath not accessible); Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 60, suggest the date.

⁶³⁸ De Haan 2010, pp. 223-228: difficult to date, *apodyterium* with décor from the last period, added under renovation. There seems to be no consensus regarding the building's history. Cf. Coralini 2017, pp. 504, 517, who attributes a date to post-50 A.D.

houses are included in the list of pipe-connections, while many (seven terrace-houses of the core-sample) were clearly adorned with bath-suites, as also reflected in the quotation by de Haan: “Houses with baths can be found all over the city, with only a slight concentration in the so-called “Hanghäuser” (cliff houses) area on the western edge of Pompeii”.⁶³⁹ But as seen above, many of these houses have not been investigated due to their ruinous or overgrown state. Therefore, we may propose two explanations. Either, the houses with baths in Table 11 were indeed provided with water from the pipe-system, even though some are excluded from her list. Or the very terraced nature of the houses allowed the provision of pressurised water through the use of cisterns only, which could have been placed on a higher level than baths on a lower level. After all, some baths in the city were constructed prior to the aqueduct.

To date the installation of the private bath-suites is in many instances a complicated matter, since many of the baths (especially those in the terrace-houses) are inaccessible or in a poor condition. But according to de Haan, the real boom in constructing private baths coincides with the introduction of the aqueduct-water in the early Augustan period. More precisely, the period between 40 to 20 B.C. seems to have seen most of the private baths at Pompeii being built.⁶⁴⁰ De Haan states, moreover, that “at Pompeii, unlike other sites, there are hardly any indications of bath water being supplied by cisterns or wells. Water was supplied mainly through the city’s tap water system, and it was directed to the baths with lead pipes”.⁶⁴¹ However, this remark seems somewhat chronologically contradictory as her study simultaneously confirms that only the largest bath-suites, consisting of three rooms, were all constructed after the aqueduct while some of the smaller could have existed prior to the pipe-system. In a later study, she also discusses the fact that long-distance pipes were not requisite for providing water, which is particularly seen in *Terme Stabiane* (VII 1,8), the largest and oldest public bath-house at Pompeii, which managed with its own well-system for a long period prior to the Serino aqueduct. De Haan furthermore states that luxury bathing in general increased during the course of the 1st century A.D., as the new pipe-system could provide with the larger amounts of water needed.⁶⁴²

Turning to the core-sample again, examples on early, pre-piped, bath-suites are those in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), dated to c. 100 B.C. and considered to be among the absolute earliest,⁶⁴³ and in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) and *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24), which are thought to date to around 50 B.C.⁶⁴⁴ Shortly thereafter, a small bath was installed

⁶³⁹ De Haan 2001, p. 41. See also Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 177, pointing to the bath-suites in the houses of *insula VIII 2*, built in the period of the new Roman colony.

⁶⁴⁰ De Haan 2001, p. 46.

⁶⁴¹ De Haan 2001, pp. 43, 46.

⁶⁴² De Haan 2010, p. 112.

⁶⁴³ De Haan 2010, pp. 201-204, stating that excavations have revealed an even older bath but the documentation does not provide us with any details. However, according to Mau (see de Haan 2010), the second bath was more recent than the 1st style-décor of the house.

⁶⁴⁴ Ehrhardt 1998, p. 139, discusses the new 2nd style-decor of the bath in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) as dating from approximately the mid-first century B.C., thus contemporaneous with the *fauces*-mosaic. De Haan 2010, p. 170, does

in *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4) during the late 1st century B.C., only to be abandoned when the annexed *atrium*-house became an imposing residence, and embellished with a new larger and luxurious bath-suite in the early Augustan period.⁶⁴⁵ The amount of water used for the early baths that were not connected to the aqueduct was scarce, in contrast to the abundance of water that would characterise the houses after they had been connected.⁶⁴⁶ But, as Jens-Arne Dickmann underlines, these early baths should be regarded as extremely high-status features due to the very fact that there was no pipe-connection (Fig. 52).⁶⁴⁷

For seven of the 13 houses in the core-sample, there may be a close correlation in time between the laying of the *fauces*-mosaic and the installation of the bath. For the remaining six houses, either the baths cannot be dated, or there seems to be no consistency in time. The majority of the baths of the core-sample can also be ascribed to the boom-period of the last decades of the late Republican period, which also coincided in many instances with the tessellation of the *fauces*. New means of expensive living were indeed characteristic of this transformative period between the late Republic and early Empire.

The increased number of private bath-suites may reflect the importance of this intimate space as a reception-room for invited guests.⁶⁴⁸ However, partly due to the effects of the earthquake-period of the A.D. 60's, many private baths (half those of the largest sort) were either completely abandoned or only partially kept, e.g., by restoring just one room.⁶⁴⁹ The case with *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4) illustrates well how the situation changed drastically in the last period, and how the owner compensated for the loss of a running water-supply by using an above-ground cistern for the still water-installations now employed.⁶⁵⁰ On the other hand, one large bath-complex that was still in use by the time of the eruption was that of *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30),⁶⁵¹ which had been created rather late, probably after the mid-first century A.D. Perhaps, the bath was even (re)constructed as a semi-public installation, reminiscent of the *Praedia di Iulia Felix*-complex (II 4,1-12, no. 2).⁶⁵²

not date the bath-construction as such but does not exclude that it could have been installed already during the 2nd century B.C., or else in a later phase.

⁶⁴⁵ Jones & Robinson 2005a, pp. 697-699, 701; 2005b, pp. 259-264: rather unusually, the new bath opened out to the *atrium* of nr. 25, instead of being located in the service-area, as the custom was. Moreover, it required its own *praefurnium*, as it was not placed near the kitchen; a design matched only by *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4) and *Cd Criptoportico* (I 6,2).

⁶⁴⁶ The *piscina* in the *frigidarium* of *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30), had an outlet that directed the overflow to the peristyle, which suggests that the water-flow was probably continuous, see de Haan 2001, p. 44.

⁶⁴⁷ Dickmann 1999, p. 267.

⁶⁴⁸ De Haan 2010, pp. 119-123, 127, 130-131.

⁶⁴⁹ De Haan 2001, p. 46; Jones & Robinson 2005a, pp. 703-704. According to Keenan-Jones 2015, pp. 197-198, the scattered distribution of the abandoned baths shows that the problems with water-supply was general. At least 11 of 33 private baths were out of use in A.D. 79. The baths in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4), and perhaps also *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), are such examples.

⁶⁵⁰ Jones & Robinson 2005a, pp. 705-706; Keenan-Jones 2015, p. 198.

⁶⁵¹ De Haan 2001; 2010; Keenan-Jones 2015, pp. 197-198.

⁶⁵² Coralini 2017, pp. 504, 517.

In sum, there is a relatively strong correlation between the laying of a *fauces*-mosaic and the installation of a private bath, as seen in more than a handful of houses above. The era when activity of this sort mainly happened was the transition-period between the late Republic and the early Empire.

5.1.5 Interior décor

For this last parameter, the houses with contemporaneous wall- and floor-décor of the *fauces* that, in chap. 4, were assigned to group A, will serve as a sample: *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3); *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5); *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14); *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27) and IX 5,6 (no. 28). Regrettably, neither *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) nor IX 5,6 (no. 28) has been properly studied, but it is hoped that a general evaluation will provide a satisfying result.

Cd Caecilius Iucundus (V 1,23-26, no. 3) is the only house of this group with decoration dating to the Claudian period. In that period, the house underwent large changes, which included the annexation of the neighbouring *atrium*-house (V 1,23), and connection to the water pipe-system. After it had become a double *atrium*-house, the walls and the floors (black-and-white mosaics) were decorated according to the latest trends; the wall-paintings including contemporaneous examples both of the late 3rd style and the early 4th. The chronological key is found in the peristyle, where graffiti have been securely dated to the Claudian period. A further stylistic indicator is found in the signature-décor of the *tablinum*'s walls, where the miniature style seen in the framework around the panels serves to date the paintings.⁶⁵³ All in all, the house is an impressive *domus*, in view of its size, architectural features (e.g., the limestone façade with cubic capitals framing the large portal) and wall- and floor-decoration; most of which belonged to one principal transformation-period during the 40s A.D. (Fig. 53).

The house known as *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) occupies a very strange position within scholarship on Pompeian domestic architecture, as it is simultaneously one of the best-known houses but also much neglected.⁶⁵⁴ This modest house (in terms of size) was constructed within Pompeii's Roman period, and saw a thorough decorative refurbishment during the post-earthquake period. From the years prior to that, only a few decorative

⁶⁵³ See descriptions by e.g., Mau 1882, pp. 414-415; Bastet & de Vos 1979, pp. 76-79; Ehrhardt 1987, pp. 101-104; Strocka 2007, pp. 307, 315; Karivieri 2014; Leander Touati, Staub & Forsell 2021. Regarding the two styles as being used during the same time, Leander Touati, Staub & Forsell 2021, pp. 213-216, 219, present several arguments that confirm such a contemporaneity. Already Mau 1882, p. 415, attributed the 3rd style-paintings to a period after the annexation of the neighbouring *atrium*-house.

⁶⁵⁴ Cf. Bergmann 1994, p. 226: "Since its discovery, this small house has come to be regarded as a veritable paradigm of the Roman *domus* [...]". The layout of the house has been seen as an *exemplum* of the Vitruvian canon. Unfortunately, much of the décor today has either been removed or faded. See Gell 1832, part 1, pp. 142-178. For a review of the 19th century documentation, including watercolours and engravings but also tourists' handbooks, see Bergmann 1994, pp. 227-232. Nevertheless, there is a scholarly consensus regarding the uniform chronological timeframe for the wall- and floor-decoration: see Mau-Kelsey 1902, p. 313; *PPMIV* (Parise Badoni), pp. 527-528; Blake 1930, pp. 111, 122; Pernice 1938, p. 98.

remains were preserved, but these include the polychrome *tablinum*-mosaic with the *emblema* that gave the house its current name, being a representation of a theatrical company in rehearsal (Fig. 54).⁶⁵⁵ It is to the house's last phase, on the other hand, that its wall-paintings belong and likewise the other, black-and-white, mosaics that adorn the house. Apart from the famous *Cave canem*-mosaic in the *fauces*, the large paintings that once decorated the *atrium*-walls, containing a mythological narrative centred on the Trojan war, constitute a rather unusual decorative scheme.⁶⁵⁶ The house is a good example of how smaller domestic dwellings in the very last period could participate in a high-status culture in which the visual arts alluded to the literary classics admired by the educated.

The layout of the small house *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) and its ubiquitous all-over patterned mosaics of a similar date led Blake to draw parallels between it and *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5).⁶⁵⁷ And indeed, both houses share similar traits, of which one is the mosaic representation of an animal in the *fauces*, accompanied by an inscription. But unlike the previous house, *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) was in fact constructed *ex novo* some time between the 40s and 60s A.D.; making it the youngest house of the core-sample. The thorough study by Ehrhardt of the house shows that the interior decoration most likely belongs in time to its construction-phase, although restorations of the wall-paintings were carried out after the earthquake(s) in the 60s A.D. (see chap. 4).

As seen through the central axis of the house, black-and-white mosaics cover the floors; their crowning glory being an *emblema* in *opus sectile* placed centrally in the *tablinum*-mosaic. In two *triclinia* and in a couple of smaller rooms off the *atrium* (which takes up one quarter of the total space), other polychrome *emblemata* in *opus sectile* adorn the mosaics here. The high number is quite remarkable, even assuming that it reflects an Imperial trend towards increasing use of marble-inlays,⁶⁵⁸ as this smallish house actually exceeds many large *domus* in its proliferation of mosaics (many with marble-inlays) (Fig. 55).⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁵ Mau-Kelsey 1902, pp. 313-314; *PPM* IV (Parise Badoni), pp. 527-528. The *emblema* from the *tablinum*, once placed within a large meander-mosaic, is today at MANN, inv. nr. 9986. Originally, the house was named after the *atrium*-paintings (Casa Omerica). Regarding the date of the *choregos*-mosaic, Blake 1930, p. 122, (incorrectly) assigns it to the great redecoration-period of the 4th style, while she attributes the *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaics to an even later phase. See *PPM* IV (Parise Badoni), pp. 527-528, for a dating of the *choregos*-mosaic to the late Republican-Augustan period. Pernice 1938, p. 98, simply states that the mosaic is older than the other mosaics in the house.

⁶⁵⁶ The six monumental paintings make a very powerful impact in this relatively small hall, and through Bergmann's study of the house-décor, it has been shown that the walls' colour-scheme and the hall's various contents guided the visitor around by means of unifying and/or separating codes; see Bergmann 1994, p. 231, figs. 12-13. The rooms in the front part had yellow walls and red dados (with large figurative motifs), while the rooms in the back had red walls and black dados (and smaller motifs).

⁶⁵⁷ Blake 1930, pp. 111, 122, suggests consequently that the mosaics in both houses were made by the same workshop. N.B. the irregular layout of *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) differs quite much from the right-angled *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5).

⁶⁵⁸ Blake 1930, pp. 44, 45, 49. Pernice 1938, pp. 98-99, points to the high number of *opus sectile*-floors as having no parallel in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5). One of the *emblemata* is composed of polychrome marble triangles, which is similar to the *fauces*-floor of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7).

⁶⁵⁹ The wall-paintings also seem to follow a spatial hierarchy, where the central axis presents pictures containing figurative and architectural motifs. Mythological presence is only attested on the walls of one *triclinium*.

Despite this rich decoration, Ehrhardt describes the house as a modest dwelling, mainly due to its diminutive size and lack of a peristyle-garden.⁶⁶⁰ But a focus on these shortcomings should not be allowed to blur our vision and thus distract us from the fact that the house was, e.g., connected to the pipe-system, something which seems to have been restricted to a minority of dwellings around the city. Given this fact, together with the laying of marble *emblemata* in mosaic floors, the signs of high status, or at least an aspiration to it, cannot be mistaken. The interesting suggestion has been made by Ehrhardt that the house perhaps was not even a dwelling but a *hospitium*, or at least partly so.⁶⁶¹ He proposes that some of the rooms, apart from the *atrium* itself, may have been destined for guests, and perhaps the rooms adorned with *opus sectile* may confirm such a hypothesis. Either way, together with *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), this “house” illustrates how smaller buildings in the last phase might indeed participate in high-status modes of expressions, in contexts where the impression given by the mosaics especially of an all-over outburst, was strengthened by smallness of their surroundings.

Cd Marcus Lucretius (IX 3,5, no. 27) is a house that originates from the Republican period and which saw a fusion with the neighbouring house (IX 3,24) during the Imperial period. Major architectural reconstruction of the main house is attributed to the post-earthquake period, together with the wall- and floor-décor (Fig. 56).⁶⁶² At some point during the Imperial period, the connection to the aqueduct enabled the *viridarium*, plentifully adorned with sculptures, to be watered by means of fountains; clearly visible from the *fauces* mainly due to the garden’s elevation.⁶⁶³

The grand reception-rooms are arranged around and turned towards the *atrium*; a fine example is the principal *triclinium* by the *atrium*, which also had a window overlooking the *viridarium*. Moreover, the wall-paintings are considered a rare example of the last period of Pompeian art as they express such a clear iconographical theme; that of theatre and wine banquets (centred on Dionysos).⁶⁶⁴ Many of these paintings were moved to MANN during

⁶⁶⁰ *PPM* VI (Ehrhardt), p. 744.

⁶⁶¹ Ehrhardt 1988, pp. 76-79; *PPM* VI (Ehrhardt), pp. 742-744. Evidence for this is provided partly by the very large size of the *atrium* itself, partly by a graffito that contains a price-list (of drinks) inscribed on the *atrium*-wall (*CIL* IV 1679), which is connected to the front *taberna* (VII 2, 44), and partly by the very large kitchen (almost 16 m²), exceeding in size many of the kitchens in other well-studied houses.

⁶⁶² Tammisto & Kuivalainen 2008, pp. 75-76.

⁶⁶³ Up until the excavation of *Cd Vettii* (VI 15,1) in the late 1800s, *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27) was regarded as one of the most impressive *domus* of the city, which is not to say that it lost its reputation but only that the primary focus thereafter was put on the other house instead.

⁶⁶⁴ *PPM* IX (Bragantini), pp. 141-142; Tammisto & Kuivalainen 2008, pp. 76-78. Because of its spatial layout, the house has been cited as a rather atypical *domus* as it does not present reception rooms with high-quality decoration in a secluded position, as is more commonly found.

excavation,⁶⁶⁵ however, not the *fauces*-paintings portraying a musical company.⁶⁶⁶ The exceptional blue walls of the *fauces* continue into the *atrium*, and together with the white mosaic with black borders that covers both the *fauces* and the *atrium* without a dividing threshold, the direct linking of the two spaces is made very clear.⁶⁶⁷ The floors of the house are consistently of high quality, with black-and-white geometrical mosaics in the main rooms (and mortar floors in the smaller), all of which serve as an elegant backdrop to the colourful walls.⁶⁶⁸ All in all, the interior décor of *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27) evidently reflects the owner's high status in the last period. The unique blue walls of the *fauces* and *atrium* ensured that a visitor became aware of the owner's social distinction already at the entrance. Furthermore, an imaginative solution to problems raised by the house-site's terrain was arrived at by the construction of an elevated garden, highly embellished with sculptures, which amply compensated for the lack of a traditional peristyle.⁶⁶⁹

The last house, *IX 5,6* (no. 28), is unfortunately the least studied of this sample. According to Overbeck & Mau, the house in its present form was Roman but probably constructed in the Republican period.⁶⁷⁰ Presuhn further assigned the reconstruction of the house to the post-earthquake period, and the majority of the paintings to the late period of the 3rd and 4th styles. Although the house was rich in mythological paintings, Presuhn regarded their artistic value as low.⁶⁷¹ However, this view was not shared by Mau or P. Knapp (who studied the paintings on site). They, instead, affirmed the importance of many of the paintings, e.g., those of the *tablinum* (Fig. 57).⁶⁷²

Of today, *PPM* confirms that the house was indeed a late construction, and states that the paintings are all of the 4th style,⁶⁷³ even though the *fauces*-paintings have caused some confusion (see chap. 3). The house has an unusual, elongated layout with the bipartite space of the *fauces* enlarged in width at the approach to the *atrium*. This in turn is rather small,

⁶⁶⁵ For a survey of the paintings, see e.g., Schefold 1957, pp. 246-250; Tammisto & Kuivalainen 2008, pp. 73-104; Kuivalainen, Murros & Tammisto 2019, appendix 2.

⁶⁶⁶ The original name of the house (Casa delle Suonatrici) referred to these paintings, while the current name derives from a most interesting painting located in a corridor, reproducing a letter that stated that Marcus Lucretius was a priest of the Mars cult as well as a decurion of the city, see Castrén 2019, pp. 17-19.

⁶⁶⁷ As in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), the main rooms were coded according to a colour-scheme where the initial blue walls were followed by ochre yellow *alae*-walls and cinnabar red *tablinum*- and *triclinium*-walls. Pigment-analyses made by the Finnish project EPUH confirm that the blue pigment is Egyptian blue and the red, cinnabar; see Knuutinen & Mannerheim 2008, pp. 187-193.

⁶⁶⁸ The *tablinum*-mosaic was the house's most expensive floor with its central *opus sectile emblema* composed of polychrome marbles. Another *opus sectile emblema* probably decorated the centre of the mosaic, now destroyed, in the summer *triclinium* by the *viridarium*; see Kuivalainen, Murros & Tammisto 2019, appendix 2 (R25).

⁶⁶⁹ Jashemski 1979a, p. 43, states that there was no common subject connecting the statues, although the larger pieces referred to the realm of Dionysos. See also Zanker 1979, pp. 496-498.

⁶⁷⁰ Overbeck & Mau 1884, pp. 289-290.

⁶⁷¹ Presuhn 1882 (VII), pp. 3-4. Cf. Overbeck & Mau 1884, p. 289, who state that the *tablinum*-walls were painted in the latest style and not in the 3rd style as proposed by Presuhn.

⁶⁷² Mau in *BdI* 1879, pp. 90-95, 100-116.

⁶⁷³ *PPM* IX (Sampaolo), p. 406, states that the house does not show any architectural characteristics that go back to the early 1st century B.C.

occupied only by the *impluvium*, causing the *alae* to act as the passage-route to the rear. Mythological paintings once decorated the *alae* and the *tablinum*.⁶⁷⁴ The mosaics of the house mainly consist of a single continuum of paving, from the second part of the *fauces* (the first part is a *cocciopesto*-floor), to the *atrium*, *alae* and the *tablinum*. The continuity of the flooring is very reminiscent of the *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaic of the above-mentioned *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27).⁶⁷⁵ A further similarity with *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27) is the lack of a peristyle-garden and the instead provision of a *viridarium*, which included a stable for donkeys as well as a water-basin that was connected to the water-pipe system.⁶⁷⁶ However, as stated above, this pipe-connection is not mentioned by Jansen. In the passage to the long and narrow garden, four marble busts were found during the excavations, which were believed to portray three males and one female; the males were identified as philosophers. Mau states that the workmanship was excellent.⁶⁷⁷

In the view of Mau and likewise *PPM*, discussing among other things the upper floor of the house and the quality of the many wall-paintings, the status of the dwelling may have been fairly high despite its relatively small size.⁶⁷⁸ This verdict contrasts with Presuhn's rather dry remark of the paintings' low artistic value. Instead, the house, in its last period, seems to have followed trends (e.g., the mosaics) and participated in an elevated standard of amenities (through the pipe-system); a fact which may easily fail to be appreciated by someone looking only at the ruins of today.

To sum up, this sample of a handful of houses shows mainly the ways in which the interior decoration of the last period could be manifested. Interestingly, not only the larger houses but also the modest sized houses exhibit a concern for rich décor, and in some instances, even décor of a relatively high quality. The solutions to problems of restricted space were evidently imaginative. With reference to Paul Zanker's hypothesis about imitation of villas,⁶⁷⁹ Simelius has observed that sculpture-collections and fountains are mainly to be found in medium-sized peristyles. In his view, one needs to be cautious when interpreting these garden-features as clear-cut villa-imitation; instead, by studying their own contexts, which in many ways differed from that of the higher stratum, the features stand out as the primary display of wealth for a certain group of owners.⁶⁸⁰

⁶⁷⁴ Fiorelli in *NSc* 1877, pp. 330-333.

⁶⁷⁵ For the purposes of the present study, a contemporaneous date for both wall-paintings and mosaics has thus been suggested, with reference to Blake 1930, p. 100.

⁶⁷⁶ Mau in *BdI* 1879, pp. 93-94; Overbeck & Mau 1884, p. 290; Jashemski 1993, p. 236; *PPM* IX (Sampaolo), p. 403.

⁶⁷⁷ Mau in *BdI* 1879, p. 95. See also Jashemski 1993, p. 236.

⁶⁷⁸ Mau in *BdI* 1879, p. 93; *PPM* IX (Sampaolo), p. 404: "Il numero degli ambienti, la quantità di quadri e di soggetti figurati in essa presenti e la circostanza che tutti gli ambienti fossero dipinti, hanno fatto ritenere che la casa fosse abitata da persone agiate".

⁶⁷⁹ See esp. Zanker 1979; 1998.

⁶⁸⁰ Simelius 2018, pp. 140-142, 148.

5.2 Location within the city: streets

The purpose of this topographical contextualisation is to investigate whether the houses' location within the streetscape of Pompeii may have had any bearing on the decoration of their *fauces*.⁶⁸¹ Are the houses of our core-sample situated on the larger streets, such as the main arteries of the *decumanus* (east-west artery) and *cardo maximus* (north-south artery) or on the smaller ones? Or were other factors, such as the proximity to public buildings, more important in determining their location? In general, Pompeii is not considered a city characterised by strictly defined zones but rather one in which there was intermingling between people of different social strata living as neighbours.⁶⁸²

When the location of the houses of the sample are marked on a city-plan of Pompeii, and one examines their spread over the different regions, it becomes plain that the majority of them are found in the western section (21 houses of 29), which is the fully excavated part of the city; the part also that was the most inhabited in Roman times.⁶⁸³ However, as the *regio*-based division is not an optimal basis for topographical discussion because of the risk that one may invent or presuppose divisions that do not reflect the ancient urban and social reality,⁶⁸⁴ the mapping of the houses that follows will focus on the streets rather than the so-called *regiones* of the city (see the distribution-map in Fig. 58 of the *fauces*-frontages in the core-sample).⁶⁸⁵

If one groups the streets adjoining the *fauces* of our sample into two categories based on size, i.e., major thoroughfares or minor ones, it emerges that a majority of the house-frontages under consideration faced side-streets or even indeed small *vicoli*, rather than major thoroughfares:

- House-frontages on side-streets and/or *vicoli*: 18 houses (62 %).⁶⁸⁶
- House-frontages on larger streets and/or *cardines* and *decumani*: 11 houses (c. 38 %).⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸¹ Cf. e.g., Coarelli & Pesando 2011, p. 51, on the location of *Cd Naviglio* (VI 10,11) in the crossroad junction between Via delle Terme and Via del Mercurio: "Perhaps due to its prominent location, the house's earliest decoration was particularly exquisite".

⁶⁸² See the spatial analysis by Raper 1977. For a (partly critical) review of Raper, see Schoonhoven 1999; 2006, chap. 2; Robinson 1997, pp. 135-136. See also Wallace-Hadrill 1994, p. 78.

⁶⁸³ See discussion by Flohr 2017, p. 57; Robinson 1997. See Heinrich 2002, p. 56, on the western part of the city as containing the wealthier houses during the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C.

⁶⁸⁴ Schoonhoven 1999, p. 234, discusses the problems that emerge when comparing *regiones* that are not ancient divisions. The nine regions that we use for dividing the city were the creation of Fiorelli after his appointment as director of the excavations in 1860. As for today's archaeological situation, one third of Pompeii is still waiting to be excavated.

⁶⁸⁵ Many of the houses in this study are large enough to have several entrances that open up to different streets, which can themselves vary in size. The streets under consideration here are consequently those that the tessellated entrances face, unless otherwise stated.

⁶⁸⁶ Nos.: 2, 4, 8, 10-11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 29.

⁶⁸⁷ Nos.: 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30.

5.2.1 Side-streets

It is important to emphasise that the “side-streets” referred to comprise all those streets that are not major thoroughfares. They therefore include both smaller byways and also regularly used side-streets that were an integrated part of the bustling city-life. The city-centre (*regio* VII) presents good illustrations of the latter sort of thoroughfare. Being at the very core of the city and surrounded by larger streets, the houses in its side-streets would have been within a very short distance of all sorts of urban activity.⁶⁸⁸

If we start from the city’s very centre, three houses from the core-sample are found to be located in close proximity to one another: *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13) and *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), of which the two first also share similar 2nd style-decorations. *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12) and *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) more or less face each other, being located near a *piazzetta* by the busy Via degli Augustali; a street, which connected the arterial road known as Via di Stabia with the forum.⁶⁸⁹ Moreover, around the corner, one could access the major road known as Via dell’Abbondanza passing on the way *hospitia*, baths and brothels. *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13) had its major *fauces* opening onto a *vicolo*, which runs parallel to Via degli Augustali.⁶⁹⁰ This corner of the city can be described as having the function of a shortcut, as it connects major thoroughfares and central places with each other (Fig. 59).⁶⁹¹

Not far from this corner to the north, one finds *VI 13,13* (no. 8), which is seemingly located on a smaller *vicolo*, surrounded by many large residences.⁶⁹² However, this *vicolo* served as an important traffic-route providing an alternative to the larger two-lane streets like Via della Fortuna/Via di Nola and Via del Vesuvio/di Stabia.⁶⁹³

Another illustrative example is *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2), containing the only *fauces*-mosaic in the easternmost part of the city (here *regio* II), where the original *fauces* faced the *vicolo* to the west that connected the sparsely populated neighbourhood with the Amphitheatre (II 6) and the large *Palaestra* (II 7).⁶⁹⁴ From the post-earthquake period onwards, the northern side of the later complex instead opened up to the large Via

⁶⁸⁸ See Newsome 2009; Hartnett 2017, pp. 56-58, 203.

⁶⁸⁹ For a discussion on the social life of the *piazzetta* and the street as illustrated by wall-inscriptions and graffiti, see Franklin 1986, and also Hartnett 2017, pp. 56-58.

⁶⁹⁰ A rear entrance opens up to Via degli Augustali, not far from the *fauces* of *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), with which it shares the same *insula*.

⁶⁹¹ See Laurence 2003, pp. 91, 100, 113, who suggests that it required some knowledge of its usefulness beforehand, which made it a transit-route mainly for local people and not for strangers. As seen on maps 6.1 and 6.5, Via degli Augustali presents a high frequency of both doorways and wall-messages, which suggests it was a street where many people met socially.

⁶⁹² Further up the street of Vicolo dei Vettii, one finds *Cd Vettii* (VI 15,1), and in the neighbouring *insulae*, *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) and *Cd Labirinto* (VI 11,9-10).

⁶⁹³ For the southbound traffic on Vicolo dei Vettii between Porta Vesuvio and Via della Fortuna, and how it would relieve pressure on Via del Vesuvio, see Poehler 2006, p. 70. In such a light, one may question the description of this *vicolo* as being “narrow and dark”, see Krimpen-Winckel 2009, vol. 1, p. 107.

⁶⁹⁴ In the Augustan period, as suggested by Parslow 1999a, p. 195, the *insula* doubled. Simultaneously, the street to the east became an avenue leading to the amphitheatre.

dell'Abbondanza, which provided access to its baths, dining-spaces and shops.⁶⁹⁵ Even though *regio* II is not densely built over but largely occupied, rather, by horticultural plots, the proximity to the amphitheatre, *palaestra* and the two gates of Porta Sarno and Nocera from the late Republic onwards meant that the original *domus* saw many passers-by: local inhabitants and visitors alike.⁶⁹⁶

The following houses are located on streets that at first hand may look unimportant: the terrace-houses of the *Insula occidentalis* to the west (*regiones* VI and VII), and *insula* VIII 2 to the south. However, these streets should not be viewed as minor peripheral roads but instead be perceived as functioning as shortcuts between vital centres of the city. This is indeed evident for *insula* VIII 2, where the stretch of Via delle Scuole and Vicolo della Regina acts like an interconnection between the two fora and also the theatrical district in the south (Fig. 60). Therefore, the owners of the five houses there (*Cd Mosaici geometrici*, VIII 2,14-16; VIII 2,18; *Palaestra*, VIII 2,23; *Cd Cinghiale II*, VIII 2,26; *Cd Severus*, VIII 2,29: nos. 20-24) who strove for attention by laying down tessellated *fauces* most likely did so with the thought in mind that many people passed through this neighbourhood. A certain concern for public relations is further confirmed by the fact that several benches flank the façades here, notably outside the semi-public baths of the *Terme del Sarno* (VIII 2,17-20) and *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23).⁶⁹⁷ The mere fact that this neighbourhood was situated between two such large centres, meant that, from the mid-first century A.D. onwards, some frequented this part of the city, not only as passers-by but for the sole purpose of visiting these premises.

In the *Insula occidentalis* by the western city-wall, the small street of Vicolo del Gigante, which contained the two houses *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I & II* (VII 16, 12-13/VII 16,15, nos. 16-17), was characterised by a similar shortcut-function as it enabled one to reach the major streets, Via Consolare and Via delle Terme, that encircle *regio* VI, without having to cross the forum. Immediately to the east from the *Insula occidentalis* lies *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), facing another small *vicolo*. These three houses are found in a particular corner of the city that has been studied by David J. Newsome from a streetscape-perspective. Important spatial and architectural changes around the forum from the Republic to the time of the earthquake led to the development of a new trafficked route alongside *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), heading to the west and north. This route, which by-passed the *vicolo* in front of *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), instead ran past *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I*

⁶⁹⁵ The information about the nature of the complex is derived from the quite unique rental-sign on the principal façade (cf. *Cd Pansa*, VI 6,1), facing the artery of Via dell'Abbondanza, in which the property-owner Iulia Felix offered to let out converted apartments and *tabernae* out for rent, see *CIL* IV 1136. The apartments for rent on the upper floor were accessed through internal stairs along the western side of the complex; Pirson 1999, p. 84. Alongside Via dell'Abbondanza, three long stretches of benches most likely served the clientele that came to frequent this semi-public complex, see Hartnett 2008, p. 104.

⁶⁹⁶ See discussion in Platts 2020, pp. 54-62, regarding this neighbourhood and the question of how many entrances to domestic residences in fact face away from the amphitheatre and *palaestra*, even though the streets would have been relatively quiet when there was not a spectacle in progress.

⁶⁹⁷ Hartnett 2008, p. 104 and table 1.

& II (VII 16,12-13/VII 16,15, nos. 16-17).⁶⁹⁸ As this particular route-change may be pinpointed to the period of Augustus, and to the phase when the house-owner of *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15) chose to construct a raised sidewalk in front of the main façade, it is thus possible to suggest here a link between these changes and the laying of the *fauces*-mosaic. The chronological juncture when the house-owner made this attention-seeking, high-status addition to the entryway of his property, was round about the time when the street outside it came to host pedestrian instead of vehicular traffic (Fig. 61).⁶⁹⁹ As a result, the western *vicolo*, housing *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I & II* (VII 16,12-13/VII 16,15, nos. 16-17), became an important traffic-ridden route.

A few *fauces* in the core-sample were, however, definitely located on smaller and quieter *vicoli*; facing away from city-life. The most obvious case is that of the entryway nr. 25 in *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4), reached only at the very end of a backstreet, which furthermore was a dead-end due to a blocking by the northern city-wall (Fig. 62). Originally functioning as the main entry to an independent house, in a later phase this entryway would come to serve as second *fauces* of the large house. The main *fauces* of the house instead faced the large arterial thoroughfare of Via Consolare, that connected Porta Ercolano with the rest of the city.⁷⁰⁰ *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29) is also found on a *vicolo*, facing the side-walls of *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30) and its side-entrance. Even though the street was small, public facilities (such as *hospitia*), characterised the neighbourhood. The two terrace-houses, *Cd Championnet I & II* (VIII 2,1/VIII 2,3, nos. 18-19), in the very south-western corner of the city, are situated on a small dead-end *vicolo* (di Championnet).⁷⁰¹ However, their immediate neighbours are the *Tempio di Venere* (VIII 1,3) and the Basilica (VIII 1,1) by the forum; buildings which give a highly public profile to this neighbourhood. It has nevertheless been proposed that the Venus sanctuary had an opening towards the *vicolo* from the time of the post-earthquake period,⁷⁰² and, if so, one might call the street's dead-end character into question. Moreover, from the *vicolo*, which is situated on a relatively low level, one accessed the Basilica, higher up, by stairs (Fig. 28).⁷⁰³ *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11) is

⁶⁹⁸ Newsome 2009, pp. 125-126. See also Poehler 2006.

⁶⁹⁹ In a post-Augustan phase, the fountain outside the house (disturbing the traffic going through) was constructed (plausibly as a private initiative), in the rare material of marble, making it one of a total of four fountains in Pompeii constructed in a prestigious material. Thus, the owner of the house, acting here out of *euergetism*, ensured that the spot immediately outside it was socially important; Newsome 2009, pp. 126-128, 134-135; Franklin 1990, p. 32.

⁷⁰⁰ A bench is situated outside the bar/taverna (VI 1,5) next door to the main *fauces*.

⁷⁰¹ See Poehler 2017, pp. 46, 51, on the reconstruction of the temple and the erection of the Basilica in the days of the early colony, which had left this *vicolo* as the only southern route in this neighbourhood, while expansions of the buildings in the post-earthquake period meant that it became a dead-end street.

⁷⁰² See discussion in Carroll 2010, pp. 89-90, in which it is stated that restoration-work was still in progress in A.D. 79. See also fig. 1 in Ball & Dobbins 2017; fig. 1 in Curti 2008, indicating an opening to the street.

⁷⁰³ See Ball & Dobbins 2013, pp. 481-482; Ball & Dobbins 2017, pp. 480-484, on the excavations conducted on the street, which they (controversially) propose was repaved at the same time as the Basilica was constructed, i.e., during the time of Sulla and not earlier. The houses on the south side of the street also stood at a higher level that was original to them.

also located on a narrow street (Vicolo del Farmacista), at the junction between the large Via Consolare and Via delle Terme (Fig. 63).⁷⁰⁴

5.2.2 Larger streets

The 11 houses in this group are (primarily) located on the major thoroughfares, the north-south *cardines* or east-west *decumani*. An exception is Via di Mercurio, which, however, was certainly a large street (see below).

Via dell'Abbondanza

Cd Paquius Proculus (I 7,1, no. 1)

Cd Cinghiale I (VIII 3,8, no. 25)

Via delle Terme/della Fortuna/di Nola

Cd Poeta tragico (VI 8,3/5, no. 5)

Cd Fauno (VI 12,2, no. 7)

IX 5,6 (no. 28)

Cd Centenario (IX 8,3-6, no. 30)

Via del Vesuvio/di Stabia

Cd Caecilius Iucundus (V 1,23-26, no. 3)

Officina offectoria di Ubonius (IX 3,2, no. 26)

Cd Marcus Lucretius (IX 3,5/24, no. 27)

Via Consolare

Cd Leone (VI 17,25, no. 9)

Via di Mercurio⁷⁰⁵

Cd Ancora (VI 10,7, no. 6)

⁷⁰⁴ See Platts 2020, pp. 181-183, for a discussion of the street's sensory impact.

⁷⁰⁵ The street has a dead-end by the northern city-wall, but carts nevertheless seem to have travelled along parts of this two-way street, see Poehler 2006, pp. 62-63, fig. 29. However, it does not contain many public venues, such as *tabernae*.

In chap. 2, we saw that the wealthy aristocratic *domus* of Rome were constructed in advantageous and prominent locations. The social position of a house-owner went hand in hand with the design and décor of his house, as his residence acted as an extension of himself. Thus, to be noticed within the streetscape was of uttermost importance.⁷⁰⁶ Robinson observes that many Pompeian owners, too, put emphasis on strategic locations, while at the same time trying to remain the only grand house in the quarter, in competition with peers or other rivals. Thereby, he suggests, a small neighbourhood could be thought of as an extension of a single *domus*.⁷⁰⁷

Astrid Schoonhoven, in her studies of *regio* VI, confirms the existence of a pattern whereby grand *domus* were typically situated along the larger and public routes, specifically in order to be in the midst of the bustling city-life. However, she also stresses that the richest houses were spread around Pompeii,⁷⁰⁸ or, as Wallace-Hadrill states, that grand *domus* tended to cluster locally, as exemplified with Via di Mercurio in *regio* VI.⁷⁰⁹ If one looks at the distribution-map by Hans Lauter of late Samnite *domus*, a concentration is indeed found in this *regio*. The existence of such patterns may call into question the idea of the isolated, grand *domus*.⁷¹⁰ Where this study is concerned, only one house in the core-sample is located on the Via di Mercurio, and it is of medium size (*Cd Ancora*, VI 10,7, no. 6) (Fig. 64).⁷¹¹ Medium-sized *domus* of the late Republic were also situated on larger thoroughfares, in order to cluster near the grander *domus*.⁷¹²

Moreover, it is important to emphasise that, after all, many of the large houses at Pompeii after all are not situated in the very midst of things or for everyone to see (cf. *Cd Menandro*, I 10,7),⁷¹³ as will be evident below. Krimpen-Winckel captures the scholarly discussion well:

⁷⁰⁶ However, I remain sceptical towards the view taken by some scholars, that the siting of the largest houses by the main streets of Pompeii was naturally bound up with considerations of market value, see e.g., Heinrich 2002, p. 56, n. 664. Whether indeed the price of land to the west of Via di Stabia is likely to have been much higher than that to the east, as Flohr 2017, p. 57, suggests, is debatable.

⁷⁰⁷ Robinson 1997, pp. 142-143. Cf. Schoonhoven 1999, p. 240, and table 10, where she compares her data with Robinson's (although their accounts are not closely comparable due to different selections of the "richest" residences) and concludes that *regiones* V and VI stand out as presenting particularly large houses that occupy much land. It may be added that *regio* VIII, too, is an example of a *regio* with very large house-complexes.

⁷⁰⁸ Schoonhoven 1999, pp. 231, 234, 240-242; 2006.

⁷⁰⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 1994, p. 78. See also Schoonhoven 2006; 1999. Krimpen-Winckel 2009, vol. 1, p. 106, points to the clustering of many high-status residences in several *insulae* of *regio* VI, which reflect a tendency for such residences to occupy prominent positions and a "keeping up with the Jones's"-attitude.

⁷¹⁰ Lauter 1975, p. 150, fig. 136.

⁷¹¹ In Laurence 2003, maps 6.1 and 6.5 show that Via di Mercurio had both a high frequency of doorways and of wall-graffiti.

⁷¹² Pesando sees the less extravagant interior decoration of many of these houses (e.g., *Cd Cinghiale I*, VIII 3,8, no. 25, on Via dell'Abbondanza) as a consequence of the owners' preference for residing in the middle of the political centre, see Pesando & Guidobaldi 2006a, pp. 21-23.

⁷¹³ Krimpen-Winckel 2009, vol. 1, pp. 108-109.

“The fact that the largest residential properties in the city were not located in what we generally consider the most sought after positions, also tells us something about the social structures of the elite. At first sight, we appear to be dealing with a paradox: the elite were constantly competing through the display of their wealth and power by positioning their homes for all to see, but the upper layer of that elite, those with the biggest houses, existed in relatively ‘invisible’ positions. These houses represent the highest class of people in society that did not need to join in the competition of the ‘lower’ elite. It appears that their revenue and existing power were sufficient to ensure their position in society without engaging in the blatant and ostentatious display of their wealth. Clearly, they did form an active part of the social rules and structures that defined the elite. The architecture and decorations of their houses were made to form the venue for the reception of large groups of people and dependants, as well as more private gatherings and dinner parties. This means that plenty of people did visit these houses on a regular basis, but rather than simply passing by them in the street, one knew where to find them.”⁷¹⁴

The points made above regarding factors like access to land, and how to deal with neighbours regarding property-boundaries, are vital. We cannot blindly assume that every owner could choose exactly where to live. After all, houses were inherited or sold, and so ownership could change over time. The houses themselves underwent changes as well, both enlargements and reductions in size. To be able to construct a new house meant that one had to manage with the land available.⁷¹⁵ To exemplify, the small and rather obliquely situated house of *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), was constructed *ex novo* prior to the earthquake-period of the 60s A.D. Most likely, acceptance of the small and irregularly aligned plot, as the only one left available in the *insula*, resulted in the layout of the house.⁷¹⁶

Here, it seems justifiable to include the terrace-houses in the discussion, as their climbing of the city-wall to the west and south, in a clustering manner, surely characterised the city’s appearance for those coming from the outside. The houses in that part of the city could perhaps be compared with the richest *domus* of Rome, where prominent locations on hill tops expressed in visual terms the owners’ status and power.⁷¹⁷ In other words, although the Pompeian terrace-houses may seem to be located rather anonymously within the city,⁷¹⁸ their dominant and high position was in fact recognised by all who saw them when entering the city from the outside. Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben point to the large windows of the outward-turning façades as reminiscent of Roman villa-architecture and suggest that they thus contribute to the perception that these were the houses’ principal façades.⁷¹⁹

⁷¹⁴ Krimpen-Winckel 2009, vol. 1, pp. 110-111.

⁷¹⁵ Krimpen-Winckel 2009, vol. 1, pp. 110-111. See also Haug 2020, p. 41.

⁷¹⁶ Ehrhardt 1988, p. 57.

⁷¹⁷ See thorough discussion in Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 202-236.

⁷¹⁸ Zanker 1998, p. 74; Anguissola 2014, p. 394, emphasise that the façades presented an almost completely closed-off frontage to the streets while their rear elevations were opened up by the use of large windows, terraces and porticoes.

⁷¹⁹ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 215-216.

The picture that emerges with regards to the larger streets is one of a scattering of houses with *fauces*-mosaics. The most interesting illustration is the main arterial thoroughfare known as Via dell'Abbondanza, which was not rich in tessellated entrances (Fig. 65). On the contrary, only two such *fauces* are recorded: *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) and *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25). Since this was the main street through Pompeii, flanked by both elite residences,⁷²⁰ and by many public establishments for consumption and small-scale industry, and linking the main forum with the Porta Sarno, the lack is rather astounding.

Almost the same can be said about Via del Vesuvio/Via di Stabia, the main street going from the north to the south, where “only” three *fauces* were tessellated: *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26), and *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27): the latter two being immediate neighbours. However, the difference from the *decumanus* of Via dell'Abbondanza is that this *cardo* is not as rich in elite housing-clusters. On the other hand, one may view the street as a basic unifying component that provided the connection between houses with *fauces*-mosaics in different (modern) *regiones*, as will be considered below in a discussion of spatial and chronological clusters.

If we turn to the other large arterial thoroughfare, running east-west, we find that the combined Via delle Terme/della Fortuna/di Nola features four houses that exhibit their *fauces*-mosaics along its admittedly considerable length (Fig. 66): *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), *IX 5,6* (no. 28), and *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30). Along the façade of *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30), no fewer than five benches truly draw attention to the impressive size of this building, which also incorporated structures built for the public, which encouraged people to sit down.⁷²¹ Moreover, along the large and busy Via Consolare, leading to the city-centre from Porta Ercolano in the north-west corner, we find only one house: *Cd Leone* (VI 17,25, no. 9).

In sum, the location of a house with a *fauces*-mosaic within the city cannot have been determined by the criterion of street-size alone if we assume that the prominent position and visibility of one's *domus* was a matter of general importance. Clearly, side-streets, of which many were subject to much social interaction, form the context in which most of the tessellated *fauces* in our study are found. Only in a few cases are such *fauces* placed in a tucked-away position, the most obvious example being one already mentioned, the second *fauces* to *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4). This entryway (VI 1,25) is located at the far end on a dead-end street, by the northern city-wall. Consequently, one had to pass through this backstreet in order to gain access to the grand *domus* at the end, where the double *atrium*-house had its most lavishly decorated *atrium*-section. In many respects, the *fauces*-passage in *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25) is an anomaly, and Jones, Robinson and Schoonhoven, having conducted studies of

⁷²⁰ Krimpen-Winckel 2009, vol. 1, p. 107, discusses the westernmost stretch of the street as a concentration of elite residences. However, it must be noted that the eastern part of the street, too, features large *domus*, exemplified by *Cd Criptoportico* (I 6,2), *Cd Octavius Quartio* (II 2,2), *Cd Epidius Rufus* (IX 1,20) and *Cd Iulius Polybius* (IX 13,1-3).

⁷²¹ See Hartnett 2008, p. 102, n. 32, for a discussion of the positioning of the benches at regular intervals, which signalled how very large a unit the house was.

the house and the street, also discuss these peculiarities.⁷²² They suggest that the large redecoration-phase during the Augustan era, when the house had become a double *atrium*-house, had the additional consequence that the northern *atrium*-house was turned into a more secluded section of the complex residence. Here, the owner could receive his peers for dinners and bath-visits in a part of the residence that was extravagantly decorated; more so than the front part of the house. The tucked-away *fauces* at the back of the house, so the authors propose, thus seems to have served a deliberate purpose of seclusion, meaning that only specially invited guests were granted access.⁷²³

The absolute majority of houses with *fauces*-mosaics were located on streets, whether larger or smaller, that were very much spaces for the public and for busy interaction. Thus, we can assume that the decision of house-owners to lay mosaic-pavements in their *fauces* was not something influenced by where exactly the houses concerned were located within the city's street-plan, but rather by whether or not the streets outside their entrances were much-frequented. If doors were to be left open for at least parts of the day, the mosaics would have been noticed by the community, even if they were not facing one of the largest arterial thoroughfares but a street providing a shortcut between focal points in the city-centre. At the same time, the clustering of some of the houses with *fauces*-mosaics in peripheral areas suggests that emulation between the house-owners took place, although here, too, the primary aim of laying down such mosaics may have been to impress people viewing the properties from outside.

The other pattern worthy of note is that the major arteries through the city did not boast of many tessellated entrances. In the older *domus* dating back to the Samnite period, of which many were located on the major thoroughfares, the *fauces* were generally paved with mortar-floors. Instead, later houses (as exemplified especially by the terrace-houses) were the ones that to a much larger extent were instrumental in spreading the *fauces*-mosaic "trend". Naturally, many of the houses in the core-sample had ultimately Samnite origins, but one may detect nevertheless a general tendency for the old, noble *atrium*-houses to retain or adhere to a more traditional decorative idiom, at least for their front parts.

⁷²² Jones & Robinson 2007, pp. 398-401; Jones & Schoonhoven 2003, p. 134, describing the *fauces* here as the private entrance to the residence. Cf. Newsome 2009, p. 123, discussing the problems with "front" and "back" parts of houses and how the functions of these parts of a house can shift over time, depending on different needs.

⁷²³ However, due to the fact that the archaeological documentation of the house has not been published, one might propose a hypothetical scenario, in which the laying of the *fauces*-mosaic instead took place in a period when the house was still independent. Tessellation of the rear *fauces* in a double *atrium*-house (and not the front) is something not found elsewhere at Pompeii, and the very fact that the mosaic displayed the inscription *Salve* encourages the supposition that the house was an independent unit, which greeted visitors by the threshold of the only entrance that it had.

5.3 Location within the city: spatial and chronological clusters

As we saw in the preceding survey of Pompeian houses with *fauces*-mosaics, certain spatial patterns could be discerned with regard to their distribution. This section will further discuss the topographical clustering of the houses in conjunction with the dating of the *fauces*-mosaics, which have been assigned, chronologically, to three groups in chap. 4. A distribution-map, also taking account of chronology where possible, is given in Fig. 67. Note that the distribution in the map includes all 29 houses. However, two of the houses are marked out in grey only because of uncertain or unknown dating of their *fauces*-mosaics (i.e., *Cd Leone*, VI 17,25, no. 9 and *Cd Ristorante*, IX 5,14-16, no. 29). Because of this, these two houses are excluded from the following chronological overview.

Chronological group 1: Samnite period: 1st style:

Only one house, *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), is documented to have had its entrance tessellated during the Samnite period. It is placed in a very prominent position on one of the major streets, Via della Fortuna, not far from the forum, the centre of the city's public life. *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) represents the jewel in the crown among the Hellenistic "palaces" that were erected during the golden age of the 2nd century B.C., as seen especially in *regio* VI, and along Via delle Terme/della Fortuna and di Nola.⁷²⁴

Chronological group 2: from the late Republic to the Augustan period: from 2nd to (early) 3rd style:

It is not until this following period that *fauces*-mosaics became more common. The fashion for tessellating entrances continues through this whole period, with the majority of the Pompeian *fauces*-mosaics being made now, with mainly black-and-white designs. The total number of 17 houses (18 *fauces*) speaks for itself. If one divides these into two (earlier and later) groups: 11 of the houses may be assigned to the earlier (late Republican) group, and six houses to the later (Augustan) group. The *fauces*-mosaic in *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2) is presumed here to have belonged to the original *domus*, predating the post-Augustan creation of the complex.

One central cluster is found to the north-east of the forum (in *regiones* VII and IX). Of the three (regular) *atrium*-houses, two are considered to be iconic 2nd style houses; sharing quite similar interior decoration: *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12) and *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13). The third house, *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26), is found close by, but on the opposite side of Via di Stabia.

Another highly interesting cluster is that of the terrace-houses to the west (the *Insula occidentalis* of *regiones* VI and VII) and to the south (*insula* VIII 2), which in many cases embraced and advanced the new decorative trends of the 2nd style. As the city-wall had definitely lost its defensive character, large and luxurious houses were now constructed to

⁷²⁴ See Lauter 1975, p. 150, fig. 136, for the distribution of wealthy *domus* in the 2nd century B.C. See also Zanker 1998, pp. 33-43; Pesando & Guidobaldi 2006a, pp. 18-20.

climb over the wall; enlarging the pre-existing houses that had been built just inside the wall in the Samnite period.⁷²⁵ As seen on the map (Fig. 67), we find that four of these terrace-houses had *fauces*-mosaics that belong to the 2nd style (late Republican) period. To the west: *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11); *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16) and *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17) and to the south: *Cd Championnet II* (VIII 2,3, no. 19). These terrace-houses were thus among the first in the city to promote the emerging fashion for tessellation of entrances.⁷²⁶ Furthermore, *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11) is the only example of all these houses in the core-sample to have both entrances to the house paved with mosaics.

The remaining three houses from this early group are found scattered around the city: *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) in the central (eastern) part, and *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6) and *VI 13,13* (no. 8) in the vicinity of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7). Interestingly, these two last houses further share with *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), the use of two separate mosaics in the *fauces*; one at the front (lower) and one further back (upper in one case). The custom of tessellating the threshold between the *fauces* and the *atrium* was especially favoured during this early period of the 1st and 2nd styles (see chaps. 4 and 6). The small original and independent *domus* of *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2), is located on its own in the easternmost part of the city, and is also the only house in the core-sample at such a long distance from any other house with a *fauces*-mosaic.

It is noteworthy that the six houses from the subsequent early Imperial phase are nearly all terrace-houses. However, this time it is the southern stretch of terrace-houses that came to adapt to the fashion of mosaics, as seen from the following examples: *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18), *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20), *VIII 2,18*, no. 21, and *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23); following the example of *Cd Championnet II* (VIII 2,3, no. 19), listed above. The remaining two houses of the group are not terrace-houses even though they are located just next to the *Insula occidentalis*: *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4) and *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15).

Chronological group 3: from the "post-Augustan"/Claudian period to A.D. 79: from (late) 3rd to 4th style:

This last group consists of nine houses. In the Claudian period, around the mid-first century A.D., three houses had their *fauces* tessellated: *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22) and *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24). The two latter are neighbouring terrace-complexes over the southern city-wall, which once again underlines the special status of this part of the city. During the Imperial period, *insula VIII 2* turned into a

⁷²⁵ Many of the houses were constructed during the 2nd century B.C. as small or medium-sized dwellings that did not interfere with the defensive city-wall. After the Social wars, the houses were able to expand at the expense of the city-wall, see Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936; Zevi 1996; Aoyagi & Pappalardo 2006; Tybout 2007; Pappalardo, Ciardiello & Grimaldi 2008; Cassetta & Costantino 2008; Costantino 2011; Anguissola 2014; Bruni 2018.

⁷²⁶ N.B., there may be two more *fauces*-mosaics from the late Republican period in *insula VIII 2*: *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,30) and *Cd L. Caecilius Phoebus* (VIII 2,37), see discussion in chap. 1.

neighbourhood that saw many apartments being added to what had previously been a more homogenous aggregation of *domus*. Illustrative examples are the two semi-public bath-complexes of the *Terme del Sarno* (VIII 2,17-20) and *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22), which were equipped with apartments for rent on the upper and lower storeys.⁷²⁷ The last house (*Cd Caecilius Iucundus*, V 1,23-26, no. 3) is found in the northern part of Pompeii, and cannot really be grouped into a spatial cluster with any other houses featuring tessellated *fauces*.

The majority of the final group of six houses are located in the vicinity of other houses that already had *fauces*-mosaics (see Table 12). This fact in itself highlights the existence of emulation between neighbours. Placed in between this group and the previous, with regards to date, is the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) as it has been attributed in detail to the period A.D. 40-60's. The same dating may be applied to *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25) as well. The last group consists, thus, of *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5); *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27); *IX 5,6* (no. 28) and *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30).

Of the total number of houses in the core-sample, 11 houses out of 29 are terrace-houses, climbing the western or southern city-wall. Some of them are found as immediate neighbours (especially in *insula* VIII 2, see cluster 4 in Table 12) while others are situated near other non-terrace houses of the core-sample (see cluster 2 and 3 in Table 12). Moreover, the majority of these houses had their entrances tessellated during a period of expansion for the city during the late Republic and early Empire. One may attribute this trend-setting to the arrival of the Roman veterans, now perhaps inhabiting the enlarged terrace-houses.⁷²⁸ Or one may instead seek less speculative explanations as to exact ownership, and view these houses as a result of a presumed population-increase, and of a peak of economic prosperity that was expressed through a new, luxurious way of living.⁷²⁹ Over time, these houses could increase their size by annexing the neighbouring properties.⁷³⁰ Such aggrandisement could, in a way,

⁷²⁷ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 93, 96, 106, 110; Koloski-Ostrow 1986, pp. 134-139, 158-159; Pirson 1999, pp. 133-136. In Pompeii's final period, the *Terme del Sarno*-complex would occupy one third of the whole *insula* VIII 2.

⁷²⁸ See Zevi 1996, p. 135, arguing that the Sullan veterans came to inhabit the terrace-houses as well as the villas surrounding the city, thus explaining the new life-style they offered and, together with that, the 2nd style-decoration. This idea is further advocated by, e.g., Pappalardo, Ciardiello & Grimaldi 2008; Esposito 2008 and Anguissola 2014; the latter pointing to the systematic changing of ownership as witnessed by the amalgamation of many small houses into larger units.

⁷²⁹ Tybout 2007, p. 417, questions the hypothesis of their having been the residences of veterans. Instead, the owners could have been members of a new elite of diverse origin in need of *domus*, which fitted their new governmental and political role. See also Dickmann 1999, pp. 254-255 ("Die Frage wird anhand archäologischer Untersuchungen kaum zu beantworten sein"); Hales 2003, p. 100. Descoedres 2007, p. 16, n. 90; Moormann 2007, p. 446; Santangelo 2006, pp. 153-154, focus instead on the settlement in the villas in the surrounding landscape. Finally, Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 178-179, point out the proximity to the forum and the Temple of Venus (VIII 1,3) as indeed convenient for the hypothetical occupation of this *insula* by veterans, but they also stress that the houses here cannot confirm any such hypothesis as no architectural changes were made there in the first colonial period. The new architectural elements that were added to its houses are instead seen as a reflection of continuous prosperity over a long period, which cannot be ascribed to the colonists alone.

⁷³⁰ By A.D. 79, the *Insula occidentalis* comprised 15 houses, while *insula* VIII 2 is suggested to have decreased its number of individual houses due to merging, from 19 houses to only three houses in the last period, apart from a few larger

make them more similar to the villas of the surrounding countryside than to the more traditional *domus* of the city.⁷³¹

Table 12:

House-clusters in A.D. 79: 25 houses of 29 in the core-sample

Cluster 1, to be found in regio VI:

House	Chronological group
<i>Cd Fauno</i> (VI 12,2, no. 7)	1: Samnite period: 1 st style-period
<i>Cd Ancora</i> (VI 10, 7, no. 6)	2: Late Republic: 2 nd style-period
<i>VI 13,13</i> (no. 8)	2: Late Republic: 2 nd style-period
<i>Cd Poeta tragico</i> (VI 8,3/5, no. 5)	3: Post-earthquake period: 4 th style-period

Cluster 2, to be found in regio VI:

House	Chronological group
<i>Cd Vestali</i> (VI 1,7/25, no. 4)	2: Augustan period: transition-period between 2 nd and 3 rd styles
<i>Cd Leone</i> (VI 17,25, no. 9)	?
<i>Cd Bracciale d'oro</i> (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11)	2: Late Republic: 2 nd style-period

Cluster 3, to be found in regio VII:

House	Chronological group
<i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I</i> (VII 16,12-13, no. 16)	2: Late Republic: 2 nd style-period
<i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II</i> (VII 16,15, no. 17)	2: Late Republic: 2 nd style-period
<i>Cd Marinaio</i> (VII 15,1-2, no. 15)	2: Augustan: transition-period between 2 nd and 3 rd styles

Cluster 4, to be found in insula VIII 2:

House	Chronological group
<i>Cd Championnet II</i> (VIII 2,3, no. 19)	2: Late Republic: 2 nd style-period
<i>Cd Championnet I</i> (VIII 2,1, no. 18)	2: Augustan: transition-period between 2 nd and 3 rd styles
<i>Cd Mosaici geometrici</i> (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20)	2: Augustan: transition-period between 2 nd and 3 rd styles
<i>VIII 2,18</i> (no. 21)	2: Augustan: transition-period between 2 nd and 3 rd styles
<i>Cd Cinghiale II</i> (VIII 2,26, no. 23)	2: Augustan: transition-period between 2 nd and 3 rd styles
<i>Palaestra</i> (VIII 2,23, no. 22)	3: Claudian: transition-period between 3 rd and 4 th styles
<i>Cd Severus</i> (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24)	3: Claudian: transition-period between 3 rd and 4 th styles

complexes, see Pappalardo, Ciardiello & Grimaldi 2008, p. 294, and Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 161-188; Tybout 2007, pp. 410-411.

⁷³¹ Anguissola 2014, p. 395.

Cluster 5, to be found in regiones VII and IX:

House	Chronological group
<i>Cd M. Caesius Blandus</i> (VII 1,40, no. 12)	2: Late Republic: 2 nd style-period
<i>Cd Popidius Priscus</i> (VII 2,20, no. 13)	2: Late Republic: 2 nd style-period
<i>Officina offectoria di Ubonius</i> (IX 3,2, no. 26)	2: Late Republic: 2 nd style-period
<i>Cd Orso</i> (VII 2,45, no. 14)	3: (Post-) Claudian: 4 th style-period
<i>Cd Marcus Lucretius</i> (IX 3,5/24, no. 27)	3: Post-Claudian: 4 th style-period

Cluster 6, to be found in regio IX:

House	Chronological group
<i>IX 5,6</i> (no. 28)	3: Post-Claudian: 4 th style-period
<i>Cd Ristorante</i> (IX 5,14-16, no. 29)	?
<i>Cd Centenario</i> (IX 8,3-6, no. 30)	3: Post-Claudian: 4 th style-period

The following four houses with *fauces*-mosaics are not included in any cluster but act rather as the sole *domus* with a *fauces*-tessellation in the neighbourhood:

- *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), facing Via dell'Abbondanza, with a mosaic dated to chronological group 2 (late Republican period),
- *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,2-12, no. 2), facing Vicolo di Giulia Felice, with a mosaic dated to chronological group 2 (late Republican or Augustan period),
- *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), facing Via del Vesuvio, with a mosaic dated to chronological group 3 (Claudian period),
- *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), facing Via dell'Abbondanza, with a mosaic dated to chronological group 3 ((post-)Claudian period)

Important to emphasise here is that the “solitary” location does not *per se* signify that each of these houses would constitute a “power-base” within their respective neighbourhoods, a possibility discussed previously. Power-sharing between a couple of houses is, for instance, also conceivable. If we take *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3) as an example, its city-block contains another *domus*, *Cd Torello* (V 1,7), which is at least equally imposing, a fact which illustrates how several large and wealthy houses, neighbouring one another, could be autonomous units.⁷³² Moreover, smaller units, too, could retain their autonomy, as is witnessed by the *officina* (IX 3,2, no. 26) neighbouring the large *domus Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27), which seems to have operated as an autonomous unit within that city-block.⁷³³ Further houses that share *insulae* (not including the terrace-houses) are *Cd Popidius*

⁷³² Leander Touati, Staub & Forsell 2021, pp. 186-187: both houses share a similar size and a construction-date in the 2nd century B.C. However, the imposing monumental façade of *Cd Torello* (V 1,7) along Via di Nola would be retained over the years, so that it appeared the noblest house of the *insula*, see Leander Touati 2010, pp. 109-110, 139.

⁷³³ Ynnilä 2012, vol. 1, pp. 151-153.

Priscus (VII 2,20, no. 13) with *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), and *IX 5,6* (no. 28) with *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29).⁷³⁴

Certainly, city-blocks could be dominated by one large *domus*, as seen in the case of *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4). Within the core-sample, *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4) provides an example of such a power-base, which expanded at the expense of the neighbours during the 1st centuries B.C. and A.D.⁷³⁵ The terrace-houses provide examples of how several large houses might be located next to each other, with resultant competition over property-borders. Over time, *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20), came to annex many of the neighbouring houses, including *Cd Championnet II* (VIII 2,3, no. 19). Indeed, it would eventually become one of the largest houses in the city.⁷³⁶ The case of *insula VIII 2* serves as an interesting example of how many independent units, over time, would merge into fewer large complexes.⁷³⁷

It is not within the scope of this study to try to relate such clusters to local identities within certain quarters of the city,⁷³⁸ but the patterns that have been observed nevertheless point to the sharing of modes of cultural expression between many groups of houses that shared the same surroundings. In other words, the majority of the tessellated entrances are located in such a close proximity to each other, that it is credible that a deliberate emulation between the owners had taken place.⁷³⁹ As discussed in chap. 4, what chiefly distinguished the houses which contained mosaics in their *fauces*, was that they, in general, featured extensive tessellation all over large areas of their ground-floor space, especially in the *atrium*-area.

⁷³⁴ The northern part of *regio VII*, close to the forum, is another area of the city that has been proposed to have been inhabited by the veterans. In the view of Pedroni 2011, p. 166, this would explain the 2nd style decoration and the *emblemata* in the floors of, among other houses, the large *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13). See also Pesando & Guidobaldi 2006a, pp. 21-23, 100.

⁷³⁵ Jones & Robinson 2004; 2005a & b; Jones & Robinson 2007; Jones 2008.

⁷³⁶ Perhaps it even became the city's largest complex, as it exceeds in size at least *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), *Cd Pansa* (VI 6,1) and *Cd Citarista* (I 4,5/25), see Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 159, 177, 181, 186.

⁷³⁷ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 184-188, calculate that 19 former units here had been reduced to a maximum of 10 by around the mid-first century A.D., of which four were very large (from this core-sample: *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20), *Terme del Sarno* (VIII 2,17-20, no. 21) and *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22) bath-complexes and *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24). They list *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23) (from the core-sample) as the only original terrace-house (of three in the *insula*) to remain unchanged and independent until the end. They conjecture that the few larger units came into the hands of a couple of speculators who turned the houses into multifunctional complexes, centred around profitable rented apartments, some of which were probably of a relatively high standard.

⁷³⁸ See Laurence 2003, maps 3.1 and 3.2, on the distribution of street-shrines (26 examples) and public fountains (38 examples) around Pompeii, which are fairly consistent with the location of the *fauces*-mosaics.

⁷³⁹ Cf. the study on sculptural herms in *atria* by Leander Touati 2021, illustrating neighbourly emulation between the owners of *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3) and *Cd Orfeo* (VI 14,20) nearby, on Via del Vesuvio.

5.4 Concluding discussion

After examination of the houses, it is possible to recognise certain patterns. What characterises the majority of houses with *fauces*-mosaics is that they are large, either it may be terrace-houses and/or double *atrium*-houses. Only four houses in the core-sample belong to the small-size category. Moreover, colonnaded peristyle-gardens are a feature of more than half of the houses, and, as the chapter has shown, some of the remaining houses, too, had elaborate, though not fully colonnaded, gardens. Especially noticeable is the alternative form of the sunken garden, which has been described as a feature characteristic of the villa-architecture.

This brings us to the question of how far the city-dwellers who occupied these residences were imitators of a lifestyle characteristic of country villas, a topic, which occupies a prominent position within architectural studies on Pompeii. Here, studies by Zanker have been very influential, although already Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben had put much emphasis on the notion that the architectural development of the terrace-houses (of *insula* VIII 2) seems to have been connected with the ideal of the luxurious Roman villa, as exemplified also by the large *domus* in Rome, many of which were located on high ground.⁷⁴⁰ Such villas in the countryside (some also placed on higher levels) proliferated in the 1st century B.C., at the same time as the Pompeian terrace-houses were starting to evolve into small reminders of them, albeit in a hybrid form. As concerns the Pompeian examples, points for comparison are naturally the terraces themselves, with their porticoes and large windows that provided with an astounding view (and perhaps also cooling breezes from the sea), and also their vaulted corridors, sunken gardens and abundant water-features, including fountains and bath-suites.⁷⁴¹ Zanker has additionally drawn attention to the smaller and medium-sized Pompeian houses in which architectural schemes had to be adapted to the space and financial means available. At the centre of the ideal of the country villa lies the garden,⁷⁴² which could be overlooked by a *triclinium*, and preferably adorned with sculptural collections or mosaic-

⁷⁴⁰ Zanker 1979; 1998; Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 188-236, state that this process is observable in at least its initial and subsequent stages, up until around the mid-first century A.D. The former individual units of the so-called *villini* (relatively small city villas owned by wealthy people) would thereafter merge into fewer but larger complexes (owned by a few speculators), characteristically containing rented apartments and semi-public bath-houses; in which a proletarian class largely replaced the wealthy middle class. However, this theory is today viewed as antiquated, see Tybout 2007.

⁷⁴¹ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 189-191, 193-216. One house that is mentioned here, apart from the terrace-houses, is *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), with a vaulted cellar. For a recent overview of the origin and various articulations of *luxuria* of the Roman villa, see Marzano & Métraux 2018, esp. pp. 20-30.

⁷⁴² Zanker 1979, pp. 462-468, 504-510, concludes that from the two last centuries B.C. and onwards, a trend towards leisurely living, as witnessed by the inclusion of small parks within the house-precincts and representation areas with a view of the landscape, came to inspire many Pompeian house-owners. The Samnite families of Pompeii were not as foreign to the luxurious living standards of the east as the Romans initially were. See also Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 168, regarding the smaller terrace-houses of the 2nd century B.C. as probably inhabited by wealthy owners. Pesando & Guidobaldi 2006a, p. 22, discuss how the medium-sized houses of the early colony had their *horti* transformed into peristyles with porticoes.

fountains (placed on straight axis from the *fauces*) in order to be all the more evocative of Hellenistic culture.⁷⁴³

If we turn to the houses of the core-sample again, with this ideal in mind, those that at first glance could match its architectural and decorative criteria, as propounded above, constitute an overwhelming majority. However, the first and most essential objection to the hypothesis of “villa-imitation” is inherent in the very subject-matter of the present study: the *fauces*-mosaics. Where the inspiration came from to tessellate *fauces*, those essentially urban entryways, has not been established, but it does not seem to have come from the country villas, given their back-to-front architectural ground-plan, with a colonnaded garden in the front, which was not normally paved with mosaics. Instead, an example from Rome of a high-status city *domus* with a *fauces*-mosaic of a late Republican date, the *Casa di Livia*,⁷⁴⁴ may seem a more likely candidate for having at least encouraged the initial “boom” in the production of such mosaics in Pompeii. But as the *fauces*-tessellation in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) predates this Roman example, it may well be that the original inspiration for tessellation of entrance-passages had instead been drawn from city-houses in the Hellenistic east and south, where central courtyards or rooms opening to them could be tessellated, as one sees, for example, on Delos and at Morgantina.⁷⁴⁵

Even if we disregard the issue of *fauces*-mosaics, recent scholarship has queried, as simplistic, explanations of developments in Pompeian architecture as due to villa-imitation, objecting that they are derived from a limited sample and assume passivity of the lower classes and a habit of following blindly their social superiors. Instead, it is argued that it is possible to recognise deliberate and active innovation on the part of less wealthy householders.⁷⁴⁶ Attention has been drawn to especially innovative modes of compensating for the lack of a grand peristyle-garden, for example, large *aedicula*-fountains, sculptures or grand-scale

⁷⁴³ Zanker 1979, pp. 470-498, 502-504.

⁷⁴⁴ See e.g., Blake 1930, p. 88. Pernice 1938, p. 21, however, questions the proposed date by Blake and believes that the house's many mosaics belong to a later period. Richardson 1992, pp. 73-74, suggests a date for the decoration of the house to around 25-20 B.C., thus being contemporaneous with many of the Pompeian *fauces*-mosaics. Morricone Matini 1967, pp. 57-58, also favours a late Republican date for at least the *atrium*-mosaic in *Casa di Livia* (whose imbrication-pattern is similar to many floor-designs in Pompeian *fauces*).

⁷⁴⁵ See Westgate 2000b, pp. 401-402, on e.g., *Maison du trident* on Delos, where the two entrances are unpaved whereas the entrances to the centrally placed courtyard are marked out through mosaic *emblemata* (dolphin/anchor and trident). She, moreover, states that it has been suggested (p. 401, n. 14): “[...] that the lack of decoration in the vestibules of the Delian houses was actually intended to heighten the impact of the lavish décor in the peristyle – and thus, presumably, to emphasize the privilege of being invited inside”. For mosaics in reception-rooms, often opening to the courtyards, in the houses of Morgantina, see Tsakirgis 1989; 1990.

⁷⁴⁶ See the scholarly summary and discussion in Simelius 2018, pp. 12-19, 141-142, 205-213. Some smaller peristyle-gardens seem to have been constructed with a view to practical needs like light and air, instead of being mere display windows. All the same, that possession of a peristyle gave a house a higher status than that attainable by those without peristyles cannot be denied.

pictures (megalographies) on the walls.⁷⁴⁷ Suggestions that the private baths of Pompeii imitated specifically those of country villas have likewise been critically discussed.⁷⁴⁸

In short, if the concept of villa-imitation is at all of relevance to any of the core-sample's houses, it would best fit the terrace-houses, which, providing they had wealthy owners, had the topographical capability of moving in this direction. The owners of the other houses may naturally have taken inspiration not only from the villas of the surrounding countryside, but also from architectural and decorative features as found in the other houses of the city. The sunken garden may, for its owners, naturally have evoked the symbolism of leisurely country-living,⁷⁴⁹ but one must, at the same time, bear in mind that construction of such a garden entailed a remarkable, and very practical, manipulation of a particular topographical situation.

Features like private baths (*Cd Paquius Proculus*, I 7,1, no. 1; *Cd Vestali*, VI 1,7/25, no. 4, and *Cd M. Caesius Blandus*, VII 1,40, no. 12),⁷⁵⁰ and/or double *atria* (*Cd Caecilius Iucundus*, V 1,23-26, no. 3; VI 13,13, no. 8; *Cd Popidius Priscus*, VII 2,20, no. 13, and *Cd Ristorante*, IX 5,14-16, no. 29), certainly speak of a clearly articulated wealthy lifestyle, which does not have to be explained in terms of villa-imitation. Many were the owners here who made sure to further enhance their dwellings by the addition of mosaic- and *opus sectile*-floors, the only exception among the houses just named being *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29), which had primarily mortar-floors instead. In the case of the medium-sized *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25) on Via dell'Abbondanza, the impressive peristyle with an *exedra*, whose entryway was adorned with two columns in front, and the high-quality floors (*opus sectile* and mosaics) within that part of the house, served as reminders of the ancient origins of the house, which has also been linked to the architectural and decorative tradition of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7).⁷⁵¹

Cd Fauno (VI 12,2, no. 7), which in its essence is comparable to the grand palaces of the Hellenistic east, kept its old noble decoration and architecture over the years. Interestingly, it was the only Samnite *domus* of Pompeii to adopt the decorative innovation of *fauces*-

⁷⁴⁷ Regarding the large-scale paintings, Zanker 1998, p. 184, states that "they served as the most inexpensive form of villa imitation". These *paradeisos*-paintings are often found in smaller gardens, as seen in the truncated gardens in Trentin 2014, pp. 234-237. For a contextualising survey of the paintings, see Andreae 1990, who argues (p. 96) that the taste for these transcended class-distinctions as the paintings are found not only in smaller houses, but also in a few larger.

⁷⁴⁸ De Haan 2010, p. 90. Surely, for the development and spread of private bath-suites in the 2nd century B.C., the country estates have played a part. But since early versions of private baths are testified in provincial cities like Vulci as well as Pompeii, it cannot have been country villas alone, which set the trend followed at Pompeii. De Haan argues, moreover, for a provincial elite that did not mind adapting to a Hellenistic luxurious lifestyle as much as the Romans initially seem to have done.

⁷⁴⁹ Both Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 198; Zanker 1979, pp. 484-488; Zanker 1998, pp. 160-163 and Coarelli & Pesando 2006, pp. 163-164, 220, view the sunken garden in *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6) as a design imitative of villa-architecture. Moreover, the garden is here credited with a sacral air, in which one would be able to contemplate.

⁷⁵⁰ Jones & Robinson 2005a, p. 696, count *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4) as among the 20 largest houses in Pompeii.

⁷⁵¹ Pernice 1938, p. 68, focuses on the layout of the rear part of *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25) as well as on its floors, among which a lozenge-patterned *opus sectile* example in a room opening to the *atrium* is reminiscent of the *tablinum*-floor in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7). Pesando & Guidobaldi 2006a, pp. 100-103, 105-106, and *PPM VIII* (Bragantini), pp. 362-363, 372, 383, draw attention to the similarly designed *exedrae* and peristyles of the two houses.

mosaics, which were first to become more generally fashionable after the Roman colonisation. In the later periods, house-owners would naturally have glanced back at this noblest *domus* of the city, while at the same time also finding inspiration among their contemporaneous peers or neighbours. The second largest peristyle in Pompeii, seen in *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30), was equipped with a pool and a room with a *nymphaeum*, illustrating well how the highest stratum of Pompeii's house-owners could take to the grandest sorts of artistic expressions,⁷⁵² either with or without the villa as an inspiration.

There are only a handful of smaller dwellings in the core-sample, one of which dates to a quite early period (*Officina offectoria di Ubonius*, IX 3,2, no. 26), while three belong to Pompeii's last period (*Cd Poeta tragicico*, VI 8,3/5, no. 5, *Cd Orso*, VII 2,45, no. 14, and IX 5,6, no. 28). The mosaic-fountains in the *viridaria* of *Cd Poeta tragicico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) and *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) are good examples of how house-owners could compensate for the loss of sheer size through other means (not least the connection to piped water), and how they either succeeded in approximating to the living conditions of the upper strata or deliberately chose innovative ways of expressing themselves through the arts.⁷⁵³ It is an interesting fact that *Cd Poeta tragicico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) and *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) were mainly decorated in the last period: it may be that their *fauces*-mosaics, like garden-adornments, should be seen as part of a trend in that period towards the commissioning of high-class art by the owners of the smaller houses of the city in addition to their wealthiest contemporaries.

A final remark may be appended to this line of thought. For some of the houses, the motive behind the laying of a *fauces*-mosaic apparently seems to have changed slightly from the mid-first century A.D. onwards. If we start by considering the *Palaestra*-mosaic (VIII 2,23, no. 22), the wrestlers depicted in it clearly proclaim function of the place (a semi-public bath), and this is, to our knowledge, the first non-private building to employ an entrance-mosaic (one with an advertising message, comparable to certain mosaics of Ostia). However, there are further questions to ask with regard to a couple more houses. It was in the last period of Pompeii that *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) and *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30) obtained their *fauces*-mosaics, and it has been suggested of both that they housed semi-public establishments. It is therefore in place to ask if the wounded bear-mosaic in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) in fact acted as a welcoming sign, underlined by the accompanying *Have*, for the visitors to the hypothetical *hospitium*? And the same question may be asked of *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30), which seems to at least partly to have turned into a bathing and dining establishment. The mosaic in the *fauces* showing a dolphin and *hippocampus* shares common iconographical ground with mosaics in other baths, and so could have been viewed as an announcement to visitors indicating the services at hand (see chap. 6).

⁷⁵² Zanker 1979, pp. 510-512; Pesando & Guidobaldi 2006a, pp. 63-67, 153-164.

⁷⁵³ Zanker 1979, pp. 504, 513-514, notes the shortage of space available for the *viridarium* in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), which excluded framing columns. In return, the painted decoration here was the more elaborate. See also Andreae 1990, pp. 78-79.

The *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26) did not acquire its mosaic in this last period, but chose to keep an old floor-pavement despite the fact that part of the house turned into a workshop at some time during the Imperial period. The value of keeping a functioning tessellated entrance was clearly esteemed, and the traditional imbrication-pattern, with its proposed urging of movement to the inside, retained its appropriate significance (see chap. 6). It is not possible to say whether something similar could be said of the *domus* of VIII 2,18 (no. 21), although the question may be asked: did the mosaic-decorated *fauces* and *atrium* function as a lounge for the guests of a later bath-house or did they remain part of a private house? In sum, the act of using mosaics as signposting may perhaps have been more widespread in Pompeii than has been anticipated so far. This changed attitude started by the mid-first century A.D. with one purely non-domestic establishment and may thereafter have slowly influenced other, altered, dwellings.

As for the chronological context of the mosaics, the major time-period for the laying-down of *fauces*-mosaics has been identified as the late Republic and early Empire. Many of the Pompeian house-owners who took to the new fashion for floor-tessellation in *fauces* resided in houses that were clustered together in groups, near one another, in certain areas of the city, especially in its western part, notably along the former city-wall. The older Samnite *domus* of the city normally abided by another kind of ideal in their paving of floors, whereas the owners of certain houses belonging to the new Roman city thereby sought an alternative means of self-promotion by decorating their entryways with mosaics. It must be borne in mind, though, that the total number of 29 houses with *fauces*-mosaics was very modest in relation to the city as a whole. The eye-catching mosaics must therefore have provided a special air to these particular houses, and made the houses to stand out and be recognised and remembered in the bustling streetscape.⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵⁴ Cf. the study by Ling (1990) discussing how various landmarks in the Roman city were used as an aid to finding one's way around without proper street-names or house-numbers.

6 The mosaic iconography and its contextualisation

Introduction

In this chapter I will make a close study of the iconography of the tessellated *fauces*-floors. The overarching aim is to investigate the messages transmitted by these mosaic-pavements; how the motifs related to the entrance as a borderland, and how great or small their communicative potential may have been. The line of enquiry adopted has been first to trace the occurrence of patterns and then to discuss their meaning and decide to what degree they were specific for the *fauces*, e.g., by marking its borderline function. By application of a contextualising method, it will be possible to trace not only how traditional patterns continued to be employed but also when new ones came into vogue. The hope is that answers will be discovered by these means, to the question of how the *fauces*-entrance was perceived in a long-term perspective, and whether its floor-decoration can reflect a change in attitude as manifested by those who commissioned it. Of special concern here is the introduction of new patterns, which may have deviated from a traditional view of how the entrance should appropriately be decorated.

The comparative material will first and foremost include other Pompeian floors, both mosaic and mortar, so that we may be able to trace the spatial locations of particular motifs within the city. Parallels from a wider Mediterranean context will be incorporated when they seem relevant. By these means not only can information concerning the popularity of the motifs be obtained but also an understanding of how the motifs related specifically to the space within the *fauces*. Another artistic resource considered will be wall-painting, as some of the mosaic-motifs are template-patterns that are also found in wall-decoration. Other decorative media, such as ceiling-decorations or statues, will also be considered when material for comparison is found in them. It is within the domestic sphere that parallels are mainly found, but as will become evident, some of the patterns are comparable with decorations from the public sphere as well. It is important to underline here that my aim is not to derive evidence from the entire body of the arts of Pompeii but only to present examples that have proved relevant and valuable for this study.

When relevant statements on the matter exist, Graeco-Roman writers will be consulted, with a view to contributing to a deeper understanding. In particular, literary evidence may provide socio-cultural information in accord with the passages considered in chap. 2, where Roman writers expressed different views relating to the concept of the entrance. However, I am aware that such a reading must be done with a critical eye, so that mosaic-motifs are not

unthinkingly associated with events from political history. Put simply, the figurative décor in a Pompeian *fauces*-passage was not necessarily designed to express visual allegories of a socio-political reality (see chap. 1). Instead, the point of departure for this study is the site-specific contextualisation, the approach advocated by Clarke, who works within “the new Roman art history [that] seeks to understand, how, in specific circumstances, visual representation functioned within a multi-layered system of communication”.⁷⁵⁵ However, as will be evident in the following survey, there are mosaic-motifs that do indeed refer to literary statements, see e.g., the canine motif-group. The aim of the spatial contextual approach is, thus, to arrive at a view as holistic as possible, which includes the space that the image adorns (here, the *fauces*-floor and its surroundings); the question of who the responsible patron might have been (e.g., in terms of social status), and, furthermore, how different viewers may have responded to the actual image.

Questions about who chose the floor-decoration for a house, the owner/patron or the mosaicist from a workshop, have been a preoccupation of the scholars concerned with mosaic research over the past few decades. Most seem to agree that models and pattern-books were in use, as witnessed in a common repertoire of different designs over wide areas.⁷⁵⁶ For the Pompeian *fauces*-mosaics, it is evident that some were surely inspired by pre-existing exemplars, and in some cases, scholars have even tried to identify certain mosaic workshops to which they may be assigned.⁷⁵⁷ On the well-known figurative mosaics that we have from the Roman world which share a common theme (e.g., lions) but nevertheless exhibit differences, Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee concludes that “it would seem that the function of cartoons and pattern-books was to provide mosaicists with ideas, compositional schemes, and examples of stock, or typical, figures, while still leaving something to the individual craftsman’s (and his patron’s) taste and initiative. They did not set rigid models to be slavishly followed”.⁷⁵⁸ More recently, Zanker has formulated that “naturally we cannot tell whether the buyer or recipient of any particular work really intended to advertise the political message of a certain image, or whether he simply accepted a mass-produced object that was the

⁷⁵⁵ Clarke 2003, p. 3. On p. 1, Clarke states that still in the late 1960s, Pompeian wall-paintings and mosaics were considered by researchers in the field to be minor arts and thus not representative of “real Roman art”, which instead was characterised by, e.g., monumental public buildings and imperial portraits. In the chart in fig. 3, Clarke presents the central questions, “Who paid for it?”, “Who made it?”, “Who looked at it?” and “What else does it look like?”, which seek to go beyond consideration of art as a matter of style only, and draw attention to the persons involved in the making and viewing.

⁷⁵⁶ See i.a. Dunbabin 1999a, pp. 300-303; Martin 2017, chap. 5; Clarke 2007b; Hachlili 2009, p. 273: inspiration may have derived from the mosaicist’s own studio, and his own personal sketches, as well as from literary sources. An Egyptian papyrus tells us about a pattern being sent from Alexandria to Philadelphia in the 3rd century B.C., see Ling 1998, p. 13. On the opposite side stands Philippe Bruneau, who instead suggests that there was no need for such patterns due to independent and innovative masters and apprentices, who might find inspiration, instead, in other media such as sculptures or wall-paintings, see e.g., Bruneau 1984, pp. 241-272. For travelling mosaicists, see, among others, Martin 2017; Wootton 2012.

⁷⁵⁷ Cf. Blake 1930, pp. 111, 122, 127-145; Clarke 1994, pp. 89-102; Meyboom 1995, chap. 6; Toynbee 1973, p. 213.

⁷⁵⁸ Toynbee 1950, p. 299. Cf. Clarke 2003, p. 7, who assumes that the selection of motifs in the end may be attributed to the house-owners themselves. The tessellated name-inscriptions on the Pompeian floors may reflect such personal involvement, especially when a mosaicist’s identification cannot be established.

workshop's current offering". Nevertheless, "as long as an image was still relatively new, its use in the private sphere implies in every instance a conscious decision on the part of all involved".⁷⁵⁹ For this study, it is of importance to stress not only that the mosaics were a product of an artistic society that drew inspiration from all around, but also that it is not my intention to group the floors within specific workshops or to identify the house-owners concerned. As the chronological overview of the mosaics has shown, a great many of them were made long before A.D. 79 and prior to the life-time of the last owner, whose name may, or may not, be known.

In chap. 4 of this study, which was designed to provide a key source of reference regarding questions of dating, three chronological groups of *fauces*-mosaics were identified. In the present chapter, a type of contextualisation is attempted which goes beyond mere chronological ordering: here, the act of keeping a *fauces*-mosaic (by a later house-owner) seems to be just as an important aspect of the mosaic's context, as the forces that may be thought to have driven the original selection of its motifs. As for the house-owners, these are broadly classified, for the purposes of this study, as belonging either to the elite or the non-elite.⁷⁶⁰ In chap. 5, the detailed survey of the topographical and architectural contexts of the houses containing *fauces*-mosaics revealed that the overwhelming majority of them were large and wealthy houses. In only a handful of cases, the houses were small, some of them, admittedly, with status-laden interior decoration. However, given that the social status or the occupation of the house-owners who commissioned the *fauces*-mosaics is in general unknown to us, and must remain so, understanding of the inspiration behind the motif-choices in the mosaics is something that we may more profitably aim to approach.⁷⁶¹

This chapter's discussion on the iconography and the intended messages begins by surveying the mortar-paved *fauces* in the houses of Pompeii, so as to introduce the manner in which the majority of domestic entrances were decorated. Special attention will be given to those with tessellated patterns. Next, the actual *fauces*-mosaics will be presented,⁷⁶² starting with the groups of mosaics that are most closely linked to the mortar-paved *fauces* discussed previously. These will consist, in the first place, of mosaics with geometric patterns (14 out of 33), to be followed by mosaics with stone-inlays (four out of 33 mosaics), and the mosaics that are plain or bichrome (again, four out of 33 mosaics). Floral mosaics follow next (five

⁷⁵⁹ Zanker 1988, p. 266.

⁷⁶⁰ Clarke 2003, pp. 4-8, refers to the scholarly debate on terminology for the men who held office at Rome; were they the "governing class", the "aristocracy" or the "elite"? To belong to the elite, one had to fulfil the following four prerequisites: money, important public appointments, social prestige and a membership in an *ordo*. The concept of the non-elite is broader, including both slaves, freedmen and free people of varying degrees of social standing. These "ordinary" people, to use Clarke's term, are thus sometimes found between the elite and the non-elite.

⁷⁶¹ Clarke 2003, p. 7, points to a change over time with regard to the commissioning of art by private individuals: in the late Republic, the political elite equalled the cultural elite. This situation changed, however, around the mid-first century A.D. when the class of freedmen grew and became more accepted as an integral part of society.

⁷⁶² The mosaics in total are 33 in number, but for the survey of this chapter, only 31 mosaics are included in the presentation since the two floors of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) have been presented in chap. 3. However, these two floors will feature in the overall discussion of this chapter.

out of 33 mosaics). The last group comprises mosaics with figurative themes: these are divided into sub-groups according to their principal types of motif: the marine motif (four out of 33 mosaics), the wild animal motif (four out of 33 mosaics), the canine motif (three out of 33 mosaics) and the wrestling motif (one out of 33 mosaics). As these groups are extremely varied in character, there will necessarily be considerable variation in the amount of space allotted to the discussion of each of them. The mosaics with figurative themes will be given most space because of the more detailed information which may be presumed to be imbedded in their imagery.

The proposed labelling of the floor-designs cannot be made in a straightforward manner as many mosaics exhibit multiple patterns. Because of this, some of the mosaics will feature in two or even three different groups. This is particularly notable in the case of geometric mosaics, which may include figurative images, floral compositions or stone-inlays. The mosaics will be presented in terms of either having “all-over patterns” (i.e., when the design covers the whole floor), or else featuring an “*emblema*” (when there is a larger image included in the floor) or “panels” (often a rectangular section by the *atrium*-border, reminiscent of a threshold). Many of the mosaics are enclosed by frames, which are termed “borders”. In many cases, the designs of the mosaics are based on a “ground colour”, on which the pattern or image is superimposed.

Each group will be surveyed as follows: first, a short presentation of each mosaic will be given (section 1). Next (in section 2), *comparanda* of the motifs/patterns, specifically confined to the Vesuvian area, will provide information about their occurrence in space and time. Section 3 will consider views expressed on the subject of their patterns by the Romans and by modern scholars. Section 4 will raise the question as to whether patterns are traditional or new, and there will follow concluding remarks (section 5), summing up the contextualisation of the mosaic-patterns and any messages conveyed by them. Information regarding the proposed status and topographical location of the houses will be included here.

The categorisation of the mosaic-patterns in various groups provides a means of approaching their underlying messages, but as will be evident in the end, the mosaics can be regarded as, in fact, breaking through the boundaries formulated for this study. Whereas five groups were initially envisaged, it will be possible to view all the *fauces*-mosaics as characterised by basically four modes of artistic expression: 1). geometric patterns that resemble a carpet and are framed by borders, 2). All-over plain and bichrome floors that connect with the *atrium*, 3). polychrome stone-inlays that constituted a background for luxurious living, and 4). figurative (and floral?) compositions that could convey deeper messages.

6.1 Mortar-decorated *fauces*

Introduction

This survey of the iconography of the *fauces*-floors begins with an introductory overview of the mortar-paving traditionally referred to as *opus signinum*; a label as we shall see is not altogether satisfactory.

For Pompeii, mortar served as the standard way of decorating *fauces*-floors, popular from the Samnite period and onwards.⁷⁶³ The most common version for the *fauces* was mortar-flooring of pinkish-red *cocciopesto*;⁷⁶⁴ the second most common consisted of grey-black *lavapesta*.⁷⁶⁵ In just a few instances, a white lime-based mortar-floor might instead be laid. According to the floor-map compiled by Bragantini, de Vos and Parise Badoni in *Pompei 1748-1980*, *Cd Frutteto* (I 9,5) contains the only *fauces* paved with a white mortar-floor.⁷⁶⁶ Adorned with inserted black rows of *tesserae*, this travertine-based mortar-floor undoubtedly resembles a mosaic at first glance (Fig. 68). However, it is not unique: in fact, the neighbouring *Cd Cerere* (I 9,13) also made use of a white *fauces*-floor, where the meander-decorated threshold towards the *atrium* was, unusually, composed of green *tesserae*.⁷⁶⁷ The mortar-floor in the *fauces* of *Cd Chirurgo* (VI 1,9-10/23) also contained a limestone-aggregate (see below). When combined either with inserted polychrome stones or with white or black *tesserae*, polished mortar-surfaces could certainly be perceived as eye-catchers.⁷⁶⁸

There are many reasons for including the mortar-paved *fauces* in this study: the almost complete omnipresence of these floors in entryways makes them the most suitable for comparison with the *fauces*-mosaics. This applies as much to issues of general iconography and décor as to questions that relate to the house-owner's effort to treat the *fauces* as a display-window advertising the house itself. Can a mortar-floor in *fauces* be an indicator of how the

⁷⁶³ See fold-out map in *Pompei 1748-1980*, 1981, p. 179. The map shows not only floors that were studied *in situ* in a survey between 1977-1980 but also floors that have been recorded in excavation reports. See also Pernice 1938, pp. 119-125; Joyce 1979, pp. 254, 259; Dunbabin 1999a, p. 53. As an aid to the dating of these floors, Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 630-650, distinguishes five time-periods from the 3rd century B.C. to A.D. 79. See also her discussion concerning the excavations in *regio* VI, which have revealed the *proto-case* of, among other houses, *Cd Granduca Michele* (VI 5,5) and *Cd Fiori* (VI 5,19/10).

⁷⁶⁴ De Vos 1991, p. 40; *Pompei 1748-1980* (fold-out map), 1981. In Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 712-715, the preference for *cocciopesto*-floors in *fauces* over *lavapesta* is shown in a table concerning 11 houses in *insula* VI 2.

⁷⁶⁵ According to Blake, the weathering of the floors over the centuries has resulted in changes of colour. Originally, the *lavapesta*-floors were instead stone-grey, rather than black, see Blake 1930, p. 31. On the different mortar-types, see pp. 25-34. On the preference for *cocciopesto* over *lavapesta* in Samnite Pompeii, see Pernice 1938, p. 122. *Lavapesta* would eventually become more common.

⁷⁶⁶ *Pompei 1748-1980*, 1981.

⁷⁶⁷ *PPM* II (M. de Vos), p. 182. These white floors are termed “battuti bianchi” in Italian, see e.g., Tang 2018, p. 15.

⁷⁶⁸ Pernice 1938, p. 122, emphasises the high quality of these mortar-floors and also the elegance of the polished red surfaces. Wootton 2018, pp. 485, 498, also stresses the eye-pleasing characteristics of the mortar-floors when polished. Moreover, see both Blake 1930, p. 28 and Pernice 1938, p. 122, on remains of red stucco layers superimposed on the surfaces of some floors, which Pernice believes provided a way of maintaining old floors that had lost their shining qualities. Tang 2018, p. 89, records one *lavapesta*-floor at Pompeii (from a *triclinium* in *Cd Centenario*, IX 8,3-6, no. 30), where black paint was applied to the surface, presumably to enhance the dark colour.

rest of the house was decorated, and can it, moreover, inform us whether the entrance-area was seen as worthy of attention? Was there a clear decorative border demarcated towards the outside, the sidewalk, or to the inside, the *atrium*, which in a sense could give the *fauces* the character of a true “borderland”? Again, were certain patterns employed in flooring due to their general popularity or did they relate specifically to the space contained within the *fauces*? As will become evident, many of the designs in the *fauces*-mosaics correspond to geometric patterns, which are indeed found to be popular. However, mosaics never outnumbered mortar-floors, as is well illustrated in many of the well-known houses around Pompeii. As has been proposed by de Vos, the naturally “warmer” character of the mortar-floors, and their durable and water-repellent characteristics, made them more popular with many owners than the newly introduced mosaic-pavements.⁷⁶⁹

It is not my intention, or even practicable, to list here all the *fauces* that were paved with mortar-floors. Instead, emphasis will be put on the fact that use of these decorative artefacts was normal everywhere in the built environment of all sections of society, from the humble fuller’s shop (*fullonica*) to the noble *domus*.⁷⁷⁰ That is to say, even the wealthiest households employed this plainer sort of pavement, not only the smaller and less well-off, as one might unwittingly assume.

In the matter of how to label these floors, I have chosen to follow the scholarly line of thought that prefers the term “mortar” over the traditional label *opus signinum*, meaning “Signinian work”,⁷⁷¹ because one cannot now precisely define the limits of what the latter term might have covered. Would it have been applied only to the red mortar known as *cocciopesto* (containing terracotta and tiles) to the exclusion of the local black *lavapesta* (with crushed lava), found in Campania?⁷⁷² As Will Wootton argues, mortar-floors may display a complex combination of material and techniques, which the term *opus signinum* cannot entirely

⁷⁶⁹ De Vos 1991, p. 40. Ling draws the same conclusion in his study of *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4), see Ling & Ling 2005, p. 95.

⁷⁷⁰ Commercial establishments like *tabernae* could have decorated mortar-paved entrances, where the bar-counter stood, with inlaid *tesserae*, as seen e.g., in *thermopolia* VI 16,33 and house IX 7,24 (in these cases with white rows of *tesserae*). In the latter case, though, *PPM* (Bragantini) suggests that the very floor-decoration may actually be indicative of how the room had once been a *cubiculum* that faced inwards rather than outwards, see *PPM* IX, p. 872.

⁷⁷¹ In the elder Pliny’s words (*NH* 35.46.165), the Latian town of Signia was a production-centre, hence the name of the term.

⁷⁷² Blake 1930 includes both versions in her categorisation. She further prefers the ancient term *signinum* (p. 23), omitting the noun *opus*, in order to follow the writings of Vitruvius (*De arch.* 5.11.4; 8.7; 6.14, and 2.4.3) and the elder Pliny (*NH* 35.46.165). Pernice 1938 uses a number of different terms for “mortar” in his discussions: “Tonestrich”, “Lavaestrich”, “Signinum”, etc. The term “cement” is used, additionally, in this sense by both Blake and Pernice, as by many modern scholars; Blake 1930, p. 14; Pernice 1938, p. 120; Zulini 2011-2012, p. 3 (“cementizio”). Joyce 1979, p. 254, categorises *opus signinum* as *cocciopesto*, as does Wootton 2018, p. 485, who also advocates use of the term “mortar” or the Italian “cementizio”. Tang 2018, pp. 16-17, also uses “mortar”. Vassal 2006, p. 2, surveys the lack of a terminological consensus among academics resulting from their reliance on the words customarily used for mortar in several different languages.

capture.⁷⁷³ However, the terms *cocciopesto* and *lavapesta* will still be used, alongside “mortar”, in this study to distinguish between them when required.

6.1.1 Scholarly view on mortar-floors

Very unlike the mosaics of Pompeii, the mortar-floors have actually been the object of increased scholarly attention in recent times. New contributions to research in this area have been made by Véronique Vassal (2006) and Birgit Tang (2018). To the latter study, a large database published online is appended, covering a widespread area of the Mediterranean world.⁷⁷⁴ Another very valuable piece of research, published by Ella Zulini in 2011-2012, focuses entirely on Pompeii and presents a complete investigation of the mortar-floors (particularly the *cocciopesto*) of *regio* VI.

In earlier studies, theories about the origin and development of these floors (with a focus on the Punic North Africa, Greece, mainland Italy and Sicily), had already been mapped. Tang, on the other, in her role as the latest contributor to this research-field, has stressed that the origin of mortar-flooring cannot be assigned to any single production-centre; instead, the “tesserae-in-mortar”-technique was most likely brought into use contemporaneously by the Greek and Punic peoples.⁷⁷⁵

The popularity of the mortar-floors in ancient times has to a large degree been explained by the pure functionality of the material as durable and water-resistant. Plain mortar-floors without added decoration at all could be used both in *fauces* (e.g., those of houses VI 2,11 and VI 2,12) and in other interior spaces.⁷⁷⁶ In his discussion of the development of floor-types over time, Pernice discusses why mortar was maintained as the primary floor-paving for so long and not “exchanged” earlier for purely tessellated floors. A plausible explanation could, according to him, derive from technical considerations that made mortar seem a more solid and reliable sort of paving than mosaic-work composed of small *tesserae*, set in place by means of a technique which might prove not entirely secure.⁷⁷⁷ Naturally, the cost of laying

⁷⁷³ See discussion by Wootton 2018, in which he employs both terms, with the *opus signinum* label having specific reference to the use of terracotta aggregate.

⁷⁷⁴ Tang 2018, online database: “Decorating floors. The tesserae-in-mortar technique in the ancient world”.

⁷⁷⁵ Tang 2018, pp. 186-195; Joyce 1979; Westgate 2000a. According to Vitruvius (*De arch.* 7.4.5), the technique originated from Punic North Africa during the 3rd century B.C. For mortar-floors in Rome, see Morricone Matini 1971, and for the eastern and southern Mediterranean, see also Tang’s earlier study from 2005. The study by Vassal 2006 comprises large parts of the Mediterranean, including the hinterland such as France and Switzerland.

⁷⁷⁶ See study by Zulini 2011-2012.

⁷⁷⁷ Pernice 1938, p. 129. See also Westgate 2000 a, p. 258, on the popularity of mortar in the Hellenistic west, in contrast to the pebble-pavements of the east. Blake and Pernice alike discuss the quality of the cement-floors as a general guide to their dating - the finer the older is the rule of thumb, although caution always needs to be applied. Blake 1930, p. 32, discusses the aggregate of the cement-floors, which, in the time after the earthquake, consisted of whatever material could be found; see also Pernice 1938, p. 33. During the 2nd style-period, the aggregate could be made of a less fine quality, which makes them distinguishable from earlier floors, with which they generally share the same pattern-designs, see Blake 1930, pp. 27, 33.

a mosaic-floor in comparison to one composed of mortar must have been a contributing factor to any householder's decision-making.⁷⁷⁸

Mortar was, in fact, characteristic of the Pompeian *fauces*-space down to the very end. It is therefore important to keep in mind that inserted stones of different forms and colours could create an enhanced experience of that space even when mortar was the primary flooring-material used. In other words, mortar offered the possibility of being used as a plain floor but also, with added decoration, might serve as an elegant welcome-mat.

In the early studies by Blake and Pernice, a possible function or "meaning" for the designs was hardly ever discussed. Pernice refers only to the imbrication-pattern as preferred for entrances, without touching upon why this design might have been seen as suitable for this space.⁷⁷⁹ While Blake did not discuss the entrance, either, as a space suitable for certain patterns, she did speculate about the scales (imbrication) and the reticulated (lozenged) pattern as perhaps being inspired by lattice-worked fences or marble balustrades.⁷⁸⁰ This observation has, much more recently, been met with criticism from Bragantini who sees it as indicative of Blake's occasional lack of understanding with regard to the subtler complexities of archaeology.⁷⁸¹ In my view, though, this criticism seems a little unjust as such a search in the real world for sources of artistic inspiration was neither unnatural nor far-fetched. One may, however, prefer to see the fence as an initial inspiration for a design, which over time had turned into a more standardised and generic pattern.

In her study of threshold-mosaics primarily from Ostia (but drawing on examples from Pompeii as well), Ellen Swift draws attention to the scale-pattern as a specific boundary-decoration separating the outside from the inside, and one that went from representing an imaginary boundary to being a decorative motif evoking the very threshold.⁷⁸² Thanks to the decoration, the visitor would, thus, immediately recognise not only that the space was of a transitional nature but also that it contained an implicit direction-sign.

Apart from Swift, a most important contributor to the discussion of the relationship of patterns to the space they adorned is M. de Vos, who advocates interpretation of rows and imbrication as guiding patterns, with their dots and fish-scales pointing towards the interior of the house. She underlines how both patterns created a prolongation of the *fauces*-space and induced the visitor's gaze to turn to the inside. In such a case, the designs were adorning

⁷⁷⁸ See e.g., Dunbabin 1999a, pp. 38-39, 53, 56, 279-280; Wootton 2015; Flohr 2019, with a discussion of *opus vermiculatum*-floors in Pompeian domestic residences.

⁷⁷⁹ Pernice 1938, p. 136: the imbrication-pattern was traditionally found in a number of different art-forms, e.g., in vase-paintings.

⁷⁸⁰ Blake 1930, pp. 81-82. Regarding the reticulate pattern, Blake herself concludes that the origin of this basic arrangement of simple lines probably cannot be found, although plausibly inspiration came from the fences in gardens, as widely portrayed in wall-paintings. However, she concluded that by the time of the early Empire, the design most probably had come to act simply as an eye-pleasing motif without evoking specific memories of trellis-work. Tang 2018, p. 40, refers to the imbrication-pattern on mortar-floors as imitating the motifs of gates and fences.

⁷⁸¹ Bragantini 2010, p. 176, n. 1.

⁷⁸² Swift 2009, pp. 34, 38, 57, suggests that inspiration may indeed have been found in metal balustrades, wickerwork-fences etc. for a pattern, which gradually came to evoke the very notion of a threshold.

spaces where movement was the key characteristic, although such floors are to be found in other spaces, as well, inside the houses.⁷⁸³ De Vos emphasises that the rows creating all-over patterns in *atria*, corridors and peristyles would function as a calm backdrop. However, in my view they could, all the same, serve to welcome visitors. All in all, such an interpretation is a most valuable reading of the patterns as, in the light of it, the *fauces* may be viewed as a welcoming space, at least in terms of decoration. Zulini does not really dwell on this matter but does conclude by stating that simple and repetitive patterns were employed in spaces that were characterised as dynamic, as to encourage movement.⁷⁸⁴

A final category of floor-pattern to be considered is the type where polychrome stones are inserted into the mortar. Such insertions could be used to embellish pavements in all kinds of rooms. The type of mortar-flooring where the pieces, of e.g., limestone and/or travertine are scattered either randomly over the floor, or in oblong rows, is found from the Samnite period onwards (Fig. 69).⁷⁸⁵ If polychrome marble-pieces are inserted as well, the date is probably later, beginning in the Julio-Claudian period.⁷⁸⁶ Mortar-floors of this type are relatable to the class of mosaics, which feature insertions of precious polychrome stones, not uncommonly varieties of marble. Such floors could indeed succeed in giving an impression of elegance, and were viewed as appropriate and tasteful decoration for entryways. This is how they are interpreted by modern researchers such as Ling and Wootton, in their studies on *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4) and *Cd Chirurgo* (VI 1,9-10/23) respectively (see below), whereas Blake and Pernice, as representatives of an older scholarly tradition, never discussed how these floors could have been perceived.

6.1.2 The mortar-paved *fauces* in their domestic context

Geometric patterns were certainly those most favoured for the floors of many of the rooms within the Pompeian houses, and that includes the *fauces*.⁷⁸⁷ It seems clear that many of these patterns must have been seen as appropriate designs for entryways as some of them would come to adorn tessellated *fauces*-floors as well.⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁸³ De Vos 1991, p. 39.

⁷⁸⁴ Zulini 2011-2012, p. 713. See also *PPM* II (M. de Vos), p. 4; *PPM* IX (Bragantini), p. 129, for this interpretation.

⁷⁸⁵ Pernice 1938, pp. 124-125. Blake 1930, pp. 30-31, states that the oblong polychrome stones, set obliquely in parallel rows, found in the *fauces* of *Cd Danzatrice* (VI 2,22), was a design that covered the flooring of almost this entire house; Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 158-164, refers to the unification of spaces, such as the *fauces*, *atrium*, and the corridor to a garden, through the uniform deployment of the same floor-decoration, here called “*zampe di gallina*”. See *PPM* VI, p. 510, on the *cocciopesto*-floor in the *fauces* of *Cd Optatio* (VII 2,13-15), where the elongated polychrome *tesserae* in rows suggest a date to the 2nd century B.C. On the date, see also Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 655-656.

⁷⁸⁶ Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 657-659.

⁷⁸⁷ Pernice 1938, p. 121, concludes that the pattern-range of the floors belonging to the 1st style-period was not particularly rich; it contained primarily geometric designs, indigenous to Italy.

⁷⁸⁸ Joyce 1979, p. 261: “[...] decorative patterns which had originated in the *signinum* floors are now translated into the new tessellated technique”. Swift 2009, pp. 33-34, discusses the conservatism of keeping certain patterns for centuries as threshold-patterns.

The two most common mortar-designs on *fauces*-floors, laid out as all-over patterns in (mainly) white tessellation, were the multi-lined row-design (Figs. 27/68),⁷⁸⁹ and the imbrication- (or scale) pattern (Fig. 70).⁷⁹⁰ The most common version of mortar used in the first period was red *cocciopesto*, and the inserted white stones were mainly of travertine or limestone although varieties of marble could sometimes be used.⁷⁹¹ Other popular patterns like the meander and the reticulate are also found on *fauces*-floors from this early period (Fig. 71).⁷⁹² Meandering swastikas were often used to adorn decorative thresholds dividing the *fauces* from the *atrium*; a practice that seems to have begun in the late 1st century B.C. (Fig. 72).⁷⁹³ The *pelta*-pattern (a small crescent-shaped shield), finally, is another geometric design, which occurs in, among other places, *fauces*-floors (Fig. 107).⁷⁹⁴ In Joyce's comparative study of Pompeian and Delian floors, particular notice is taken of the decorative floor-thresholds at Pompeii with geometric patterns that are found in the rooms bordering to the *atria*, i.e., *fauces*, *alae* and *tablina*.⁷⁹⁵

Stone-inlaid mortar-floors were also found in the *fauces* of some of the largest houses.⁷⁹⁶ The entrance to the old *domus Cd Chirurgo* (VI 1,9-10/23), was adorned with a white lime

⁷⁸⁹ Blake 1930, p. 25, states that rows were a very common pattern from the beginning. Over 50 examples from various rooms were recorded by Pernice as belonging to the 1st style-period, see Pernice 1938, p. 120, n. 4. See also Joyce 1979, p. 254. Morricone Matini 1971, p. 30, n. 12, notes that this pattern was the most favoured around the Mediterranean. The Hellenistic mortar-floors from Morgantina also show a preference for the parallel rows, see Tsakirgis 1990, p. 438. According to Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 664-670, the multi-lined *tesserae*-rows are the most frequent decorative motif on the *cocciopesto*-floors of *regio* VI. The similar crosslet-motif, with rows of five *tesserae* in groups, is well-attested in *cubicula* and *fauces* or corridors, see Zulini 2011-2012, p. 677.

⁷⁹⁰ Pernice 1938, pp. 121, 136, states that during the 1st style-period, the scale-pattern was not as popular as rows, the meander and the reticulate pattern, but that it was preferred in entrances. It was mainly employed during the 1st and the 2nd style-periods, either on mortar-floors or mosaics. See also Joyce 1979, pp. 254-255; Laidlaw 1985, p. 38, on the patterns popular during the 1st style-period.

⁷⁹¹ Pernice 1938, pp. 121-122; Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 655-656, regarding the use of inserted limestone-flakes from the Samnite period to the time of the late Republic.

⁷⁹² Blake 1930, p. 26: "As one wanders about in the ancient city, he is impressed with the infinite variety which the ancients could achieve with these three elements: the meander, the reticulate, the imbrication". Both the meander and the reticulate patterns were recorded by Pernice in 40 examples each, from different rooms with mortar-floors, see Pernice 1938, p. 121 and n. 1. See also Joyce 1979, pp. 254-255.

⁷⁹³ Wootton 2018, pp. 493-494. Pernice 1938, p. 121, describes the meander as often bordering areas decorated with all-over patterns of rows, reticulation or scales. The reticulate pattern, too, could also act as a bordering threshold for floors in general.

⁷⁹⁴ *PPM* V (Bragantini), pp. 430-431, states that the *fauces*-floor of *Cd Scenziati* (VI 14,43) employed the *pelta*-pattern, which was one of the most common *fauces*-floor designs in the Republican period. Blake 1930, p. 104, also points to the popularity of the *pelta* as a general threshold-pattern.

⁷⁹⁵ Joyce 1979, p. 258. See also Westgate 2000a, pp. 256-257, on the practice of demarcating spaces by means of decorative thresholds: this was more common in the western Mediterranean than the eastern during the Hellenistic period and derived from the use of the mortar-paving; Swift 2009, pp. 33-43. N.B. It was not only the rooms bordering on an *atrium*, which could be adorned with geometrically patterned thresholds, as may be seen in e.g., the *triclinium* (m) in *Cd Epigrammi greci* (V 1,18), where the *cocciopesto*-floor is demarcated by a threshold with reticulate decoration, see www.pompejiprojektet.se (Insula V 1; Documentation and analysis; *Cd Epigrammi greci*; *triclinium* m). Other kinds of patterns would eventually enter the repertoire, especially of tessellation, as seen in the floral mosaic-thresholds in the *alae* of *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3); www.pompejiprojektet.se.

⁷⁹⁶ One good example is the *fauces* of *Cd Epigrammi greci* (V 1,18), where the polished *cocciopesto*, with many variously-coloured stones (pebbles) and white *tesserae* inserted, must certainly have been perceived as an imposing entrance. See

mortar-floor, whose inserted coloured stones resulted “in an attractive and colourful decorative effect”, as described by Wootton. The border between the *fauces* and the *atrium* is enhanced by a small strip of alternating black and white *tesserae*. The floor is dated to the period of the early 2nd style, around 80 B.C., while the *tesserae*-border is a later addition, very much in line with the trend towards visual demarcation of spaces in the later 1st century B.C.⁷⁹⁷ The house is also by tradition the focus of much attention as a typical example of an old Samnite *domus*, with much decoration belonging to an early date and, consequently, few mosaics.

Another good illustration of early floor-decor is supplied by *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4), where the *fauces*-floor is of *lavapesta* with red and white stone-inlays. The house contains much decoration from the 2nd style-period (and onwards), including a bath-section with several figurative mosaics (which will be further discussed in this chapter). As has already been mentioned in chap. 3, Ling proposes that inlays of coloured stones, like those in this *fauces*-floor, were in fact perceived as more elegant than *tesserae* inserted into a mortar-floor.⁷⁹⁸ Also notable for its mortar-flooring is *Cd Dioscuri* (VI 9,6), which features paving in the *fauces* and the *atrium* made of a grey-white lime mortar, with inserted polychrome stones and some white marble-stones. The house contained many mosaics, and the overall decoration ranges from the 1st to the 4th styles, with the front of the house belonging to the earlier period.⁷⁹⁹

It seems, furthermore, that especially during the early period, a connection in material and décor could be made between sidewalks and *fauces*. To pave the stretch of the sidewalk outside one’s portal, and so to mark out property-boundaries is frequently attested as a Pompeian custom, but to actually let the sidewalk’s mortar-pavement with coloured stones continue into the *fauces* of one’s house, was a practice that mainly belongs to the period of the two first styles.⁸⁰⁰ What can be deduced from this is not only that the early *fauces*-floors, belonging to the old *domus* of the Samnite period, could be adorned with colourful stones,

the reproduction by Presuhn 1882 (II), pl. 3. See also documentation in www.pompejiprojektet.se (Insula V 1, V 1,18, room a (*fauces*)). In the case of Herculaneum, at least three mortar-paved *fauces* with various kinds of inserted stones (white and/or polychrome) are still *in situ*. *Cd Nettuno e Anfirite* (V 7); *Cd Atrio corinzio* (V 30), where large white stones in several rows direct attention to the stairs that lead to the *atrium*; *Cd Due atri* (VI 29).

⁷⁹⁷ Wootton 2018, pp. 487, 493-494, 498, and fig. 9.37.

⁷⁹⁸ Ling & Ling 2005, pp. 96, 166.

⁷⁹⁹ Pernice 1938, pp. 64-65. Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 323-324, however, assigns the *fauces*-floor, here recorded as *cocciopesto*, to a date somewhere between the 1st century B.C. to the 1st century A.D., largely due to the marble-stones.

⁸⁰⁰ Pernice 1938, p. 124, disagrees with Blake, and demonstrates that mortar-floors with polychrome stones did exist already during the 1st style-period. Pernice mentions, moreover (1938, p. 87, n. 1), that the outer *fauces*-floor of *Cd Veranius Hypsaeus* (VI 8,21) was connected to the sidewalk in terms of its paving, which was a *lavapesta* with rows. The sidewalk evidently contained small pieces of travertine or marble-chips. The sidewalk-decoration, *lavapesta* with stone-inserts, in front of *Cd Torello* (V 1,7) entered its *fauces* and in this way clearly connected the house with neighbouring commercial establishments, as well the adjoining small *atrium*-house (V 1,3). Moreover, the same paving continued not only into the *fauces*, but also to the *atrium* of *Cd Torello* (V 1,7), see Staub 2013, pp. 110-115; www.pompejiprojektet.se (Insula V 1: V 1,7: *vestibulum*, *fauces* and *atrium*). However, four large stone-slabs cover the floor in the area here called the *vestibulum*, causing the connecting pavement to skip this room before continuing into the side-entrance and inwards. See also *Cd Pansa* (VI 6,1). In the case of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), the sidewalk’s pavement is also similar to the *atrium*-floor.

but also that the floors could be seen as a continuation of the sidewalks.⁸⁰¹ Thus, no firm distinction between outside and inside was made.

As was stated above, the custom of demarcating the *fauces* from the *atrium* by a decorative border did not become popular until later. Up until the 2nd style-period, the floors of the *fauces* and the *atria* could be joined together without any intermediate threshold. A good example is the old *domus Cd Obellius Firmus* (IX 14,4), where *lavapesta*-paving with white scattered stones occupies the whole floor-space from the principal *fauces* into the tetrastyle *atrium* and the *alae* (Fig. 73).⁸⁰² As in many of these old *domus*, the general floor-decoration was hardly ever of mosaic,⁸⁰³ and even more important is the fact that the mortar-floors were kept over the years. Therefore, *fauces*-floors of the 1st style-period may in many ways be viewed as a display-window indicative of the interior decoration that could be awaiting the visitor. In a discussion about the *fauces*-floor decoration of *Cd Chirurgo* (VI 1,9-10/23), Wootton declares that as the first space encountered, the *fauces*-floor would “therefore set the tone for the visit”.⁸⁰⁴ However, as will be evident in what follows, many houses chose to keep their earlier *fauces*-decoration when refurbishments were made in the remaining house. One such example are the *fauces*- and *atrium*-floors of *Cd Trittolemo* (VII 7,5) which are in *lavapesta* with inserted polychrome marble-chips, while the remainder of the house is known for its fine mosaic- and marble-floors.⁸⁰⁵

To continue our survey, the most common tessellated pattern in mortar-paved *fauces* is the multi-lined row-design, which is found in many of the large houses from the 1st to the 4th style-periods:⁸⁰⁶ *Cd Fontana piccola* (VI 8,23-24); *Cd Centauro* (VI 9,5); *Cd Labirinto* (VI 11,9-10); house VI 14,30, and *Cd Vettii* (VI 15,1). While the first houses here belong to the

⁸⁰¹ Technological changes over time led, moreover, to the creation of sidewalks and elevated kerbs in the course of the 2nd century B.C., and by the time of Augustus, these had spread over most of the city. Compared to the most common sidewalk-version of the beaten ash-surface, the mortar-surface of the *cocciopesto* and *lavapesta* was a fancier alternative, especially when decorated with inserted stones or *tesserae*. As Poehler 2017, pp. 73-75, states, pebble sidewalks seem to have held the highest status as these are only found in the vicinity of sanctuaries.

⁸⁰² *PPMX*, pp. 361-481: the same paving is also found in the second *fauces* and *atrium* of *Cd Obellius Firmus* (IX 14,2). As stated previously in this dissertation, two benches flank the inner walls of the outer *fauces*. In Pernice 1938, pp. 62-63, the house goes under the name *Cd Conte di Torino* and is registered as being located in III 1. The *fauces*-floor is dated to the 2nd style-period.

⁸⁰³ See e.g., the old houses with 1st style-decoration: *Cd Sallustius* (VI 2,4) and *Cd Scenziati* (VI 14,43); Pernice 1938, pp. 112, 129.

⁸⁰⁴ Wootton 2018, pp. 487, 498.

⁸⁰⁵ Blake 1930, pp. 31, 38; Pernice 1938, pp. 82-84. In one room, the *opus sectile*-cubes are reminiscent of the floor in the *cella* of the *Tempio di Apollo* (VII 7,32) and the *tablinum* of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7). Cf. also the statement by Pernice 1938, p. 70, regarding the floors in *Cd Cornelius Rufus* (VIII 4,15), where it is noted that the entrance only has a mortar-floor compared to the other, tessellated rooms: “Das Haus bietet einige wertvolle Mosaiken. Das Vestibulum freilich hat nur rotes grobes Signinum mit einem in weißen Tessellae eingesetzten Muster, vielleicht Sechs- oder Achtecke“.

⁸⁰⁶ Two *fauces* at Herculaneum still present a mortar-floor with white *tesserae*-rows, which continue into the *atrium* in both *Cd Tramezzo di legno* (III 11) and *Cd Salone nero* (VI 11-13). A similar arrangement may be seen in the *fauces*-decoration of *Cd Mobilio carbonizzato* (V 5), where the tessellated rows are composed of crosslets, i.e., four white *tesserae* in groups, with a black one in the middle. Marble-pieces are also inserted, see database in Tang 2018 (no. 622, where a 3rd style-period date is proposed). The *atrium*-floor is a continuation of the *fauces*-decoration, and the sidewalk in front of the house is also paved in *cocciopesto*.

early period,⁸⁰⁷ the last-mentioned house is an example of a late *fauces*-floor, and the generally insignificant floors of the house are striking as a contrast to its wall-paintings.⁸⁰⁸ Evidently, the house-owner of the last phase did not care to adorn the floors in the same, “modern” way as the walls. In the *fauces*-floor, belonging to the 1st style-period, of *Cd Principe di Napoli* (VI 15,8), furthermore, the row pattern’s call for movement is clearly manifested, as there is no threshold bordering on the *atrium*, where the floor is of the same row-design.⁸⁰⁹ In the large *Cd Capitelli figurati* (VII 4,57), the *lavapesta* floor-design in the *fauces* with its white rows is repeated in the *atrium*-floor as well, although in this case, a decorative threshold is marked out by squares and triangles.⁸¹⁰ Moreover, the old *domus Cd Centauro* (VI 9,3/5), kept its original mortar-floor decoration in the front part around the *atrium* of VI 9,3, while inner rooms would later be adorned with mosaics.⁸¹¹ The same can be said about the *Cd Citarista* (I 4,5), which kept its 1st style-decoration in the equivalent front part of the house, which included a *cocciopesto*-floor with rows of white *tesserae* in the *fauces*.⁸¹²

When they form part of a mosaic, instead of a mortar-floor, multi-lined rows of white *tesserae* on a black ground were more common than the reverse, black on white.⁸¹³ Such a decorative scheme is exemplified in the black *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24), where white *tesserae* are inserted between the large polychrome marble rhomboids that seem to guide the visitor to the inside (Fig. 93). A second example of a *fauces*-mosaic patterned with rows of *tesserae* is found in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,5/3, no. 5), but here, black *tesserae* are laid out on a white tessellated ground (Fig. 137). A composite version of the design is found in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Championnet II* (VIII 2,3, no. 19), where the all-over pattern presents a diagonal grid-pattern containing also individual white *tesserae* on rows (Fig. 79).

The common *fauces*-pattern of “imbrication” (scale-pattern) is found in many examples of mortar-floors,⁸¹⁴ among which those in *insula VIII 2* are especially interesting. The

⁸⁰⁷ See Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 316-318, on *Cd Centauro* (VI 9,5), where the *fauces*-floor is dated to the first half of the 2nd century B.C. For the 1st style and 2nd style-period dates of the *fauces* in *Cd Fontana piccola* (VI 8,23-24) and *Cd Labirinto* (VI 11,9-10), see appendix.

⁸⁰⁸ Pernice 1938, p. 104, claims that the *fauces* once had a mosaic but that this, at a later date, was covered by a stone-slab. However, the remaining floor today clearly shows a mortar-pavement with white rows, which the other floor also shows. Pernice dates the floors of the house to the first half of the 1st century A.D. See also Kastenmeier 2001, p. 303. N.B. Zulini 2011-2012 does not include the *fauces*-floor in her study.

⁸⁰⁹ Strocka 1984, pp. 18-20, 35. The *fauces*-floor is dated to the 1st style-period, while the *atrium*-floor belongs to the 2nd style-period.

⁸¹⁰ Pernice 1938, p. 85.

⁸¹¹ Pernice 1938, p. 45, discusses the *atrium* of VI 9,3, but without referring to its *fauces*. The *fauces*-floor of VI 9,5, on the other hand, has a *cocciopesto*-pavement with a row-pattern, dated by Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 316-318, to the first half of the 2nd century B.C.

⁸¹² Pernice 1938, pp. 68-69.

⁸¹³ See discussion by Pernice 1938, p. 146, who also dates these black mosaics to the 3rd and 4th style-periods. The examples in which a white mosaic ground is decorated with rows of black *tesserae* are primarily dated to the 4th style-period. See also Joyce 1979, p. 261.

⁸¹⁴ However, in her study on all mortar-floors of *regio VI*, Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 682-683, records only five floors with this pattern; two of which are *fauces*-pavements.

combination of imbrication with the meander-pattern, here acting as a decorative border or threshold towards the *atrium*, is found in at least three terrace-houses located in a row, which suggests emulation between neighbours: *Cd Ninfeo* (VIII 2,28), *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,30) and *Cd Colombe a mosaico* (VIII 2,34) (see Table 13 below and Figs. 70 and 72).⁸¹⁵ The houses to the west of these three, also built over the former city-wall in the south, will feature in the following section of this chapter as many of them had *fauces*-mosaics (including one of the *fauces* in the double *atrium*-house of *Cd Severus*, VIII 2,29, no. 24). The more recent *atrium*-floors of these three houses do not exactly match the floor-designs of the *fauces*, being either of a different material (mosaic or another version of mortar) or decorated with a different tessellated pattern (rows or inlaid polychrome stones).

Other large houses to employ this scale-pattern for their entrances were *Cd Meleagro* (VI 9,2); *Cd Oppius Gratus* (IX 6,5) and *Cd Iulius Polybius* (IX 13,1-3).⁸¹⁶ The panel with meandering swastikas in the middle of the *fauces*-floor of *Cd Oppius Gratus* (IX 6,5), separating the imbrication-pattern into two parts, is evidently unique (Fig. 74).⁸¹⁷ For a house that had several mosaic-floors but chose to keep the mortar (with an imbrication-pattern) from the 2nd style-period in the *fauces*, one may name *Cd Meleagro* (VI 9,2) as a good illustration.⁸¹⁸ Moreover, in Herculaneum, the house that is often referred to as a typical example of a Samnite *domus*, *Casa Sannitica* (V 1-2), also has a mortar-paved *fauces* with an imbrication-pattern, from which the *atrium* is demarcated by a meander-threshold.⁸¹⁹

Finally, the reticulate pattern (rhomboids) was also a recurring pattern on *fauces*-floors,⁸²⁰ exemplified in very large and old houses like *Cd Octavius Quartio* (II 2,2); *Cd Nozze d'Argento* (V 2,i); *Cd Sallustius* (VI 2,4),⁸²¹ and *Cd Pansa* (V 6,1) (Fig. 71). In the last-mentioned house,

⁸¹⁵ For the 1st style-period *fauces*-floors in *Cd Ninfeo* (VIII 2,28) and *Cd Colombe a mosaico* (VIII 2,34), see Pernice 1938, pp. 72, 74-75; *PPM* VIII, pp. 226-229; 264-268. For discussion of a potential *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,30), see chap. 1.

⁸¹⁶ Regarding the floor-decoration of the last house, Alfonso de Franciscis 1988, p. 18, states that the "primitive" mortar in the *fauces* of *Cd Iulius Polybius* (IX 13,3) dates back to the original phase, i.e., the 1st style-period. The *atrium*-floor (in the adjoining, displuviate room, while a second *atrium* with an *impluvium* follows hereafter) is described as a "rozzo battuto". As discussed in chap. 2, this first room has been hypothesised by Leach 1993 as being a true *vestibulum*, albeit placed inside the house.

⁸¹⁷ Tang 2018, p. 94.

⁸¹⁸ Pernice 1938, pp. 80-81. The *cocciopesto*-floor with white rows and polychrome and white stones in the *atrium* is dated to the 1st style-period, hence only similar to the *fauces*-floor by the use of the same mortar-material. The threshold-design between the two rooms was composed of a lozenge pattern.

⁸¹⁹ See discussion about the 1st style-decoration of this house in Clarke 1991, pp. 83-93. The sidewalk in front of the house is paved with stone-inlays.

⁸²⁰ A similar version can be found in the *fauces* of *Cd Colonnato tuscanico* (VI 17) at Herculaneum, which has a mortar-floor with an intricate tessellated design. Unfortunately, it is a badly preserved floor, but the pattern probably presented a combination of *tesserae*-rows and, towards the *atrium*, a pattern of concentric rectangles and lozenges. In her online database, Tang 2018 states that it may have been a possible scale-pattern (see no. 631).

⁸²¹ According to Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 29-32, because of the worn state of the floor it has not been established whether the reticulate pattern was an all-over decoration or whether it served as a threshold panel adjacent to the *atrium*, which is a more common context for this pattern.

inserted polychrome stones were also included, as a continuation of the sidewalk-décor.⁸²² In the first house, the entrance, with its notably high portal (2,70 m.), and two benches along the walls of the outer *fauces*, illustrates clearly how later owners chose also to preserve also the original mortar-floor with a white reticulate pattern as a way of testifying that this was an aristocratic *domus* from the Samnite period.⁸²³ The reticulate pattern was often employed as threshold-patterns as well. This is seen in the small house *Cd Fiori* (VI 5,19/10), where the *fauces* at VI 5,19 had a mortar-floor with an imbrication-pattern combined with a reticulate-patterned threshold towards the *atrium*.⁸²⁴ The same is found in *Cd Meleagro* (VI 9,2), where the imbrication-pattern in the *fauces* is demarcated from the *atrium* by a reticulate-patterned threshold.⁸²⁵ According to Zulini, the reticulate pattern was not confined to any particular rooms, but can be found as a threshold-pattern in rooms which may be either dynamic in character (*fauces*, corridors) or static (*tablinum*, *cubicula*).⁸²⁶ A last *fauces*-floor worthy of mention is the one in *Cd Capitelli colorati* (VII 4,31/51: entrance VII 4,31), which once had a very elaborate, all-over geometric pattern of rhomboids, rectangles and *peltae*, as shown in a reproduction in *PPM*.⁸²⁷ This remarkable *fauces*-floor, according to *PPM*,⁸²⁸ was part of a transformation (during the last phase?), that turned the house, one of the largest in Pompeii, with two peristyles, into “una splendida residenza”. Pernice, however, speculates about a date to the 1st style-period.⁸²⁹

For the purposes of the present study, the *fauces*-floors that have markedly geometric patterns and that feature framing borders and a decorative threshold-panel where they adjoin the *atrium* may be compared with carpets.⁸³⁰

6.1.3 *Fauces* with both mortar- and mosaic-floors

In this section, a group of *fauces*-mosaics will be presented briefly in which the mosaic-work constitutes only one section of the *fauces*-flooring. As we have already seen in chap. 3, some

⁸²² Pernice 1938, p. 47. Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 234-237, however, does not mention the inserted polychrome stones in either the sidewalk or the *fauces*-floor; or the alleged inscription on the *fauces*-floor, *Salve* (no. 37, see chap. 2).

⁸²³ See *PPM* III (M. de Vos), pp. 42-43. The *fauces*-floor is dated to the period 300-200 B.C.

⁸²⁴ Pernice 1938, p. 39; Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 223, 684-686, stating that the vast majority of floors in *regio* VI are only decorated in specific parts with the reticulate pattern, i.e., rarely featuring it as an all-over pattern. In other *regiones*, though, *cubicula* and *alae* could employ this design. The floor in *Cd Fiori* (VI 5,19/10) is dated by Zulini to the second quarter of the 2nd century B.C.

⁸²⁵ Pernice 1938, p. 80; Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 270-273. The floor is dated to the 2nd style-period.

⁸²⁶ Zulini 2011-2012, p. 686. The subject of concern here is *regio* VI.

⁸²⁷ Drawing by Pasquale Maria Veneri 1843 in *PPM* VI, p. 999, fig. 2. Cf. a *cubiculum*-floor decorated in the same manner in *Cd Amorini dorati* (VI 16,7/38), and one mosaic in *Cd Sallustius* (VI 2,4); Pernice 1938, p. 86, pl. 10:6; Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 562-566, who assigns a late 4th style-period date for the first mortar-floor.

⁸²⁸ *PPM* VI (Descoedres), pp. 996-999.

⁸²⁹ Pernice 1938, p. 78. Many thorough redecorations were made during the last period.

⁸³⁰ See Joyce 1979, pp. 257-258 (quotation), on the rug-like threshold *emblemata* before doors on Delian pavements in contrast to the early Pompeian floors: “At Pompeii the entire floor is thought of as a unit, with due consideration given to the architectural framework and to the relation of the floor to others nearby”.

of the *fauces* in the core-sample had a division of their architectural space that might give rise to the use of two different floorings. While the main (inner) floor-space were decorated with a mosaic, the front floor could be covered with mortar, either plain or with stones inserted.

Consider first the *fauces*-passage in *VI 13,13* (no. 8): this has three different pavements, as the consequence of the insertion of an L-shaped threshold in the middle. While the inner floor was once decorated firstly with a black-and-white mosaic and then with an additional tessellated polychrome threshold, the paving closest to the sidewalk is of *cocciopesto* with rows of white *tesserae*, dated to the 1st style-period (Figs. 14, 77 and 103).⁸³¹ According to Pernice, this very fine mortar once covered the whole entrance-floor, but was replaced in the inner part by the centrally placed black-and-white mosaic during the 2nd style-period.⁸³²

The other examples of *fauces* juxtaposing mosaic with mortar-floors are seen in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23) and in *IX 5,6* (no. 28).⁸³³ All front sections here are plain mortar-floors, with the exception of the front *cocciopesto* one in *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23) that is adorned with an intricate white *tesserae*-pattern in the shape of a centrally placed rhomboid composed of a large meander (Fig. 86). Compared to the meander-patterns found in other mortar-paved *fauces*, this one occupies an unusually prominent part of the floor, and it also makes a further connection to the large meander-border around the wild boar in the mosaic placed above. Evidently, the house-owners in these cases found it suitable to adorn one section of their entrances with a mortar-paving and the other with a mosaic. We can only speculate about the underlying reasons for this, but a plausible scenario is that the mosaic-floor could be a later addition and that the mortar (in the front part) was a paving that was preserved, perhaps for financial and/or “conservative” reasons.⁸³⁴ As seen in the case with the *fauces* in *VI 13,13* (no. 8), the inner part of the original mortar-paving came to be redecorated with a mosaic. It is worth emphasising here that it was these outer *fauces*, forming the front section of the entrance-passage, which in many cases was open to the street, that were mortar-paved, while the sections inside the *fauces*, which

⁸³¹ Pernice 1938, p. 67. See Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 437-438, for a more specific dating to c. 150 B.C.

⁸³² Pernice 1938, p. 67.

⁸³³ The floor of the outer *fauces* of *IX 5,6* (no. 28), today covered up, has been labelled as plain *cocciopesto*, see Mau in *BdI* 1879, p. 91, and *PPM IX*, p. 406. Pernice 1938, p. 117, confirms that only the inner part was tessellated. In the fold-out map in *Pompei 1748-1980*, the outer *fauces* in *IX 5,6* (no. 28), has unfortunately no colour-indicator that describes the floor-type there. Finally, the *fauces*-floor in *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4) is only described as having a tessellated threshold with an inscription (*Salve*). How the rest of the floor was decorated is not known, although Pernice 1938, p. 110, n. 1, describes it as of coarse *cocciopesto*. See chap. 6.2.

⁸³⁴ Cf. the *cocciopesto* in the outer *fauces* and the mosaic in the inner *fauces* of *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23), which have been assigned different dates: Blake 1930, pp. 26-27, 122: the mosaic is dated to the “4th” style-period, around the middle of the 1st century A.D., while the mortar is Republican (here it is difficult to follow Blake’s somewhat confusing mode of cross-references); Pernice 1938, p. 99, discusses the floors quite thoroughly and places the mortar-floor in the Republican period (in contrast to Mau’s Tufa period), while the mosaic must be more recent, completed no later than during the “3rd” style-period; *PPM VIII*, pp. 191-225. Wootton 2018, pp. 498-499, suggests financial reasons as one explanation but also thinks that the inherent value of preserving older types of decoration, amongst them mortar-floors, could have dictated actions.

could be locked up during the night, might be tessellated spaces. Evidently, mosaics belonged to the interior of the house, and not to the sidewalk-area, as mortar-paving more naturally did. Thus, a tessellated floor made for a more distinct demarcation between the inside and the outside than was produced by mortar-flooring on its own.⁸³⁵

6.1.4 Exceptional *tesserae*-patterns on mortar-paved *fauces*-floors

Three *fauces*-floors in mortar stand out as unusual since they feature figurative designs.⁸³⁶ The first floor represents a so-called “wheel of Fortuna” inserted in *lavapesta* with rows of *tesserae* (*Cd P. F. L.*, IX 6,3).⁸³⁷ Unfortunately, the floor is not preserved any more, while its design is of a sort rather uncommon around Pompeii. However, we do find the same “wheel” represented in the famous mosaic on the “memento mori”-theme that once decorated a table in a summer *triclinium* belonging to the combined house and tannery of I 5,2 (*Officina coriariorum di Vesonius Primus*).⁸³⁸ Here, the wheel is portrayed below a skull, which in turn is being weighed on scales symbolically balancing wealth and poverty.⁸³⁹ Another floor exhibiting the wheel-pattern is found in a room in a *caupona* (V 1,13). Here, the mortar-floor is similar in its design to the *fauces*-floor of *Cd P. F. L.* (IX 6,3) referred to above, displaying a wheel of eight spokes.⁸⁴⁰ Areas of dining as well as entering were viewed as in need of protection from any harm,⁸⁴¹ which may explain why the image of the wheel is found in these spaces.

A second *fauces*-floor with figurative decoration was once discovered in a house in VII 3 (which precise house is now uncertain). The recorded tessellated inscription *Lucru(m) ac(c)ipe* (no. 39: Take/accept wealth) was accompanied by tessellated figures such as a winged *caduceus*, a dolphin and a basket. As already seen in the section on the tessellated inscriptions (see chap. 2), such salutation of prosperity and displaying of the fruits of wealth (whether sought after or actually gained), along with reflections on life as subject to the wheel of

⁸³⁵ Joyce 1979, p. 261.

⁸³⁶ One more *fauces*-floor may be mentioned here although it does not present a figurative composition: a large encircled six-petaled flower from house VIII 2,13. Further tessellated decorations on this well-preserved *cocciopesto*-floor are large *pelta*-shields along the sides of an inserted square. According to de Vos 1991, pp. 54-55, this pattern draws inspiration from ceiling-decorations, and as such it belonged to an artistic language that was more or less purely decorative. To judge from *PPM* VIII, pp. 70-71, it seems that the *fauces*-floor may belong to the 3rd style-period. In Zulini's study, 2011-2012, p. 691, only six mortar-floors in the whole of *regio* VI exhibit “figurative” representations, and these, according to her categorisation, mainly incorporate vegetal and floral motifs.

⁸³⁷ See Pernice 1938, p. 118; de Vos 1991, p. 42; *PPM* IX, p. 738, for an old photograph of this *lavapesta*-floor.

⁸³⁸ Today at MANN, inv.nr. 109982. See Mau in *BdI* 1874, pp. 273-274.

⁸³⁹ Dunbabin 1986, pp. 213-215, points out that the allegory of the *memento mori*-mosaic refers to the theme of *omnia mors aequat* (“death equals all things”), and also conveys a reminder that one should enjoy life and its riches before death puts an end to them.

⁸⁴⁰ See www.pompejiprojektet.se (Insula V 1, caupona V 1,13, room e). The centre of the wheel consists of a small marble-stone. The floor-design is unfortunately worn, but the wheel is placed within a tessellated frame. The design is, moreover, placed like a carpet in front of the presumed *klinai* that once stood along two of the walls.

⁸⁴¹ Dining was seen as an occasion where many people gathered, and where, consequently, envy could lurk, see Elliott 2016, pp. 152-153.

Fortune,⁸⁴² were not entirely unusual as subject-matter for entrance-decorations. The floor-design in the front (*taberna*) room of the *Fullonica di Vesonius Primus* (VI 14,21, no. 53) expresses the implied belief-system well. Here, the welcoming inscription *Salve* is accompanied by a figurative tessellated design containing a basket, a dolphin, *cornucopiae*, *phalli* and a *caduceus*, which made sure that the wishes for basic good health implied by *Salve* became associated additionally with concepts relating to wealth and prosperity. The *caduceus* was a direct reference to Mercury (the god of merchants), who could protect one's (commercial) assets and affluence, which in turn were symbolised through the figures of the basket and *cornucopia*. The *phallus* and the dolphin were, moreover, traditional apotropaic symbols.

A third and last *fauces*-floor with a very uncommon design is found in the recently unearthed *Cd Orione* in *regio V 2*, which presents a circle with an inserted square (or cross). Located near the border to the *atrium* where it is inlaid in an otherwise undecorated *cocciopesto*-floor, this entirely unique image may be linked to the *cocciopesto*-floor in the *tablinum* of the same house, which in turn displays a representation of a so-called *gromatic* instrument (a circle with a long handle) used in land-surveys. It has been hypothesised by the excavators that the commissioner of the two floors was an owner who belonged to the land-surveying profession, and that the *fauces*-image bore a direct relation to the measuring of the actual *atrium* and the orientation of the house itself.⁸⁴³

6.1.5 Concluding discussion

At the beginning of this chapter, questions were asked as to what kind of signals a mortar-paved entrance might convey to people about to visit a house. This survey of *fauces*, which has mainly focused on the larger houses of Pompeii, underlines the importance of the mortar-pavements as elegant and highly valued floors of their time. Needless to say, not all mortar-paved *fauces* were expressions of any particular high level of decorative aspiration, and therefore, a contextualisation had to be done in order to distinguish which of the entrances that might reflect the taste of a more than usually self-conscious owner.

The earliest preserved *fauces*-floor decorations belong to the early 1st style-period, i.e., to the 2nd century B.C. Around 100 B.C., only *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) had a tessellated entrance, as far as is known. The other aristocratic *domus* chose another kind of floor-décor, mainly that of mortar with polychrome stone-inlays. It is clear that the noble house-owners of this period, even sometimes employing the praxis of decorating the sidewalk in the same manner as their *fauces*, made sure that attention was drawn to their entrance, and that the *fauces*-space was treated as outward-turning. The specific patterns on the floors did not signal any particular function but represented good taste in general and perhaps the financial means

⁸⁴² For the goddess Fortuna and the concepts of fortune, good luck and chance, see Miano 2018.

⁸⁴³ See Osanna 2020, pp. 122-124. The floors have been assigned a possible dating to the Augustan period. Cf. the tessellated inscription *M. Spurius Mesor* (no. 48, chap. 2).

required for purchasing marble-stones as inlays, especially (from the Julio-Claudian period onwards) unusually coloured ones. Evidently, even houses that were decorated in a later period, like *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4, with its *fauces*-floor probably from the 2nd style-period), could keep to this elegant taste as a way of confirming the house-owners' social status by reference to a noble past.⁸⁴⁴

A little later, but still during the Samnite period, inlaid *tesserae*, too, would be used as inserts in these mortar-floors. From this development, a certain change in the attitude towards the entrance can be deduced. To start with, tessellated stones created abstract patterns, which by their nature were capable of serving the purpose of being “only” nice to look at. Even so, it was also possible for such patterns to signal meanings. The question, then, for modern scholars is how to read these hypothetical meanings. About these, de Vos makes the most convincing proposition that there are such things as guiding patterns: the gaze is simply drawn to a repetitive pattern that is turned towards the inside. The visitor, on encountering such patterns, senses encouragement to movement to be their underlying function, and so does not find himself pausing for a glance at the decoration. Although some of these repeated patterns might emphasise the actual, spatial, length of the entrance-passage, and indeed could suggest to the visitor a physical and hierarchical distance, they simultaneously conveyed or confirmed an invitation to enter. The commonness of these patterns in the *fauces* is supportive of the idea that they were regarded as well suited for that particular space.

What is of further interest to consider is how this “welcoming” décor may be regarded in terms of the modern academic view, more and more emphatically expressed these days, that Roman *atrium*-houses, by the use of doors and partitions to screen off spaces, maintained a “guardian stance” in relation to the outside, and a controlling function towards their interior. Surely, visual demarcations, brought about through the use of decorative thresholds, between the *fauces* and the *atria*, and elsewhere further within the house, may be used as an argument in favour of the supposition that house-owners sought to control a visitor's movement and perception of admittance into certain rooms. The earlier practice of linking the sidewalk with the house-interior as far as the *atrium* seems to have been modified over the years, and in that sense, the *fauces* may, to an increasing extent, have acquired a role as a borderland. On the other hand, the very popular guiding patterns of the multi-lined rows and imbrication speak another language. Sometimes there are no thresholds dividing the *fauces* from the *atria* where these patterns are seen, although the most common version seems to have employed them. When mosaic-floors came into use, a more distinct demarcation in regard to the outside was clearly made. While mortar as a material was used for both sidewalks and rooms within the houses, mosaic had no connection with the sidewalk, and its associations were with the interior only.

⁸⁴⁴ In her discussion about the non-figurative mosaics of Ostia, Swift 2009, p. 44, points out that the use of traditional patterns may be regarded as an important act of commemoration, and thus not as mere copying.

As has already been mentioned in previous chapters, in times of redecoration, the Pompeian house-owner did not necessarily feel obliged to alter the floor-decoration when the walls were repainted. Probably a mix of financial, conservative and technical reasons often favoured preservation, as the result of which many *fauces*-floors are older than the wall-paintings of the same space. Consideration of pure functionality must have dictated many decisions, that is, recognition of the capacity of mortar to withstand the ravages of time. But the association of mortar with a bygone past must also have been an important factor underlying its lasting popularity.⁸⁴⁵

The colouring of mortar-floors played an important role, too, in ensuring their long-term retention, for the reddish *cocciopesto*, like the blackish *lavapesta*, could be polished to shine brightly (Fig. 75). In very few instances, white floors were instead used and, as will be evident in the remainder of this survey, a comparable light background would also come to dominate those *fauces* which became decorated with mosaics. Such *fauces* must have differed greatly from red- or black-paved entrances in the impression they produced.⁸⁴⁶ When discussing the white floors in the *fauces* and in another room off the *atrium* in *Cd Chirurgo* (VI 1,9-10/23), Wootton puts emphasis on this visual impact.⁸⁴⁷ Where one saw a combination of inlaid stones of white, black and other colours upon a ground of mortar, the visual effect could indeed be bright and colourful. This polychrome style of flooring would never disappear from Pompeian entrance-decoration but, alongside it, a new fashion for *fauces*-mosaics resulted in an alternative, bichrome (black and white) style of flooring, which produced another kind of visual impact.

The different spaces within Pompeian houses were decorated in accordance with function and hierarchy, which resulted in a mixed patchwork ranging from *cocciopesto* and *lavapesta* to mosaic and *opus sectile*. When studying the fold-out map in *Pompei 1748-1980* of the floor-types in the houses in the last phase, one finds that most of the floor-space of the city has been left uncoloured, which indicated that unfortunately that the floors within this large area have not been assigned to any specific type. Where classification of floors has been attempted, the most common colour indication is that of *cocciopesto*. In a sample concerned with mosaic-coverage, de Vos studied a number of *insulae* in *regio* I, highlighting the exclusivity and concentration of tessellated floors within a few houses.⁸⁴⁸ Out of an area of 30 000 m², only 2.5% were tessellated (as opposed to 7%: decorated mortar-floors), and, of the mosaics located, 75% were confined to three houses alone. A similar investigation has

⁸⁴⁵ Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 4, 696, adduces as an example the small house VI 2,11, of which seven floors out of eight were paved in *cocciopesto*. Many of them are dated to the 2nd century B.C., and were kept to the final days. The reason for this, Zulini argues, must have been the excellent durability of the material and also conservatism on the part of the owners.

⁸⁴⁶ In her discussion on how geometric patterns were transferred to mosaic-floors, Joyce 1979, p. 261, even claims that “these carefully worked tessellated floors are far finer than their more hastily done signinum ancestors and often achieve a simple elegance”.

⁸⁴⁷ Wootton 2018, p. 487.

⁸⁴⁸ De Vos 1991, pp. 37-38. See also the illustrative case of *Cd Chirurgo* (VI 1,9-10/23) as presented by Wootton 2018.

been made by Zulini, where she has focused on the floor-distribution of one *insula* (VI 2) as it existed in A.D. 79.⁸⁴⁹ Of 73 pavements (in 11 houses), 65 % were paved in *cocciopesto*, 16 % in *lavapesta*, 8 % in mosaic and only 1 % in *opus sectile*. In other words, mortar-paved *fauces* would not automatically and reliably inform a visitor entering it how the rest of the house was paved unless the guest happened to be visiting at an early date when more or less all the floors in Pompeii were made of mortar. The popularity of the mosaic-floor surely grew over time, but it is a mistake to believe that much of Pompeii was tessellated by A.D. 79. As Vassal points out in her introduction, mortar-floors might in fact be found in even the finest rooms of a Mediterranean *domus*, not only in secondary spaces, and they should correspondingly receive the credit that they deserve.⁸⁵⁰

Addressing a question about specific floor-designs, with particular reference to mosaic-borders, Swift states that patterns on thresholds should be seen as a decoration that served that particular space alone. In other words, tessellated threshold-patterns were primarily linked with the function of the space they adorned, and rarely to the bordering room's floor-pattern.⁸⁵¹

It remains to say that several parallel attitudes seem to be traceable in the purposes of the various *fauces* floor-decorations. The mortar-floor could both be simple and an embellishment. On the one hand, it served purely functional purposes, on the other, depending on its design and context, it could evoke its owner's membership of, or emulation of, an ancient aristocracy. In a few rare instances, pictorial embellishment of flooring-décor could evoke personal sentiments about wealth and prosperity. In one unique case, symbols perhaps referring to the profession of the owner as an *agrimensor* were inlaid in the floor-designs of the *fauces* and the *tablinum* of a house.

All in all, the messages that can be obtained from the mortar-paved *fauces* around Pompeii seem basically to display a positive attitude. Only the representation in them of a few *phalli* and a dolphin suggest any concern to invoke protective figures against surmised evil. A desire for seclusion or a "guardian stance" towards the outside world cannot really be traced in the designs of the mortar-floors of the *fauces*, unless the decorative thresholds to the *atria*, which they adjoin, ought to be seen as such. Surely, these made the visitor stop before entering but, at the same time, the patterns inserted in them did not, in themselves, refer to any distancing. On the contrary, they repeatedly insisted that the house was meant to be visited. On a whole, it seems reasonable to describe the attitude conveyed over time by mortar-decorated *fauces* as welcoming in their deployment of figures, geometric patterns and

⁸⁴⁹ Zulini 2011-2012, pp. 695-696, 711-712. The investigation shows that *cocciopesto* was more or less frequently present in any kind of space, and that there were no rooms for which this type of mortar was particularly favoured. In the table on p. 712, presenting the distribution of the different floor-materials in the *insula*, mosaics are listed as occurring first in *cubicula* (i.e., neither in *fauces* nor in *atria*).

⁸⁵⁰ Vassal 2006, p. 3. However, as Zulini 2011-2012, p. 654, points out, *tablina* would rarely be decorated with plain mortar-floors but seem instead to have received more ornamental decoration.

⁸⁵¹ Swift 2009, p. 34.

inscriptions, or else as proudly harking back to a noble past, whether their style was one of elegant simplicity or of elaborate polychrome ornamentation.

6.2 Geometric pattern group

6.2.1 Presentation

The **geometric pattern group** comprises 14 *fauces*-mosaics out of a total of 33. Because of the varied nature of their designs, these mosaics have been divided into two sub-groups, of which the first contains the six mosaics that present an exclusively geometric design, and the second, the eight mosaics that present a geometric design mixed with another pattern, featured in other groups as well. The designs in the first group are all-over patterns with framing borders, which can be thought of as carpets. The mosaics in the second group present geometric patterns, which either cover the main surface-area of the mosaic, or are contained in a border that serves to frame that area.

First group:

<i>Cd Ancora</i> (VI 10, 7, no. 6):	Fig. 76
<i>VI 13,13</i> (no. 8):	Fig. 77
<i>Cd Bracciale d'oro</i> (VI 17,44, no. 11):	Fig. 78
<i>Cd Championnet II</i> (VIII 2,3, no. 19):	Fig. 79
<i>Cd Mosaici geometrici</i> (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20):	Fig. 80
<i>Officina offectoria di Ubonius</i> (IX 3,2, no. 26):	Fig. 81

Two of the six *fauces*-mosaics share the same principal design, an all-over imbrication-pattern. The main difference between them is in the disposition of the colours; black on a white ground in *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6),⁸⁵² and the reverse, white on a black ground, in *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26). In this second corridor-like *fauces*, the black mosaic is framed by a wide white border. A black horizontal line divides the mosaic from the upper section where a white tessellated threshold-panel, framed in black, at the entrance to the *atrium* (which is paved in *lavapesta*), exhibits a polychrome rendering of a (one-row) pattern

⁸⁵² Blake 1930, pp. 62, 82; Pernice 1938, p. 78; *PPM* IV, p. 1051. However, there seems to be no justification for Pernice's correction (1938, p. 78, n. 3) when he states that the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6) was treated by Blake as mainly ancient, while he himself believes it has been much restored in modern times. In fact, the *fauces*-mosaic that Blake discusses is the one in *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26), which in her view seems to have been relaid for most part.

of triangles, with a grey horizontal band, in which yellow *tesserae* were once inserted.⁸⁵³ This mosaic covers, moreover, the total *fauces*-space, while the mosaic in *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6) covers the upper level only of the two-stepped *fauces*-space, like a carpet. The border where the *fauces* met the *atrium*, which was paved with a white mosaic with stone-inserts, is unfortunately not preserved any more. The dates assigned to these two well-preserved *fauces*-mosaics place them both in group 2 (the late Republic).

In *VI 13,13* (no. 8), the middle floor used to contain a mosaic with a so-called hourglass-pattern, alternating in black and white. The (fragmentary) mosaic exists nowadays only as a photograph.⁸⁵⁴ This *fauces*-passage had three different floors, the innermost of which, a tessellated panel with a floral motif, marked the entry to the *atrium* (which was paved in *cocciopesto* like the floor in the outer *fauces*, see below). The *fauces*-mosaic belongs to group 2 (the late Republic).

The fragmentary mosaic in *Cd Championnet II* (VIII 2,3, no. 19: restored in 2018) presents a white diagonal grid-pattern on a black background, framed by a white border.⁸⁵⁵ Inside the nodes are black squares in a diamond shape, which in alternation contain either simple *tesserae*, like those in the multi-lined rows of *tesserae*, or white enlarged crosslets. Unfortunately, there is no information regarding any threshold at the entrance to the *atrium*, which once had a black mosaic with white rows of *tesserae*. The *fauces*-mosaic belongs to group 2 (the late Republic).

In the narrow stairway-entrance of *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,44, no. 11), a white mosaic exhibits a circle framed in black with six hexagons encircling a central hexagon (reminiscent of a modern football). Inside are squares with swastikas, and on the outer edge of the circle are six triangles, all outlined in black.⁸⁵⁶ The *fauces*-mosaic seems to join with the white *atrium*-mosaic without any true threshold, but separated only by the *atrium* mosaic's two black borders. The *fauces*-mosaic belongs to group 2 (the late Republic).

The last mosaic adorns the large *fauces* of *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20), where a black reticulate pattern is repeated all over the white background. The mosaic is framed by a wide black border. The rectangular threshold-panel towards the *atrium* (with a white mosaic) consists of a black horizontal line on a white ground that is framed by a pattern of black triangles in two rows.⁸⁵⁷ The *fauces*-mosaic belongs to group 2 (the Augustan period).

⁸⁵³ Blake 1930, p. 82; Pernice 1938, p. 70; *PPM* IX, p. 129. N.B. the yellow addition is not clearly (if at all) visible any longer, which probably has to do with modern restorations, made after the documentation by *PPM*, when the threshold was largely destroyed.

⁸⁵⁴ Blake 1930, p. 79, pl. 25:3; Pernice 1938, p. 67.

⁸⁵⁵ Blake 1930, p. 109, pl. 28:4, terms the design "squares and oblongs"; Pernice 1938, pp. 100-101; *PPM* VIII, pp. 64-65.

⁸⁵⁶ *PPM* VI, pp. 46-47; Aoyagi & Pappalardo 2006, pp. 23-26. The house had not yet been excavated in the time of Blake and Pernice.

⁸⁵⁷ Blake 1930, pp. 76, 82; Pernice 1938, pp. 75-76; *PPM* VIII, p. 77.

Second group:

<i>Cd Vestali</i> (VI 1,7/25, no. 4)	Fig. 82
<i>Cd Poeta tragico</i> (VI 8,3/5, no. 5)	Fig. 137
<i>Cd Orso</i> (VII 2,45, no. 14)	Fig. 83
<i>Cd Marinaio</i> (VII 15,1-2, no. 15)	Fig. 84
<i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II</i> (VII 16,15, no. 17)	Fig. 85
<i>Cd Cinghiale II</i> (VIII 2,26, no. 23)	Fig. 86
<i>Cd Severus</i> (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24)	Fig. 93
<i>Cd Cinghiale I</i> (VIII 3,8, no. 25)	Fig. 87

To begin with the geometric patterns that serve as all-over patterns or cover the central surface-areas of mosaics, multi-lined rows of tesserae occur in two cases: black rows of *tesserae* on a white ground in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), which serve as a background to an *emblema* featuring a watchdog and inscription, and white rows of *tesserae* on a black ground in *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24: with large marble-inserts in rows).⁸⁵⁸ Both mosaics belong to group 3 (the post-earthquake period and the Claudian period).

The meander-pattern occurs in the central section of the *fauces* in *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23: broad, black meander-border around the *emblema* with a wild boar).⁸⁵⁹ The mosaic belongs to group 2 (the Augustan period). The black meander is also central in *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15: in the photograph, the main body of meander-pattern is shown beneath the figurative threshold, which once showed a marine scene).⁸⁶⁰ The mosaic belongs to group 2 (the period between late Republic and early Empire). In *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17: with stone-inserts), the black meander once acted as a border around a mosaic on a white ground.⁸⁶¹ The mosaic belongs to group 2 (the late Republic).

In *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), the white-background, non-figurative mosaic that follows on from the figurative panel showing a bear, is composed of an all-over design of black-framed block-pattern, reminiscent of modern brickwork.⁸⁶² The mosaic belongs to group 3 (the pre-earthquake period). The white *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25) exhibits an all-over geometric composition, framed by a guilloche-border, which consists of two large squares placed horizontally, repeated three times vertically. Inside the squares in this grid-pattern are stylised flowers and squares/triangles. Smaller lozenges serve as fillers in between the larger squares. A square panel in front of the threshold-panel at the entrance to

⁸⁵⁸ For *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), see Blake 1930, pp. 111, 121-122; Pernice 1938, p. 98; Clarke 1979, pp. 10-11. For *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24), see Blake 1930, p. 65, pl. 14:3; Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 69; Pernice 1938, p. 73.

⁸⁵⁹ Blake 1930, pp. 26-27, 122; Pernice 1938, p. 99.

⁸⁶⁰ Blake 1930, pp. 79-81, 84-85, 109; Pernice 1938, p. 64, pl. 18:4.

⁸⁶¹ The house had not been excavated in the time of Blake or Pernice. See pictures in *PPM* VII, p. 883, fig. 1, and in Curtis 1984, pl. 74, and discussion in Esposito 2006.

⁸⁶² Blake 1930, pp. 111, 122; Pernice 1938, pp. 98-99; Ehrhardt 1988.

the *atrium* shows a wild boar-scene. The rectangular threshold-panel at the entrance to the *atrium* is placed outside the guilloche-border. It consists of four squares in a row with one Solomon's knot and the other stylised flowers. Lozenges in a row act as a border.⁸⁶³ The mosaic belongs to group 3 (presumably the late period).

The *fauces* in the rear part of *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4) is unfortunately not preserved any more. Most likely, the mosaic acted as a threshold-panel at the entrance to the *atrium* (which once had a white mosaic with red borders). The image consists of the inscription *Salve*, set into a black *tabula ansata*. The border is made up by two rows of black triangles. Pernice describes the rest of the floor-paving in the *fauces* as a coarse mortar.⁸⁶⁴ Although not left *in situ*, a conjectural date to the early Empire has been assigned to this panel, placing the mosaic in group 2.

6.2.2 *Comparanda*

The geometric-patterned mosaic became a more or less ubiquitous adornment of Pompeian houses from the late Republic onwards. In other words, many of the patterns found on the *fauces*-mosaics were not conceived of as particularly suitable for entryways only. This is especially evident in the case of the so-called hourglass-pattern (VI 13,13, no. 8) that is found in various contexts inside *atrium*-houses.⁸⁶⁵ Nor were such patterns confined to private houses. Within the public sphere, the portico and the *cella* of the *Tempio di Iside* (VIII 7,28) featured several mosaics, patterned with squares and triangles, that are dated to the last phase of Pompeii's history.⁸⁶⁶ Together these may serve as an illustration of how common in all sorts of architectural context geometric expression on mosaics became.

The reticulate (*Cd Mosaici geometrici*, VIII 2,14-16, no. 20) and the meander-patterns (*Cd Marinaio*, VII 15,1-2, no. 15; *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II*, VII 16,15, no. 17, and *Cd Cinghiale II*, VIII 2,26, no. 23) are also found inside houses throughout much of the city's history. They were often employed in borders to frame *emblemata*, or in threshold-panels to demarcate spaces, but could nevertheless be used, also, as all-over patterns. They are found

⁸⁶³ The design is considered typical of the all-over patterns of the 1st century A.D., see Blake 1930, p. 120. See also Blake 1930, p. 99; Pernice 1938, p. 66.

⁸⁶⁴ Breton 1855, p. 1; *PPM* IV, pp. 48-49, fig. 86; *CIL* X 873b. De Vos 1991, p. 42, wrongly attributes this mosaic to the *atrium*. The mosaic-threshold was excavated already in 1785. Regarding the rest of the floor, Pernice 1938, p. 110, n. 1, describes it as "grobem Ziegelsigninum". See also chap. 4.

⁸⁶⁵ See Blake 1930, p. 79, citing as examples *Cd Criptoportico* (I 6,2); *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), and supplying plates showing *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13), pl. 17:3; *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18), pl. 25:2. For *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), see Pernice 1938, pl. 27:4.

⁸⁶⁶ *PPM* VIII, pp. 785-786.

in both mortar-floors and mosaics,⁸⁶⁷ adorning spaces of both dynamic and static character.⁸⁶⁸ They were, moreover, not restricted to the private sphere, as may be seen from one *opus sectile*-floor with a reticulate pattern in *Terme Stabiane* (VII 1,8). The popular meander-pattern was found in a variety of artistic contexts, both in the public and the private sphere, and in various kinds of rooms within houses.⁸⁶⁹

Multi-lined rows of tesserae (*Cd Poeta tragico*, VI 8,3/5, no. 5; *Cd Championnet II*, VIII 2,3, no. 19, and *Cd Severus*, VIII 2,29-30, no. 24) are found in many mortar-paved *fauces*-floors, where they were clearly indicative of the function of these floors as offering entrance to a house. It is interesting to note that this pattern is, nevertheless, relatively infrequent in mosaic-pavements within *fauces*.

The hexagon-pattern with swastikas (*Cd Bracciale d'oro*, VI 17,44, no. 11) points to a shared artistic language that also could adorn public and private buildings alike, ceilings as well as floors. There are similar mosaics at Pompeii with a so-called honeycomb-pattern, including mosaics from various rooms in some of our houses: *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18), *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), and *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30).⁸⁷⁰ In the latter house, a black-and-white mosaic, once with a central *emblema* of a Medusa, exhibits an all-over pattern with honeycombs and single swastikas contained in it.⁸⁷¹

A popular pattern that, on the other hand, seems to have more specific reference to the function of the *fauces*-space is the imbrication-design, which we have encountered on mortar-floors from Samnite Pompeii. It is interesting to note that the pattern continued into the 2nd style-period, but thereafter declined in popularity.⁸⁷² In mosaics, one version – found on mosaics in the inner parts of houses – was the two-tone style with half of the scales being black, the other white. The version that, instead, simply outlined the scales,⁸⁷³ was evidently rare: the two *fauces*-mosaics in this study are the only examples of it at Pompeii: *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6) and *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26).

The all-over grid pattern with larger squares, as seen in *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25) does not find an immediate counterpart in the Pompeian repertoire but, instead, in that of

⁸⁶⁷ See pictures in Pernice 1938 of mortar-floors with the reticulate pattern: *Cd Amanti* (I 10,11, pl. 48:4); VIII 2,13 (pl. 46:5); *Cd Conte di Torino/M. Obellius Firmus* (IX 14,4, pl. 26:1) and *Cd Gavius Rufus* (VII 2,16, pl. 26:5) For mosaics, with both white and black grounds, see *Cd Nozze d'argento* (V 2,i, pl. 17:1 & 3); *Cd Labirinto* (VI 11,9-10, pls. 8:4 & 9:1) and *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4, pl. 24:2).

⁸⁶⁸ The reticulate pattern as found in a dynamic space is exemplified by a corridor next to the *tablinum* of *Cd Sacello Iliaco* (I 6,4), see *PPMI*, p. 307. For its use in a static space, see Pernice 1938, pls. 35:1 and 17:1, showing a *triclinium* in *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6), and a room in *Cd Nozze d'argento* (V 2,i).

⁸⁶⁹ Blake 1930, pp. 71-72, 84-85, 96, 109.

⁸⁷⁰ See pictures in Blake 1930, pl. 24:3, 26:4, 27:4. See also Balmelle et. al. 2002, pl. 375:b and 415:a, for comparisons.

⁸⁷¹ Blake 1930, p. 98, pl. 14:4. Today at MANN, inv. nr. 112284.

⁸⁷² Blake 1930, p. 82; Pernice 1938, p. 136. For mortar- and mosaic-floors, see Blake 1930, pl. 3:4; Pernice 1938, pl. 12:1 (*Cd Giuseppe II*, VIII 2,39), and Pernice 1938, pl. 9:4 (*Cd M. Terentius Eudoxus*, VI 13,6). According to Pernice, the latest examples found are 3rd style-period mortar-floors in *Cd Colombe a mosaico* (VIII 2,34), *Cd Meleagro* (VI 9,2) and I 7,18.

⁸⁷³ See Pernice 1938, p. 136, for this third version, intermediate between the versions found on mortar-floors and in two-toned mosaics.

Herculaneum. The *fauces*-floor, of comparable date, in Herculaneum's *Cd Atrio a mosaico* (IV 2) presents a grid-pattern with squares, separated by guilloche-bands, much as found in the Pompeian *fauces*-mosaic, though this floor lacks any figurative panel adjacent to the threshold (Fig. 88).⁸⁷⁴

In three of the *fauces* containing mosaics, we find at the entrance to the *atrium* a threshold-panel patterned with one and the same design featuring rows of triangles. Its motif, a rectangle framed by one or two rows of triangles, with a horizontal band in the middle, is considered to have been popular during the 2nd style-period:⁸⁷⁵ *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4), *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20), and *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26). However, it is not found on mortar-paved *fauces*-floors. The inscription *Salve* in *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4), which is framed by this triangular row-pattern, is one that is found on both mosaics and mortar-floors alike, as presented in chap. 2. Together with the similar inscription *Have*, with or without added words, the greeting of *Salve* is found on floors in nine examples, typically located in the front part of *atrium*-houses. Of the *fauces*-mosaics in the core-sample, a total of three present inscriptions: *Cave canem* in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), *Have* in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) and *Salve* in *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4).

The *fauces*-mosaic with the *Salve*-inscription is the only one that displays a *tabula ansata*, paralleled only by one mortar-floor with a tessellated inscription (no. 49, see chap. 2),⁸⁷⁶ similarly inserted in a tablet “with handles”. The image of the *tabula ansata* has also been found on façades, next to entrances, containing names in electoral *dipinti* and in graffiti.⁸⁷⁷ In one case, at the *Hospitium Sittii* (VII 1,44-45: neighbour to *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12, and *Cd Orso*, VII 2,45, no. 14), the sign of the inn, an elephant together with an inscription, was displayed inside a tablet of this kind between the two entrances.⁸⁷⁸ In later mosaics, the use of the *tabula ansata* would occur more often as tessellated inscriptions increased in popularity (Fig. 89).⁸⁷⁹

⁸⁷⁴ The *atrium*-mosaic in *Cd Atrio a mosaico* is reminiscent of the *atrium*-mosaic in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), although the white background on the Pompeian mosaic is more dominant, and the black squares are smaller.

⁸⁷⁵ *PPM* IX (Bragantini), p. 129; Blake 1930, p. 85. See pictures in Pernice 1938, on similarly dated mosaics from *Cd Labirinto* (VI 11,9-10: pl. 9:2), *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4: pl. 24:6), *Cd Gavius Rufus* (VII 2,16: pl. 26:6), and *Cd Citarista* (I 4,5: pl. 29:1).

⁸⁷⁶ *Iciit hoc! Fecit hoc?*, decorating a *cubiculum*-threshold in *Cd Capitelli colorati* (VII 4,31).

⁸⁷⁷ Kruschwitz & Campbell 2009, p. 60-70. A bronze *tabula ansata*-plate was found beside the door of the unexcavated house at I 19,3, on which an inscription mentioned one L. Satrius Rufus as an *evocatus Aug(usti) a commentar(iis)* (a retired Imperial secretary). This may probably have served as a nameplate of the house-owner, although it is the only example of such a plate found in Pompeii, see Benefiel 2010a, p. 59, n. 59. See also Della Corte 1965, no. 627, pp. 305-306.

⁸⁷⁸ Kruschwitz & Campbell 2009, p. 63; *CIL* IV 806, 807. Both *ansatus*, meaning “with handles”, and *tabula*, meaning “a tablet” are words of classical Latin origin, but the composite term *tabula ansata*, used by the editors of *CIL*, is not ancient. Instead, *titulus* was the standard term employed by Roman writers for an informative “label” or “tablet”, see Leatherburly 2019, pp. 382-383.

⁸⁷⁹ In her second volume on Roman mosaics, Blake 1936, p. 158, discusses a later mosaic from Rome, adorned with an accompanied inscription inserted into a *tabula ansata*. Blake states that no mosaic from the 1st century A.D. includes this kind of tablet-design as known to her, which means that she was left unaware of the *Salve*-inscription from Pompeii. For more, later mosaics, *Foro delle Corporazioni* (II,VII,4) at Ostia serves as a good illustration where the various offices

6.2.3 Roman and modern views

Geometric mosaics have not in general terms been entirely neglected by scholars,⁸⁸⁰ but in many instances they have been treated as displaying purely ornamental patterns, as, for example, in the studies by Blake and Pernice. To take the Pompeian *fauces*-mosaics as an example, here geometric patterns are regrettably not as highlighted as much as their figurative counterparts. But as we saw in the mortar-floor section (chap. 6.1), the studies by Swift and de Vos,⁸⁸¹ of the symbolic and/or practical function of geometric patterns in entryways, provide a nuanced and well-argued picture of their significance. Their line of thought will naturally be important for this section as well, given that so many of the geometric patterns in these mosaics appear closely related to designs found in mortar-pavements.

Swift's crucial argument derives from the Vitruvian viewpoint, according to which decoration ideally should be regarded as *appropriate* for the space it adorns. As a consequence, decoration may be seen as creating a claimed identity, as it may also help one to identify how the concerned space should be perceived and used.⁸⁸² In her study on Ostian mosaics, emphasis is put on the identification of spaces as dynamic as opposed to static, or marginal as opposed to principal, and on the question of how different floor-patterns contributed to these differentiations. Although Imperial Ostia made use of the black-and-white geometric mosaics to a much greater extent than Pompeii, similarities in the association of specific patterns with certain spaces may be discerned, as they functioned like codes.⁸⁸³

As we saw in the mortar-section (chap. 6.1), the practice of tessellating a threshold in order to demarcate spaces gradually became more common in the western mosaic-tradition than in the eastern. Such thresholds might mark off not only boundaries between the outside and inside but also between different interior spaces.⁸⁸⁴ In the case of marginal and dynamic areas, like an entrance or corridor, floor-patterns could underline a direction of movement, e.g., by letting one motif overlap the next in a repeated, symmetrical pattern. This is well illustrated on the Pompeian floors employing the ancient imbrication-pattern, multi-lined rows and the meander.⁸⁸⁵ As Swift's study clearly shows, threshold-mosaics served to guide the visitor as certain patterns were employed to distinguish public from private/intimate areas. Apart from offering demarcation and guidance, they might also offer protection, as

informed the visitors, by means of inscribed tablets inserted in mosaics, of the business being conducted there in the late 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., see Leatherbury 2019, p. 388.

⁸⁸⁰ For mosaics with geometric patterns, see studies by e.g., Balmelle et. al. 1985; 2002; Ovadia 1980; Tebby 2003.

⁸⁸¹ Swift 2009 is much influenced by the anthropologist Alfred Gell in ascribing agency to the sphere of arts. See Gell 1998, p. 2, stressing that "to appreciate the art of a particular period we should try to recapture the 'way of seeing' which artists of the period implicitly assumed their public would bring to their work. One of the art historian's tasks is to assist in this process by adducing the historical context".

⁸⁸² Swift 2009, pp. 16-17.

⁸⁸³ Swift 2009, p. 29, 96-97.

⁸⁸⁴ Swift 2009, p. 33; Westgate 2000a, pp. 256-257.

⁸⁸⁵ Swift 2009, pp. 10-15, 32-43. See also table 2.1, listing popular threshold-motifs around the empire from the 1st century B.C. to the 4th century A.D.

borders were perceived as vulnerable to any harm that might venture to cross them.⁸⁸⁶ This last point must naturally be treated with caution as one may well doubt whether every geometric pattern could or should be read as containing apotropaic protection.

In chap. 2, it was stated that there has been a remarkable silence on the part of scholars with regard to the tessellated inscriptions on Pompeian floors. Some have certainly been highlighted, most notably *Cave canem*. The *Salve*-inscription in *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4) belongs, if anywhere, to the same category as *Cave canem*, although neither Blake nor Pernice mentions it in their surveys. The few inscriptions that Blake does include contain, in her view, “no great subtlety of imagination”.⁸⁸⁷ The welcoming attitude of the *Salve*-inscription has, despite its inherent message, not been included in modern scholarly discussions of the openness or seclusion of Pompeian *atrium*-houses. Therefore, it is interesting to note, if one would consider decoration as plausibly mirroring current attitudes and customary practices, that consideration of all the collected tessellated inscriptions from Pompeian houses (see chap. 2) does not point to a closed off attitude towards the outside world. On the contrary, the inscriptions reveal mainly a message of greetings to the community, which was particularly expressed on the sidewalk or in the *fauces* and *atrium*. The act of greeting already on the threshold through inscriptions is indeed widely attested around the Mediterranean, but the parallel tradition, which was careful to issue warnings in entrances and on thresholds in order to turn away the evil eye (see below), is not overwhelmingly reflected by the Pompeian tessellated inscriptions (but, instead, perhaps by other tessellated images, see below on figurative mosaics). In fact, only a few inscriptions and motifs in *fauces*-mosaics seem to fulfil expectations of an ambivalent or paradoxical attitude, i.e., to both attract attention by means of a mosaic or inscription while at the same time warding off potential evil.⁸⁸⁸

6.2.4 Traditional or new?

The geometric patterns popular on mortar-floors came also to dominate Pompeian mosaics. However, the patterns that we have seen were favoured for mortar-paved *fauces*, capable of interpretation as appropriate designs for an entrance-space, were in fact never as widely employed for *fauces*-mosaics. Certainly, these patterns are found on multiple mosaics within the domestic sphere, but they seem to have lost their interrelationship with the particular space of the entrance. Here follows a survey, firstly, of the traditional patterns, and, secondly, of the new ways in which they were deployed.

⁸⁸⁶ Swift 2009, pp. 39-43. See also Manley 2007, who, like Swift, also applies the agency theory by Gell in his study on geometric borders in mosaics.

⁸⁸⁷ Blake 1930, p. 95.

⁸⁸⁸ Among the inscriptions collected for this study, two to three could be seen as warnings, the last, however, being capable of being interpreted differently: *Cave canem*, “*Cave Torquatium*” and *Cras credo*. The *fauces*-mosaics classifiable as concerned with warding off evil are those depicting dogs and wild animals.

Imbrication and reticulate patterns were noted by Blake as early all-over designs customary on mortar-floors, which would become popular on mosaics during the 1st century A.D.⁸⁸⁹ In design and reference to function, the imbrication-pattern in mosaics is a continuation of something traditional in mortar-paved entrances from the Samnite period onwards.⁸⁹⁰ Still, this tessellated equivalent never came to match the mortar-version in terms of popularity.⁸⁹¹ The version of the imbrication-pattern seen in just two *fauces*-mosaics from our sample (*Cd Ancora*, VI 10,7, no. 6, and *Officina offectoria di Ubonius*, IX 3,2, no. 26) was perhaps solely used for entrances, whereas other versions could adorn interior rooms, especially those considered “dynamic” spaces. The allusion to demarcation may indeed have been maintained in the two cases when the imbrication adorned entrances. The repeated use of the scale-pattern on *fauces*-floors, as well as on thresholds, thus might be suggestive of a physical boundary, especially that between outdoors and indoors, but perhaps even more, a direction of movement.

The same loss of continuity with past custom is seen especially in the case of the reticulate pattern and also to some degree with the multi-lined row-design, which were both popular on mortar-paved *fauces*-floors, and further inside houses. When translated into *fauces*-mosaics, however, the reticulate pattern was employed only once in a traditional manner (*Cd Mosaici geometrici*, VIII 2,14-16, no. 20) and once in a composite version (*Cd Championnet II*, VIII 2,3, no. 19). The multi-lined row-design is found in three cases, two of which belong to the late period (*Cd Poeta tragico*, VI 8,3/5, no. 5, *Cd Severus*, VIII 2,29-30, no. 24), and one to an earlier time (*Cd Championnet II*, VIII 2,3, no. 19). Thus, there is testimony that, in the case of the multi-lined row-pattern, we have a design-tradition that continued into the last period.

The popular mortar-pattern of the meander, and along with it, the swastika, constituted a recurring pattern on mosaics of all sorts from the very beginning. More specifically, it found its way into the three *fauces*-mosaics that have meander-patterns and into one *fauces*-mosaic that is additionally adorned with small swastikas inside hexagons. Nevertheless, all these *fauces*-mosaics are labelled to the chronological group 2, which means that the pattern ceased to be employed as a tessellated entrance-pattern in the later period. Because of its labyrinth-like design, the meander has been interpreted as containing apotropaic powers, through being

⁸⁸⁹ Blake 1930, pp. 25-26, 62, 82, 108. She mentions a *triclinium*-threshold in the so-called *Casa di Livia*, which indicates that the imbrication-pattern was used at an early date in Rome.

⁸⁹⁰ Blake 1930, pp. 26, 82; Swift 2009, pp. 34, 38, 57-65. As Pernice 1938, p. 136, points out, the scale-pattern was an old-fashioned pattern that also occurred in vase-paintings (from e.g., Sicily). He concludes by stating that the pattern offers valuable proof for his own view that certain designs were predominantly used during certain periods.

⁸⁹¹ For evidence from Ostia, which nevertheless shows that the imbrication-pattern on mosaics was still employed, both for entrances and interior corridors, at a later date, see Swift 2009, pp. 57-65. In the case of the Pompeian material, the scale-pattern continued after the 2nd style-period as a tessellated pattern on columns and water-fountains, see Pernice 1938, p. 136.

contrived to entangle evil forces.⁸⁹² While this is an intriguing thought, I believe that in the cases found in Pompeian *fauces*, it was functioning primarily as simply a very traditional and highly decorative pattern. In two cases, the meander act as a framing border, thus bringing about a sort of demarcation within the mosaic.

Along with the new fashion for mosaics, novel styles of artistic expression were introduced that differentiated from the mortar-floors. These might take the form of new arrangements, or a new colour-scheme. The new hourglass-pattern is found on one *fauces*-mosaic (*VI 13,13*, no. 8). The diagonal grid-pattern (*Cd Championnet II*, VIII 2,3, no. 19) is also regarded as an innovation by Blake (despite being, in fact, a composite of the reticulate pattern and multi-lined rows of *tesserae*). The dates of these two range from the 2nd to the 3rd style-periods; in line with Blake's contention that the design became "exceedingly popular during the first century before Christ".⁸⁹³ It is indeed found in various sorts of room inside many Pompeian houses. One similar instance outside Pompeii is the entrance to the so-called *Casa di Livia* on the Palatine in Rome, which is a down-sloping corridor with a white mosaic with black rows of *tesserae* in the first section, followed, in the second, by a mosaic with the hourglass-pattern (Fig. 90),⁸⁹⁴ reminiscent of the main mosaic in *VI 13,13* (no. 8). Interestingly, this mosaic is, to my knowledge, one of the few contemporaneous (if not the only one) outside Campania that testifies to the mode of tessellating domestic entrances, at that time, in Italy.

The so-called honeycomb-pattern, close to the hexagon-design, is considered an innovation of the 1st century A.D., according to Blake,⁸⁹⁵ and it is indeed rarely seen on mortar-paved *fauces*.⁸⁹⁶ It has been supposed to have derived from ceiling-decorations, the coffered layout of which often acted as an inspiration for mosaics.⁸⁹⁷ The block-pattern as seen in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) is another design that is not encountered on mortar-paved *fauces*-floors.

Apart from the new patterns, the white background, which is seen in the majority of *fauces*-mosaics belonging to the "geometric" group (and also in the absolute majority of all *fauces*-mosaics), was a clear contrast to the traditional black or red of mortar-floors. It is worth noting, though, that the geometric compositions on a white ground may, in fact, produce a two-tone colour-balance, with the black and the white colours distributed in equal measure over the floors (see the *fauces*-mosaics in *VI 13,13*, no. 8, and *Cd Championnet II*, VIII 2,3,

⁸⁹² On labyrinth mosaics, see Molholt 2011; Dunbabin 1999a, p. 8. Swift 2009, p. 91, states that the swastika-motif, when occurring singly and not as a repetitive design, contained an apotropaic significance. Manley 2007 proposes that geometric borders on thresholds generally should be viewed as containing an "anti-demonic" role.

⁸⁹³ Blake 1930, p. 79.

⁸⁹⁴ Blake 1930, p. 88, postulates a pre-Augustan date for the interior décor, with its well-preserved 2nd style-paintings and many geometric black-and-white mosaics.

⁸⁹⁵ Blake 1930, p. 98. See also examples in de Vos 1991, p. 53.

⁸⁹⁶ Cf. the threshold-panel dividing the *fauces* and the *atrium* in *Cd M. Lucretius Fronto* (V 4,a).

⁸⁹⁷ As an example of a ceiling-decoration, with a similar all-over hexagon-pattern, see the Temple of Baal at Palmyra and the Temple of Diana at Nîmes; de Vos 1991, p. 53.

no. 19). Nevertheless, the eye-catching floors would have stood out in the presumably rather dark space, and, viewed from the outside, would definitely have marked a contrast with their surroundings.

The practice of writing tessellated inscriptions on floors is found from an early date in the Greek world, and as the custom spread around the Mediterranean, particularly thresholds and entrances to private houses and baths could be adorned with various messages. Typical examples are greetings, good wishes and/or pleas for protection from all evil.⁸⁹⁸ As we saw in chap. 2, already in Oscan-speaking Pompeii, floor-inscriptions could form part of the decoration in temples (*Tempio di Apollo*, VII 7,32, and *Tempio di Dionisio*, Sant'Abbondio). During this Samnite period, the owner of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) chose to welcome visitors by using the Latin greeting *Have* on the sidewalk in front of the *fauces*. Even though it seems to be rather difficult to date inscriptions by their form only, Blake referred to the execution of some of the letters as well as spelling, as being details which varied over time. Her opinion was also that the serious employment of Latin inscriptions on floors in Italy was becoming widespread by the end of the Republic.⁸⁹⁹ This dating would more or less coincide chronologically with the *Salve*-inscription from *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4), and would confirm that Pompeian house-owners were quick to adapt to the fashion.

The *tabula ansata* was a popular form that was used in many media, with the main purpose of serving as a background for inscriptions of different kinds. Official statements could be carved on wood-, marble- or metal-tablets and put on public display in Rome and other cities from an early period, and military victories would be announced and commemorated on tablets mounted on high poles in triumphal processions.⁹⁰⁰ Peter Kruschwitz and Virginia L. Campbell state that its recognisable form made it a popular device that transcended both time and space.⁹⁰¹ In mosaics, the fashion for the *tabula*, which often contained the name of the mosaicist or a donor, is said to have begun in the late 1st or early 2nd century A.D.⁹⁰² This means that the Pompeian *Salve*-inscription must have been a remarkably early example as it predates what would become a most popular trend by almost a century.

6.2.5 Concluding discussion

In sum, it can be stated that the traditional patterns, popular on mortar-paved *fauces*-floors during the late Republic, were transferred to the contemporaneous *fauces*-mosaics in that

⁸⁹⁸ Tessellated inscriptions occur at Olynthos already in the 4th century B.C., see Dunbabin 1999a, pp. 7-8; Tang 2005, p. 145, 2018, p. 53. For bath-inscriptions in both Greek and Latin, see Dunbabin 1989, and for apotropaic inscriptions, see Dunbabin & Dickie 1983; Dunbabin 1991; Dunbabin 1999a, pp. 312-313. See also Joyce 1979, p. 256; Vassal 2006, pp. 57-58; Tang 2018, p. 53. The Greek equivalent to *Salve* is XAIPE.

⁸⁹⁹ Blake 1930, p. 95.

⁹⁰⁰ Kruschwitz & Campbell 2009, pp. 59-60; Leatherbury 2019, p. 385.

⁹⁰¹ Kruschwitz & Campbell 2009, p. 60.

⁹⁰² Leatherbury 2019, p. 387. N.B. the Pompeian inscription is not mentioned in the study.

period and later, too, but to a much more limited extent. Interestingly, some of the patterns would eventually cease to be employed altogether as entrance-decoration. Why this change occurred is difficult to say, especially in the case of the direction-giving imbrication-pattern that had been popular in mortar-floors (can we say that they were ousted from popularity by competing designs that had emerged, such as the figurative ones?). But even if the older patterns came to diminish in use, their implicit functions of either direction-giving or demarcation, would to some degree be continued by other designs, of which some were in use still in the very last period.

Direction-giving is, for example, implicit in the late all-over geometric composition (not matched on the mortar-paved *fauces*-floors) in *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), where the large squares do lead the visitor inwards (towards a figurative panel). Moreover, in the two houses containing contemporaneously late *fauces*-mosaics with depictions of animals and inscriptions, the multi-lined rows of *tesserae* and the block-pattern that continue into their respective *atria* also served to guide the visitor through the long corridors. The reticulate pattern is another design that may have served a direction-giving function even though it may have originated from a fence-pattern, more suggestive of demarcation. Popular on mortar-paved *fauces*-floors, it is only, in its traditional form, attested in one *fauces*-mosaic (*Cd Mosaici geometrici*, VIII 2,14-16, no. 20). A composite version, with multi-lined rows of *tesserae* in between, is found on the diagonal grid pattern in *Cd Championnet II* (VIII 2,3, no. 19). Both mosaics belong to the period of the late Republic and early Empire.

Demarcation is most clearly expressed in the three examples of threshold-panels with a row of triangles-pattern, which had its heyday during the early days of the Empire. The geometric shape of the *tabula ansata* with the inscription *Salve*, and the association of this shape particularly with civic and military affairs of state, must have played a part in the choice by the Pompeian house-owner. The gaze is drawn to the tablet, and it is understood beforehand that it will contain a message of importance. In other words, emphasis was put on the statement by the design itself, which by tradition presented communication of a serious kind. So, when this tablet, with handles attached, was employed for, say, graffiti, the borderline between seriousness and humour/parody was consequently rather thin.⁹⁰³

In the section on mortar-paving, we saw that threshold-panels could characterise the floors from the late 1st century B.C., while for the *fauces*-mosaics in the later period, a growing tendency towards a downplaying or even a dismissal of such demarcations may be noticed (e.g., *Cd Poeta tragico*, VI 8,3/5, no. 5, and also *Palaestra*, VIII 2,23, no. 22). However, there are some examples of early *fauces*-mosaics that were not designed with a proper threshold but only demarcated from the *atria* through the borders of the mosaic-flooring (*Cd Bracciale d'oro*, VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11, and *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I*, VII 16,12-13, no. 16) just as there are later *fauces*-mosaics that employed a proper tessellated threshold-panel adjacent to the *atrium* (see especially *Cd Cinghiale I*, VIII 3,8, no. 25). The meander, also, in general

⁹⁰³ See Kruschwitz & Campbell 2009 on Pompeian graffiti inscribed in *tabulae ansatae*.

terms, a popular demarcation-pattern, seems to have had its heyday with regards to *fauces*-mosaics, in particular, in the time of the early Empire, only to cease thereafter.

On the other hand, the new patterns of the hourglass and the hexagon within a circle that came to be employed do not seem to signal any deeper meaning but served a more decorative and eye-pleasing goal.

The absolute majority of the *fauces*-mosaics with geometric designs belong to the chronological group 2, i.e., the period between late Republic and Empire (see Table 14). All the six *fauces*-mosaics that have solely geometric decoration are categorised accordingly; the four *fauces*-mosaics that are labelled as belonging to the chronological group 3 have mixed compositions. To this group belongs the late *fauces*-mosaics in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) and *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25). All three include figurative panels, but the all-over patterns of a geometric composition indeed emphasise the length of these *fauces*-passages.

To reconnect to the discussion by Swift, I believe that her interpretation of the increased popularity of black-and-white geometric mosaics at Ostia should not be assumed to apply also to the Pompeian fashion for such floors. In Swift's view, the different mosaic-patterns offered the visitor either inclusion or exclusion. The figurative mosaics of the later Roman Empire represented meanings, so she believes, which a viewer could learn to decipher, and in doing so, could become part of an exclusive, elite culture. Geometric patterns could, on the other hand, according to Swift, not offer this kind of understanding, and thus resulted in a greater gap between the owner and the visitor, especially that between a patron and his client. As Ostian interiors increasingly became marked out by mosaics producing different visual effects, the owner acquired an increased capacity to control the passive visitor.⁹⁰⁴

Intriguing and relevant as this interpretation may be for the Ostian mosaics, when it comes to the Pompeian mosaics, at least, I am inclined to believe instead that the geometric patterns offered a more neutral message. Firstly, the geometric patterns do not seem to have contained underlying messages restricted to only certain strata of the society. Instead, it seems reasonable to conclude that any Pompeian visitor could understand that the scale-pattern on a *fauces*-mosaic made it clear that this space was a boundary but also somewhere into which one might walk. Secondly, the direction-giving programme of the Ostian mosaics does not seem to be easily transferable to the Pompeian remains, since the *atrium*-houses here were not tessellated in the same manner as the Ostian *insulae* (apartment-buildings) were to be. At Pompeii, figurative mosaics competed for attention within the domestic space, as is well illustrated by many of the *fauces*-mosaics. Apart from figurative embellishments, stone-inserts and tessellated inscriptions, too, could be combined with intricate geometric patterns. Moreover, mortar-floors, too, competed for the attention in Pompeian houses, although much of their repertoire of inlaid designs can be labelled as geometric. Surely, a pattern on a mortar-paved *fauces*-floor could be linked with a floor of an inner corridor, so as to characterise the function of that dynamic space. But the houses in Pompeii by A.D. 79 were

⁹⁰⁴ Swift 2009, pp. 101-103.

not as extensively tessellated as the Ostian *insulae*, as we have seen in the section on mortar-floors. The social changes over the centuries “mapped out” by the tessellated patterns at Ostia, as proposed by Swift,⁹⁰⁵ are difficult to read into to the Pompeian material, although, as we will see from the next section of this survey, some sort of social change may be discernible in, e.g., the employment of the all-white mosaics to cover and connect the whole of a house’s reception-area.

If we take a closer topographical look at the houses whose *fauces*-mosaics are solely adorned with geometric compositions, and are therefore not featured in the groups yet to be considered, the pattern of large and wealthy houses emerges. The only exception is the small *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26), which, however, had not yet turned into a combined dwelling/workshop at the time of the mosaic-laying. As for the topographical location of these houses around the city: three were in the city-centre: *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6), *VI 13,13* (no. 8), and *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26), while the other three were terrace-houses: *Cd Bracciale d’oro* (VI 17,44, no. 11), *Cd Championnet II* (VIII 2,3, no. 19), and *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20). To this group may also be added the very large house *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25), located by one of the city-gates, whose mosaic also presents a tessellated inscription.

As already discussed in chap. 3, the layouts of some entryways involved two different levels or sections, divided by a step or threshold in the middle. In the present category, three such cases are included, the first two being the clearest examples. In the two-stepped *fauces* of *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6), both levels were tessellated, with the upper featuring black-inserted scales on a white ground (and the lower level the eponymous anchor, Fig. 112). The imbrication-mosaic was certainly visible from the sidewalk, but the visitor had first to engage in a view of the anchor-mosaic on the lower level before being “admitted” into the house by the imbrication-pattern on the upper level that communicated with the *atrium*. Of all the *fauces* in the whole study with more than one floor-section, the entryway in *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6) was unique in its use of complete tessellation in both sections whereas others employed mortar-floors in their front sections.

In *VI 13,13* (no. 8), the *fauces* had three different floors (on the same level): the outermost paving in front of the L-shaped threshold consisted of a relatively old *cocciopesto* with white rows of *tesserae*, while the middle section, behind the threshold, presented an hourglass-patterned mosaic in black-and-white, and, at the *atrium*’s threshold, a polychrome floral mosaic-panel. Thus, the visitor had several floors and motifs to observe, and observation, to some extent, implies a stationary pose, although the row-design on the first *cocciopesto*-floor could be taken as an invitation to enter. Moreover, due to the L-shaped threshold, the two inner mosaics were not visible until one was admitted to the inside, but only the *cocciopesto*-floor.

The last example consists of a stairway-entrance, next to the main *fauces* of the terrace-house *Cd Bracciale d’oro* (VI 17,44, no. 11). The visitor had to climb this small stairway in

⁹⁰⁵ Swift 2009, p. 103.

order to view the hexagon-patterned mosaic. The preserved stone-threshold placed in front of this entrance clearly shows the pivot-holes for the door that could have hidden the mosaic from the outside world.

The remaining houses in the “geometric pattern group” had undivided *fauces* that were paved with mosaics with all-over patterns, which consequently were visible already from the outer threshold: *Cd Championnet II* (VIII 2,3, no. 19), *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20), and *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26). To include *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4) here as well, the visitor had to turn into a small and relatively quiet backstreet in order to reach the house by a back entrance, near to the northern city-wall. Having reached the rear *fauces* of this double *atrium*-house, the visitor found an inscribed greeting (*Salve*). Almost unnoticeable (visible first at the *atrium*-threshold), it acted as an invitation by the owner to his presumed peers to the luxurious interior.⁹⁰⁶ The contrast between the back-alley location of the entrance and the display of its welcoming inscription in the monumental format of a *tabula ansata*, seems to convey faintly humorous undertones, although this was perhaps not intentional on the owner’s part.

6.3 Stone-inlay group

6.3.1 Presentation

The stone-inlay group comprises four *fauces*-mosaics out of 33.⁹⁰⁷ All these mosaics (although imperfectly preserved) are designed with all-over patterns and, almost all, with framing borders. Hence, they share the carpet-like design with many of the mosaics in the geometric group. Indeed, three of the mosaics also feature in the geometric group.

<i>Cd Popidius Priscus</i> (VII 2,20, no. 13):	Fig. 91
<i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II</i> (VII 16,15, no. 17):	Fig. 85
<i>Cd Championnet I</i> (VIII 2,1, no. 18):	Fig. 92
<i>Cd Severus</i> (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24):	Fig. 93

The *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13), now missing, had a black background (framed by a white border?), with white *tesserae* scattered over it, along with

⁹⁰⁶ An alternative hypothesis (for the present study) regarding the house as perhaps still an independent unit by the time of the laying of the *fauces*-mosaic has been discussed briefly in chap. 5.

⁹⁰⁷ The main *opus sectile*-floor in the *fauces* of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) has been excluded from this group, having been considered in its own special section in chap. 3. Also excluded is the *fauces*-mosaic in basket-weave fashion of the *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2), despite the fact that Blake 1930 categorises this technique, containing stone-inlays, as *libostroton*. In the present study, this mosaic will be included in the plain-bichrome group instead as its design primarily appears as monochrome. Likewise excluded is the *fauces*-floor of *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7), which is paved with large marble slabs, white and polychrome.

larger white and polychrome marble-pieces and also polychrome limestone-pieces in green, yellow and red.⁹⁰⁸ The *atrium*-mosaic was similarly composed, but there is no information stating whether there was any threshold or decorative panel separating the two spaces. Even though we have no information on the exact placement of the *fauces*-mosaic, it seems perfectly evident that it would have adorned the inner part of the *fauces*, beyond the marble-threshold, which is placed quite near the outer threshold next to the sidewalk. That Pernice records the same patterned mosaic as paving both the *fauces* and the *atrium* corroborates this supposition. We have noted, with reference to mortar-floors, examples where the inner parts of *fauces* are tessellated whereas the outer parts are mortar-paved. The *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 12,2, no. 13) is classified as belonging to group 2 (the late Republic).

In the case with the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17), only the upper border still exists today, leaving the *tesserae*-imprint of the middle section exposed.⁹⁰⁹ The preserved part presents the remains of a white mosaic with one wide black frame, and, enclosed within it, two black inner borders, of which the innermost were part of a complex meander-pattern, which included framing squares in the corners.⁹¹⁰ The upper right corner still shows a complete square. Older photographs show a slightly better-preserved mosaic with scattered polychrome limestone-pieces.⁹¹¹ This *fauces*-mosaic belongs to group 2 (the late Republic) and so does not coincide with the *atrium*-mosaic in terms of date. The *atrium*-floor (no. 42, previously discussed in chap. 2) is paved quite differently, with a black mosaic embellished with a figurative representation of jugs containing fish-sauce around the four corners of the *impluvium*. Associated with these are inscriptions, which give the name of a relatively late owner of the house, Aulus Umbricius Scaurus, and his manufacturing enterprise. There is no information as to whether a threshold of any kind once divided the *fauces* from the *atrium*.

The third mosaic is considered the most prestigious of the four in the stone-inlay group: the black *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18: recently restored in 2017-2018).⁹¹² It is framed by a wide white border that contains grey-coloured, rhomboid-shaped pieces of marble in a row, while the primary black mosaic consists of several large marble-pieces (triangles, squares, hexagons and rectangles) placed more or less regularly, together with scattered white *tesserae*. The polychrome marble-pieces are of different colours and morphology, as has been presented in a detailed study.⁹¹³ The different marbles come in a

⁹⁰⁸ Blake 1930, pp. 53-61, 74-75; Pernice 1938, p. 55, pl. 20:2.

⁹⁰⁹ See Dunbabin 1999a, pp. 281-286, on the laying of mosaics and how guidelines visible in the setting-bed underneath the tessellated layer reveal how the work could have been prepared.

⁹¹⁰ For a comparison, see e.g., the bath-mosaic in the *tepidarium* of *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4) where the central *emblemata* is framed by a meander-border featuring squares in the corners, see Ling & Ling 2005, pp. 246-247.

⁹¹¹ The house had not been excavated by the time of Blake or Pernice. See pictures in *PPM VII*, p. 883, fig. 1, and in Curtis 1984, pl. 74; also, discussion in Esposito 2006.

⁹¹² Blake 1930, pp. 65, 97; Pernice 1938, p. 97; Fant & Attanasio 2009, p. 4. The connecting *atrium*-mosaic has been referred to as being the most splendid version of the Pompeian mosaics with inserted marble- or stone-inlays.

⁹¹³ De Carolis, Esposito & Ferrara 2015-2016.

range of grey, white and purple, yellow and green colours,⁹¹⁴ with the most prominent being the white-grey and yellow. The adjacent *atrium*-mosaic was designed to match, but, since the floor is not preserved where the *fauces* met the *atrium*, no threshold which may have divided them is extant. The *fauces*-mosaic belongs to group 2 (the late Augustan period).

As for the fourth *fauces*-mosaic in this group, this black mosaic from *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24), is partially preserved, with the middle section still *in situ*. On one side, two white borders that once framed the centre-piece of the mosaic are still visible, but the part of this frame nearest to the *atrium* is lost. A photograph by Blake shows how white borders demarcated the *fauces*-mosaic from the white *atrium*-mosaic, although the section in between the two mosaics is lost. The *atrium*-mosaic is further adorned with rows of black *tesserae*, and two black framing borders.⁹¹⁵ Inlaid in the black centre-piece of the *fauces*-mosaic, sixteen large marble rhomboids are preserved, arranged in four horizontal rows, and between these rows of four rhomboids square- and triangular-shaped marble-pieces are placed randomly, together with small white *tesserae* in rows. The marble-pieces are of *marmo rosso*, *verde* and *giallo*. The green stone was labelled as serpentine by Blake, and the red as porphyry.⁹¹⁶ This *fauces*-mosaic belongs to group 3 (the mid-first century A.D.)

6.3.2 *Comparanda*

Mosaic-pavements featuring inserted stones are especially frequent in the *atria* of Pompeian houses, among them several of the houses in our core-sample. Two of the above-mentioned *fauces*-mosaics continue, as we have seen, into their *atria*: those of *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13) and *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18). Further comparable *atrium*-mosaics, with inserts and black backgrounds, from the core-sample are found in *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16) and *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12) (Fig. 94).⁹¹⁷ The *atrium*-mosaic in *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6), on the other hand, belongs to the less common white-background type.⁹¹⁸ The fact that a black background was chosen for three out of these four *fauces*-mosaics with inlays may thus be seen as reflecting a general preference for black over white-ground mosaics, which is seen more clearly in the Pompeian repertoire of *atrium*-pavements.

⁹¹⁴ PPM VIII, p. 29, fig. 1: *marmo grigio*, *pavonazzetto*, *giallo antico* and *paesina verde*; De Carolis, Esposito & Ferrara 2015-2016, p. 23: geographically described as *marmor lucullaeum* (black, red, white), *numidicum* (yellow, red), *synnadicum/phrygium* (white, grey), *taenarium* (red, white) and *lunense* (dark grey).

⁹¹⁵ Blake 1930, pl. 14:3; Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 69; Pernice 1938, p. 73. Already Mau, in *BdI* 1885, p. 87, stated that the section between the *fauces* and the *atrium* was missing, and proposed that the damaged area had perhaps once been demarcated by a threshold.

⁹¹⁶ Blake 1930, p. 65; Pernice 1938, p. 73; PPM VIII, p. 245, fig. 3.

⁹¹⁷ Concerning these *atrium*-mosaics, the mosaic in *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), from the 2nd style-period, is regarded by Blake 1930, p. 60, as one of the earliest examples at Pompeii, although much mended in modern times. Coloured pieces of marble are inserted near to or in the patches, thus indicating a later addition, the date of which Blake omits to suggest.

⁹¹⁸ Blake 1930, p. 62, mentions only around a half-dozen white floors.

The mosaics and mortar-floors with stone-inlays were particularly popular during the 2nd and 3rd style-periods.⁹¹⁹ Some examples located outside *atria* are the *oecus* in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 71, no. 1), the *triclinium* in *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23), the *frigidarium* in *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30) and two *impluvia* (*Cd Bell'impluvio*, I 9,1 and the *atriolum* in *Cd Menandro*, I 10,4). Suburban villas outside Pompeii could also be decorated similarly, as is seen in *Villa dei Misteri* and Villa A of Oplontis, where many rooms and porticoes were paved with mosaics with white and polychrome limestone-inserts.⁹²⁰

The *atriolum*-mosaic in the bath-section of *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4) is of particular interest. This floor will be referred to repeatedly elsewhere in chap. 6 because of the several figurative panels around the *impluvium* that display motifs with parallels in a number of the *fauces*-mosaics. Relevant for my discussion here is the wall-to-wall, predominantly black mosaic of the *atriolum* (and its *impluvium*), as it contains scattered polychrome stone-inlays (Fig. 95).⁹²¹

A final example for comparison comes from the semi-public establishment of *Terme suburbane* (VII 16,a), where the white mosaic with a floral motif in the entrance-corridor is followed by a white mosaic in which polychrome stones are inserted in a regular pattern. In sum, especially “dynamic” passage-areas like *fauces* and *atria* were those most often decorated with this eye-pleasing and elegant pattern, although there are also examples of it in “static” spaces, such as *triclinia*.⁹²²

6.3.3 Roman and modern views

Roman writers are mostly silent concerning the topic of floors composed of the various types of marble.⁹²³ It is primarily the elder Pliny, in the book of his *Naturalis Historia* (book 36) that is devoted to the subject of stones, who gives us the fullest descriptions of marble décor in general. He describes how certain wealthy individuals during the late Republic were able to decorate their homes in Rome extensively with precious marble. Thanks to his detailed historical references, we are able to propose a chronology for the increasing use of marble.⁹²⁴

⁹¹⁹ Mortar-floors with stone-inserts were common already during the 1st style-period, while the corresponding mosaics entered the scene in the time of the 2nd style, see Blake 1930, pp. 53-61; Pernice 1938, pp. 131-134, 146-147; Morricone 1980, p. 11. See De Carolis, Esposito & Ferrara 2015-2016, p. 21, n. 23, for examples on floors inside *atrium*-houses employing this technique.

⁹²⁰ Blake 1930, pp. 52-53, states that the *Villa dei Misteri* once was almost entirely paved in this manner; Pernice 1938, pp. 55-58. For Oplontis, see Clarke 1991, pp. 142-143.

⁹²¹ According to Ling & Ling 2005, the mosaic belongs to the late 2nd style-period, i.e., between the late Republic and early Augustan period, as the rest of the mosaics from the bath-section, see summary of the scholarly discussion in Ling & Ling 2005, pp. 13-18.

⁹²² See e.g., a *triclinium* in *Cd Criptoportico* (I 6,2); Pernice 1938, pp. 51-52, pls. 19:4, 19:6.

⁹²³ The elder Cato mentions in a speech *pavimenta poenica* with inserts of marble, see Dunbabin 1999a, pp. 102-103, while Vitruvius and Varro mention exquisite *opus sectile*-pavements, see Vitr. *De arch.* 7.1.3-4; Varro, *Rust.* 3.1.10; 3.2.4. See discussion on Roman writers' attitudes towards decorative marble in McAlpine 2014, pp. 40-69; Grandi & Guidobaldi 2008, p. 166.

⁹²⁴ Grandi & Guidobaldi 2008, p. 164.

The equestrian Mamurra, an *aide-de-camp* of Julius Caesar, was evidently the first to cover the walls in his home (on the Caelian hill) with marble. Prior to this, Marcus Lepidus, consul in 78 B.C., had been so bold as to use Numidian marble for the door-thresholds, thus not confining its use to columns or other more spectacular features, a fact, which Pliny found disgraceful.⁹²⁵ However, modern critics of Pliny's account point out his tendency to focus on what was unique or innovative: this may have blurred our understanding of how widespread marbles may in fact have been within domestic decoration.⁹²⁶

Regarding suitable names to describe the floors with stone-inserts, Blake advocated the term *lithostroton* (Greek for "stone-strewn"), a term used by the elder Pliny in his account of how Sulla imported marbles to Rome, and how the Temple of Fortuna at Praeneste was decorated accordingly. In Blake's view, supported by Pernice, both black and white mosaics featuring this stone-inlay design should be labelled *lithostrota*.⁹²⁷ Later on, however, Morricone, in her study of floors at Rome, proposed the alternative term *scutulatum*. She thereby challenged Blake with regard to her restriction of *scutulatum* to patterns including lozenge-shaped stones (as seen in the *impluvium* and *tablinum* in *Cd Fauno*, VI 12,2, no. 7).⁹²⁸ Even though many scholars today prefer the term *scutulatum*,⁹²⁹ another school of thought finds both terms problematic because of their unclear relation to known ancient usage.⁹³⁰ Instead, more neutral labels like "pavements with marble inserts" or "*crustae*-pavements" have been suggested.⁹³¹ As it is not within the scope of this study to dwell on labels, and confusion is undesirable, the term "mosaics with stone-inserts/inlays" will, for simplicity, henceforth be applied to all the *fauces*-mosaics of the "stone-inlay group", containing as they do scattered stones of various materials, shapes and colours.

Although much research is now being conducted on the subject of ancient marble, both white and of many other colours, relatively little attention has yet been paid to the Pompeian

⁹²⁵ Plin. *NH* 36.7.48-49 (Mamurra); 36.8.49 (Lepidus). Moreover, the elder Pliny exemplifies this exaggerated display of wealth at Rome by pointing to the first use of imported marble columns in a house on the Palatine hill by the great orator L. Crassus (*NH* 36.3.7) and also of the erection of extra-tall marble columns by Aemilius Scaurus in his *atrium* (*NH* 36.2.6). See also Russell 2013, pp. 13-15; McAlpine 2014, pp. 60-62; Grandi & Guidobaldi 2008.

⁹²⁶ See McAlpine 2014, p. 62, for a scholarly discussion on this matter. Even so, the Plinian statement that the period between c. 75 and 40 B.C. saw an enormous increase of wealthy *domus* at Rome featuring decorative marbles is regarded as plausible, see Plin. *NH* 36.24.109-110; Grandi & Guidobaldi 2008, pp. 164-166.

⁹²⁷ Blake 1930, pp. 50-67; Pernice 1938, pp. 131-134. Cf. Plin. *NH* 36.60.184; 36.64.189.

⁹²⁸ Morricone 1980, pp. 9-14. Cf. Blake 1930, p. 39, and Plin. *NH* 36.61.185.

⁹²⁹ See e.g., De Carolis, Esposito & Ferrara 2015-2016. The authors explicitly state (p. 21) that they share the terminology of Morricone, referring also to the statements by Vitruvius and the elder Pliny. See also Fant & Attanasio 2009; van de Liefvoort 2012.

⁹³⁰ Vitr. *De arch.* 7.1.1-4; Plin. *NH* 36.60.184-36.64.189; Varro, *Rust.* 3.1-2. McAlpine 2014, pp. 44-45, defines the *lithostrota* mentioned in Varro as mosaic-floors with inserted marbles. See Tang 2005, pp. 182-185, for this scholarly debate. Her conclusion is that it is preferable to avoid the problematic labels as the ancient sources are easily misinterpreted.

⁹³¹ For the term "pavements with marble inserts", see e.g., Barker et. al. 2013, p. 3, n. 14. For *crustae*-pavements, see Dunbabin 1999a, p. 54, n. 4, who argues that neither term *lithostroton* nor *scutulatum* has been widely accepted as a modern technical term. Westgate 2000b, p. 415, states that the term *opus pseudo-figlinum* also is used (meaning "false ceramic-work").

fauces-mosaics with stone-inlays.⁹³² This omission is rather remarkable given the fact that the use of marble for embellishment had been gaining in importance from the late Republic onwards. As a consequence of the opening of the quarries at Luna, between Etruria and Liguria, in the late Republic, Augustus could later boast of having transformed the brick-built city of Rome into one clad in marble.⁹³³ Increasingly, various types of marble had begun to be imported from around the Mediterranean (notably from the Aegean but also from North Africa), as a result of Roman expansionist politics. The very presence of these polished stones, *marmora*,⁹³⁴ in domestic decoration, from the late Republic onwards, makes it possible to speak of them as “fashionable” among a restricted Roman elite.

Evidence of this fashionableness is seen also in the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum, where both real and imitated marbles were employed on both floors and walls. Imitations of marble in wall-paintings are present in all four styles, with the renderings becoming more realistic over time.⁹³⁵ As was mentioned in the section on mortar-paved *fauces* (chap. 6.1), inserted limestone- and travertine-stones even in floors originating in Samnite times, have been interpreted by modern scholars as perceived as more precious than floors with *tesserae*-inserts.

From the Augustan period onwards, marble as a material began more clearly to carry ideological connotations. All the same, archaeological evidence does not indicate a profound change, contemporaneous with the Principate, in the use of decorative stones in private houses: this remained quite limited, although Augustan literature certainly voiced opposition to this sort of *luxuria*.⁹³⁶ But the shift in preference from limestone/travertine to marble is discernible from what has been outlined about the chronological sequence of the four *fauces*-mosaics: limestone only in *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17); a combination of limestone and marble in *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13), and marble only in *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18) and in *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24).⁹³⁷ The latter mosaic, containing porphyry, exemplifies how not only this exotic stone but also granite from Egypt increasingly enhanced the appearance of Roman cities, especially from the Neronian

⁹³² For recent publications on ancient marble, see e.g., Barker, Perna & Ward 2020; Barker 2020; McAlpine 2014; Fant, Russell & Barker 2013; Russell 2013; van de Liefvoort 2012; Fant 2007. Unfortunately, I have not been able to obtain access to van de Liefvoort’s doctoral dissertation from 2016. For earlier studies, see introduction in Russell 2013. For a study on marble-inserts on floors, see De Carolis, Esposito & Ferrara 2015-2016.

⁹³³ Suet. *Aug.* 28. See Plin. *NH* 36.4.14, for the recent opening of the quarry; Fant 2007, p. 336, 341-343. Decoration of walls with imitated marble was a fashion associated particularly with the 1st style-period but present right through to the time of the 4th style. See van de Liefvoort 2012, pp. 190-194, where she argues (p. 191) that the 1st Pompeian style ought to be renamed the “Italic masonry style” because of its widespread pervasiveness around the Mediterranean. See also McAlpine 2014, chap. 3. From Herculaneum come examples of walls covered with real marble: *Cd Rilievo di Telefo* (Ins. Or. I 2) and *Cd Cervi* (IV 21), see van de Liefvoort 2012, pp. 196-197.

⁹³⁴ See McAlpine 2014, p. 81; van de Liefvoort 2012, p. 189; Fant 2007, p. 340, regarding the Graeco-Roman term *marmora* as also applicable to many other solid and crystalline stones, including e.g., granite, porphyry and limestone.

⁹³⁵ McAlpine 2014; van de Liefvoort 2012.

⁹³⁶ McAlpine 2014, pp. 76-77.

⁹³⁷ Blake 1930, pp. 53-61, 74-75; Pernice 1938, p. 134; Fant 2007, pp. 339-340; See Grandi & Guidobaldi 2008, p. 169.

period onwards.⁹³⁸ As Ben Russell states: “coloured marbles were especially sought after because they were easily identified; they spoke to the public, as much as to these elites’ peers, of foreign lands and distant conquest. And for succeeding generations these materials were imbued not just with a sense of exoticism but one of class and privilege [...]”.⁹³⁹

With regards to the actual scarceness of marbles at Pompeii, J. Clayton Fant explains that it partly has to do with post-eruption disturbances and also with the fact that marble-decoration was definitely an expression of exclusiveness, and thus never really widespread.⁹⁴⁰ By far the most popular marble at Pompeii was the grey-white Luna marble, reaching the city in greatest quantities during the Augustan period.⁹⁴¹ Due to the ready availability of this white marble, imported coloured marble for polychrome work thus came to indicate an even higher prestige for the wealthy Pompeian owners during the early 1st century A.D., especially as these imported marbles were not widely spread outside Rome.⁹⁴²

It is noteworthy, then, that Blake identifies a stone in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24) as red porphyry, a stone of remarkably high value to have been acquired by a house-owner for the decoration of a Pompeian entrance-floor.⁹⁴³ It has to be admitted that I have not found any subsequent study of the stones in this *fauces*-mosaic, verifying Blake’s identification of the porphyry.⁹⁴⁴ But, if correct, this mosaic calls for comparison with the *opus sectile*-floor in the *fauces* of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7). Despite the differences in the materials employed, and in the relative status of these two houses, both floors speak of an exclusiveness, not quite equalled by the other *fauces*-mosaics in this group,

⁹³⁸ It was e.g., even seen on *thermopolium*-counters, see Russell 2013, p. 14; Fant 2007, p. 342; Fant, Russell & Barker 2013. See also Grandi & Guidobaldi 2008, p. 166.

⁹³⁹ Russell 2013, pp. 14-15. For a critique, see Sen. *Ep.* 86.6-7: “We think ourselves poor and mean if our walls are not resplendent with large and costly mirrors; if our marbles from Alexandria are not set off by mosaics of Numidian stone [...]” (transl. by R. M. Gummere).

⁹⁴⁰ Fant 2007, pp. 336, 340. Within the domestic sphere, marble-ornaments range from mainly quite small pieces or objects (thresholds, furniture or floor inlays) to painted imitative marbles on walls. Only *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2) had columns of genuine marble.

⁹⁴¹ For the Roman naming of marbles after provenance, see Russell 2013, pp. 10, 14; McAlpine 2014, pp. 50, 74-75; table 1 in van de Liefvoort 2012; Plin. *NH* 36.8.50; 36.11.55-58.

⁹⁴² The pieces of marble used in mosaics were most likely acquired from small, local marble-workshops as scrap for recycling, see Fant 2007, pp. 339-340; Russell 2013, p. 235. McAlpine 2014, p. 79, states that in the last phase, *Cd Iulius Polybius* (IX 13,1-3) exhibited at least eight different types of polychrome marbles within its decoration. In *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13), a unique assemblage of larger stone slabs, of green porphyry and Carystian marble, was found in the peristyle during excavation, which were likely intended to decorate both walls and floors, see *PPM* VI, p. 615. As McAlpine 2014 points out, it was still relatively uncommon to find green porphyry in the region during that period. The house is sometimes alternatively referred to as *Cd Marmi*.

⁹⁴³ Blake 1930, pp. 64-65. Cf. the *cocciopesto*-floor in the *atrium* of *Cd Atrio corinzio* (V 30) at Herculaneum, which is adorned with porphyry-pieces, on which see Russell 2013, p. 15. Porphyry had increased in popularity thanks to emperor Nero, who decorated his palace with this purple-red stone, regardless of the fact that in the time of Claudius, such décor had evidently been met with disapproval at Rome. See Plin. *NH* 36.11.58, claiming that “No one has since followed his example”: *Nemo certe postea imitatus est* (transl. by D. E. Eichholz); Delbrück 1932, pp. 16-18, 137; Fant 2007, pp. 341-343; McAlpine 2014, p. 81.

⁹⁴⁴ Also Mau in *BdI* 1885, p. 87, identified the stone in the *fauces*-mosaic as being porphyry.

even the high-quality *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18).⁹⁴⁵ At the time when the mosaic was first laid in the Claudian period, the *fauces* in *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24) must have been perceived as in the height of fashion (or even predating what would become a fashion): the porphyry-slabs are neither small nor peripheral, but placed in the very centre of the entrance.⁹⁴⁶ With this in mind, one may well wish to give further thought to an observation made by Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben; that the *fauces* containing this mosaic probably served as the entrance to the so-called “Wirtschaftsflügel” (service quarters or business-wing) of this double *atrium*-house, with which the laying of the *fauces*-mosaic was contemporaneous.⁹⁴⁷ On the basis of the conspicuous richness of its décor, one might instead wish to view this entrance as offering access to the private rooms or representation-area of the house.⁹⁴⁸

From a topographical point of view, three of the houses with *fauces*-mosaics featuring stone-inserts are terrace-houses, two of which are located in *insula VIII 2: Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18) and *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24), while the third house, *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17), is in the western *Insula occidentalis*. The remaining house, *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13), faced a small street in *regio VII*, not far, however, from *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7). Interestingly, it is noted by de Vos, too, that marble-inserted floors at Pompeii can be found in the old, prestigious *domus* as well as in the terrace-houses in the south and west parts of the city.⁹⁴⁹

6.3.4 Traditional or new?

In the previous section on mortar-floors, stone-inlaid patterns were recognised as frequently occurring decorations in the large *domus* of Samnite Pompeii. A noteworthy feature of stone-inlay pavements was their ability to connect to the sidewalk when this was decorated with stones as well. In the case of the two houses *Cd Championnet I & II* (VIII 2,1/VIII 2,3, nos. 18-19), the sidewalk stretching from entrance 1 to entrance 3 was marked out by decorative polychrome stones, although not identical to the stones in the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2, 1, no. 18).⁹⁵⁰

⁹⁴⁵ If compared with the assessment of different marbles in the so-called “Fanciness value index” by Fant & Attanasio 2009, p. 8, those in the mosaic of *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18) were of very high-ranking types, although porphyry ends up at the top. Limestone and slate are assigned to no. 2 on the scale, which from this perspective would place the *fauces* in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) on a quite low prestige level.

⁹⁴⁶ The Pompeian owner, then, may either have been ignorant of the current attitudes in the capital at the time of Claudius or simply innovative and independent enough to try out new materials and colours.

⁹⁴⁷ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 69, 181.

⁹⁴⁸ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 187, speculate about this house as possibly the “head-quarters” of one of the few remaining rich landlords of the properties in the city-block. Inside the *fauces* of VIII 2,29, one of the two rooms to the left upon entering contained the stairs to the upper-floor apartments.

⁹⁴⁹ De Vos 1979, p. 174.

⁹⁵⁰ Pernice 1938, p. 97, pl. 44:2. In the view of the implications of such a sidewalk-design with regard to boundaries, it would seem possible to assume some kind of relationship between these two houses, but as has already been mentioned in chap. 5, the two houses were not joined together.

What the stone-inlay technique, as seen both in older mortar-floors and more recent mosaics, signalled to the outside world was exclusiveness. Floors exhibiting this technique were especially favoured in “dynamic” rooms not in order to detain the visitor but rather to offer them a truly elegant welcome. Instead, the “static” rooms in a house, such as the *triclinium*, could have floors with marble *emblemata*, which the visitors would be able to admire more closely and at greater length.⁹⁵¹ There are, admittedly, Pompeian examples of “static” rooms with stone-inserted floors (see above), but generally speaking, it may be regarded as well suited to an entryway, being a sort of décor that would encourage rather than impede movement through the passage.⁹⁵² If any of the *fauces*-mosaics of the “stone-inlay group” had an implicit function beyond serving as an elegant background to the act of entering a house, it was that of offering navigational advice.

The clearest case of guidance by stone-inlays amidst *tesserae* is seen in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24), where the large porphyry rhomboids, inserted lengthwise between white *tesserae* set forth in the traditional multi-line row-pattern, could be seen as sign-posting a route into the house and, equally, out of it (cf. the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Cervi*, IV 21 in Herculaneum, Fig. 96) In *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18), the placement of the marble-inserts and white *tesserae* is not so suggestive of direction-pointing although the over-all pattern, with its frame, might still be said to encourage movement to the interior.⁹⁵³

Admittedly, for the remaining two mosaics it is not altogether easy to discern any function beyond decoration. The meander-border that framed the inserted stones in the mosaic of *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17) belonged to an ancient tradition of geometric ornament also exemplified in the flooring of many “static” rooms. The *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13) seems a typical example of a floor that acts as a decorative background, but if joined with the *atrium*-mosaic, gave the impression of widening the house’s reception-area.

In sum, mosaics with stone-inserts represent a continuation of the use of traditional patterns that had antecedents in the mortar-floors of earlier periods. The prime functions of such a mosaic were that as an elegant display-window for the house, and maybe also as an aid to finding one’s way through it. An innovation discernible in these *fauces*-mosaics was the increased employment of exotic marbles instead of limestone or other kinds of local stone, which brought to the distinguished residences which they adorned even more exclusive connotations. By aspiring to marble-decoration, a house-owner could identify himself or

⁹⁵¹ Van de Liefvoort 2012, p. 190.

⁹⁵² An exception, however, may be the *opus sectile*-floor in the *fauces* of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), which is combined with a figurative threshold-panel adjacent to the *atrium*. However, the figurative composition of the tilted theatre masks nevertheless seems to have underlined the function of entering see chap. 3.

⁹⁵³ As for the examples from Herculaneum of *fauces*-mosaics with stone-inserts (three out of a total of five *fauces*-mosaics), all three - *Cd Scheletro* (III 3), *Cd Gemma* (Ins. Or. I 1), and *Cd Cervi* (IV 21) - display a variety of stones, but these give the general impression of being set out in rows, an arrangement which leads the eye inwards. There are rows of triangular stones in *Cd Scheletro* (III 3) and *Cd Cervi* (IV 21), which point towards the house-interiors.

herself as having a share in the conquering Roman Empire, whose borders were continually expanding.

6.3.5 Concluding discussion

Mosaic-floors with scattered inserts of white and polychrome stones have been discovered in the *fauces* of only four of the houses so far excavated at Pompeii, all of them, unsurprisingly, grand, imposing houses (and featuring many mosaic-floors). Such floors, however, are found more regularly in rooms of various other sorts within the private dwellings of Pompeii, although commonly in *atria*. To the same “dynamic” sphere as *atria*, the *fauces* could be thought to have belonged. The background colour generally most favoured for mosaics with stone-inlays is black, and three of the *fauces*-mosaics, correspondingly, have black backgrounds. Pernice pointed out that the visual effect of the white and polychrome stones inserted into a black floor would have won favour for its heightening of luminosity.⁹⁵⁴ If we look at these *fauces*-floors, the primary visual effect signalled by means of the stones is indeed that of colour. As Westgate has emphasised, the value of these floors depended non only on the material of the floor (mortar or mosaic) but also on the quality of the stones employed as inserts.⁹⁵⁵ Consequently, the combination of marble-stones inserted into a mosaic-floor must have represented the height of fashion.

The predominant dating for floors of this sort belongs to the period between the late Republic and early Empire, and such a dating also suits the *fauces*-mosaics. The all-over patterning of these floors can be seen as related to that characteristic of mortar-paved *fauces*-floors with stone-inserts. The technique of inlaying mosaics with inserted stones was much in favour for *atria*, and evidently the qualities which recommended them for that context were also thought appropriate for the *fauces*-passage as the first reception-section of a Pompeian house.

Cicero once declared that “the Roman people loathe private luxury, but they love public splendour”.⁹⁵⁶ May Roman late Republican attitudes towards *luxuria*, as exemplified by Cicero and by authors of similar date drawn upon by the elder Pliny, be ascribed to Pompeii as well? After all, those Roman writers were referring to a real situation in which there was much vying for precedence amongst politicians and other powerful peers in the capital, who might actually have the means to import marble as a private enterprise.⁹⁵⁷ No wonder, then, that there were fierce attacks by moralists against the use of marble-décor within private homes, something which could be perceived as (dangerously) blurring the borders between the public realm, with its suitably splendid monuments, and the private, where ostentation

⁹⁵⁴ Pernice 1938, p. 134.

⁹⁵⁵ Westgate 2000b, p. 415. See also Russell 2013, pp. 33-36, regarding Diocletian’s price-edict.

⁹⁵⁶ Cic. *Mur.* 76 (transl. by C. Macdonald); McAlpine 2014, p. 44.

⁹⁵⁷ Russell 2013, pp. 53, 61, states that prior to the Imperial reign, all stone quarries seem to have been owned by private individuals or cities. Even during the Empire, many quarries continued to be run if-not by individuals, at least by neighbouring cities, rather than centrally by the imperial administration.

was, according to traditional ways of thinking, not appropriate.⁹⁵⁸ Although Pompeii was not Rome, it is reasonable to assume that the very presence in some of its house-entrances, of mosaics which contained inlays of marble and other types of colourful stone would have been viewed as a most extravagant form of display, even if these mosaics contained only small pieces of the rare stones in question. After all, to decorate floors with marbles, especially with *emblemata* composed of *opus sectile*, was the ultimate way of expressing prestige.⁹⁵⁹

6.4 Plain-bichrome group

6.4.1 Presentation

The plain-bichrome group consists of four *fauces*-mosaics out of 33.⁹⁶⁰ All mosaics are bichrome, i.e., laid in the black-and-white technique. The term “plain” denotes that the mosaics are not adorned with a pattern, but are similar in appearance to a monochrome design. Unlike the mosaics assigned to the previous two groups, which feature geometric patterns and stone-inserts, the bichrome mosaics have less of the character of an independent carpet-design because of the lack of complete borders. Of the four mosaics, three connect with the *atrium*-mosaics, forming part of an interconnecting scheme. The fourth mosaic (listed first below) is also similar to its *atrium*-floor, but with the difference that a stone-threshold divides the two spaces. Nevertheless, this particular *fauces*-mosaic, because of the basket-weave technique employed in it, is treated by scholars as a self-contained carpet-design.

<i>Praedia di Iulia Felix</i> (II 4,1-12, no. 2):	Fig. 97
<i>VIII 2,18</i> (no. 21):	Fig. 98
<i>Cd Marcus Lucretius</i> (IX 3,5/24, no. 27):	Fig. 99
<i>IX 5,6</i> (no. 28):	Fig. 100

The *fauces*-mosaic that adorned the former entrance to *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2), before it was walled up after A.D. 62, is still in its original position today.⁹⁶¹ The all-white mosaic consists of relatively large, rectangular, white *tesserae*, placed in pairs in a basket-weave fashion called “*a canestro*” in Italian. The *tesserae* are, in other words, of the same width as

⁹⁵⁸ See e.g., Hales 2003, pp. 55-60. Cf. monumental spaces, like the *cellae* of the temples of Jupiter (VII 8,1) and Apollo (VII 7,32), were adorned with *opus sectile*.

⁹⁵⁹ Dunbabin 1999a, pp. 56, 254-256.

⁹⁶⁰ There exists a report of one more plain mosaic that may have decorated a *fauces*-floor. The entrance of *Cd L. Caecilius Phoebus* (VIII 2,37) is recorded to have contained a white mosaic, framed by two black borders. The date is set to the late Republican period. See discussion in chap. 1.

⁹⁶¹ *PPM* III, pp. 258-259, figs. 125-128. After excavation, the complex was reburied and remained so in the time of Blake and Pernice.

standard 1 cm *tesserae*-cubes but around twice the length.⁹⁶² Also, scattered randomly over the floor are some black *tesserae*. There are no borders around the mosaic, and the marble-threshold adjacent to the *atrium* (whose white mosaic, with a black border, matches that of the *fauces* despite not being executed in the basket-weave technique), shows that a door once made provision for closure between the two spaces. As has been mentioned in chap. 4, there are still questions-marks concerning the date of the *fauces*-mosaic. On the basis of building-archaeological studies and analogies, however, a likely dating assigns it to the transition-period between the 2nd and 3rd styles, i.e., to group 2.

The *fauces*-mosaic of *VIII 2,18* (no. 21) is almost completely destroyed today, with only a few patches remaining along the walls. This all-black mosaic with scattered white *tesserae* continued into the *atrium*,⁹⁶³ seemingly without a threshold. Together with the *atrium*-mosaic, it belongs to group 2 (the Augustan period).

The large *fauces*-entrance of *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27) has a well-preserved all-white mosaic with two black borders framing the floor.⁹⁶⁴ There is no threshold, either real or decorative, and the mosaic continues as an extended pavement into the *atrium*, with the black borders continuing around the walls without making the expected division between the two spaces. This *fauces*-mosaic (together with the *atrium*-mosaic) belongs to group 3 (the post-earthquake period).

The last house listed, *IX 5,6* (no. 28), has a *fauces*-mosaic, which closely resembles that in *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27) but with a difference. This *fauces*-passage is architecturally divided into two spaces, with the inner section widening towards the *atrium*. The outer section is paved with *cocciopesto* (today covered by gravel).⁹⁶⁵ By contrast, the inner section is paved with an all-white mosaic with two black borders, separating it from the outer mortar-floor, that continue into the *atrium* and incorporate at least the *alae*. Its border with the *tablinum* is marked by narrow marble-edging, but the mosaic in the *tablinum* is also white.⁹⁶⁶ Whereas the restored *impluvium* in *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27) lacks any decoration, the addition of black borders enhances the *impluvium* in *IX 5,6* (no. 28). Given the similarities between the last-mentioned two *fauces*-mosaics, the mosaics in both the *fauces* and the *atrium* of *IX 5,6* (no. 28) appear to belong to group 3 (the post-earthquake period).

⁹⁶² On the (Italian) term, see e.g., Ling & Ling 2005, p. 18, and Pappalardo & Ciardiello 2010, p. 12. Westgate 2000b, p. 415, states that this (Western) version is “now conventionally known as *opus pseudo-figlinum*”, and that the basket-weave effect required fewer *tesserae* and therefore must have been a cheaper solution. However, see Wallace-Hadrill 2018, p. 65, remarking on the basket-weave technique’s elegant appearance.

⁹⁶³ Pernice 1938, p. 115. See also Niccolini & Niccolini 1896, vol. 4, p. 56 (*Nuovi scavi*), who state that both the *fauces* and the *atrium* had black mosaics. Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 97, also documented a guilloche-border around the *impluvium*, which had disappeared by the time Koloski-Ostrow (1986) conducted her study of the house.

⁹⁶⁴ Blake 1930, pp. 99-100; Pernice 1938, p. 105.

⁹⁶⁵ See Mau in *BdI* 1879, s. 91; *PPM* IX, pp. 406-412, documents *cocciopesto* preserved along the walls and in the centre, whereas Blake 1930, p. 100, and Pernice 1938, p. 117, only mention the white mosaic.

⁹⁶⁶ Blake 1930, p. 100. Cf. Pernice 1938, p. 117: “Das weiße Tessellamosaik in IX 5,6, das sich gleichmäßig über das innere Vestibulum, Atrium und Tablinum hinzieht [...]”.

6.4.2 *Comparanda*

In general, all-white mosaics with black borders are fairly common in the Pompeian tessellated repertoire, and thus are found in various sorts of rooms within the domestic realm. However, the version in which both the *fauces* and the *atrium* are contained within the same interconnecting borders without a dividing threshold is only found in the two above-mentioned houses, and no comparable interconnection of the mosaics of any other rooms is mentioned by Blake or Pernice. By way of contrast, one example of the more traditional version can be found in the *atrium* of *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20), where the white mosaic is framed by black borders, and by a geometrically patterned threshold adjacent to the *fauces*.⁹⁶⁷

The all-white mosaic-design is also seen as a mode of decorating an entrance in one more *fauces*-passage considered in this study: *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29). The whole floor here is paved in a white mosaic, crowned by a large threshold-panel with a floral volute-design adjacent to the *atrium* (Fig. 101). Because of this panel, the otherwise plain *fauces*-mosaic will feature in the floral group. A second example for comparison is provided by the all-white entrance corridors to the *Terme del Foro* (VII 5,2/8/24).⁹⁶⁸ However, since this version does not include the design with the black borders, these corridor-floors bear a greater resemblance to the white *fauces*-mosaic with scattered black *tesserae* of *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2), despite not being similarly executed in the basket-weave technique. The all-white *fauces*-floor is also found in a few instances where mortar instead is employed, but seen from a general perspective, this colour-scheme, no matter which material was used, was very uncommon.

Consideration of the basket-weave technique, which is considered to be a typical late Republican design,⁹⁶⁹ leads us back to the previous section where mosaics with stone-inlays, and the terminological problems associated with them, are discussed. The basket-weave technique is in short very similar to that used in some of the examples offered by Blake of *lithostrota* as well as by Morricone, of *scutulata*.⁹⁷⁰ Especially telling are the 2nd style-period floors from *Villa dei Misteri* and *Cd Criptoportico* (I 6,2), and also some examples from Praeneste as well as Rome itself, which exhibit the same white elongated *tesserae* combined

⁹⁶⁷ A comparable example from Herculaneum is the entrance-hall to *Cd Bel cortile* (V 8). The house lacks a *fauces*-passage and opens up to a hall instead, paved with a white mosaic, framed with a black border. A tessellated threshold to a small room opposite of the entrance-door is adorned with a meandering plant-motif.

⁹⁶⁸ *PPM* VII, p. 155.

⁹⁶⁹ See Blake 1930, pp. 30, 52-53; Pernice 1938, pp. 52, 131-132; Morricone 1980, pp. 9-14; 69; Pappalardo & Ciardiello 2010, p. 12. Joyce 1979, p. 261, refers to the popularity of this basket-weave technique in the periods of the 2nd and 3rd styles.

⁹⁷⁰ Blake 1930, pp. 52-53, 59-60, pl. 11:4; Morricone 1980, e.g., pls. 1-5. See also *PPM* I, pp. 194, 240-241, on *Cd Criptoportico* (I 6,2), in which Bragantini uses both terms for apparently different techniques: the mosaic with stone-inlays in the *oecus* (22) is here termed *lithostroton* while the mosaic in the *anticamera* of the *frigidarium* is attributed to the so-called *a canestro*-technique.

with inserted polychrome stones (Fig. 102).⁹⁷¹ Whatever terminology may be used to describe it, it is clear that the *fauces*-mosaic of *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2) can be linked to this popular pavement-technique and design of the late Republic and early Empire. In her study on mosaics and mortar-floors from Rome, Morricone states that the white-background version (with inserted polychrome stones) is not as common as the black background. For an explanation for this we need look no further than the suggestion by Pernice, cited already with reference to the stone-inlaid mosaics, that a lustrous effect was better achieved with inserted stones on a black floor.⁹⁷² The second *atrium*-section of *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,3, facing Via dell'Abbondanza) is, furthermore, adorned with black basket-weave mosaics with white inserted *tesserae* and polychrome stones scattered all over them. A similar mosaic is found in the bath-suite, and they are all assigned a dating to the 2nd style-period.⁹⁷³

The all-black mosaic of *VIII 2,18* (no. 21), with scattered white *tesserae*, finds parallels in the older *lavapesta*-floors seen in many *atrium*-houses. It also somewhat resembles the mosaics with rows of white *tesserae*, which we have encountered in the section on geometric patterns, although the *tesserae* in this *fauces*-mosaic are randomly scattered rather than regularly arranged.

6.4.3 Roman and modern views

The group consisting of plain-bichrome mosaics is the most neglected by scholars of all the groups in this study. The main reason must be that they present designs which are far too common and do not evoke much interest. For example, neither Blake nor Pernice mentions any comparable mosaics when discussing the two all-white *fauces*-mosaics with black borders, even though these mosaics depart from the norm by omitting a threshold. Their neglect may naturally have to do with the fact that no further examples seem to exist. The all-black mosaic with scattered white *tesserae* is another type that has been more or less completely overlooked.

Discussion of the basket-weave pattern, “*a canestro*”, is also rather limited, stating mainly that the heyday for such floors was in the early style-periods, and that the pattern probably imitated a carpet-design (although not necessarily being framed by borders).⁹⁷⁴ Blake

⁹⁷¹ Blake 1930, e.g., pp. 51-53, pl. 11:4; Pernice 1938, pp. 51-52, 55, pls. 19:1-2, 21:1-5. In *Cd Fabius Rufus* (VII 16,22), a large terrace-house, the sea-facing terrace portico, connecting many main rooms, is also paved in a similar, though polychrome, manner, with irregular marble-pieces, see e.g., Grimaldi 2011, p. 146 (fig. 13). See Morricone 1980, e.g., pp. 69-70, pls. 1-4, 16-17, on examples from *Atrium Vestae* and Ostia.

⁹⁷² Morricone 1980, pp. 77-79. N.B. However, see also the statement by Pernice 1938, p. 134, n. 3, referred to by Morricone 1980, p. 11, n. 18, in which it is observed that there was a preference for black mosaics with inserted stones at Pompeii. Similar mosaics found elsewhere, e.g., in Rome, are more often white, and Pernice speculates whether this might be the older colour-scheme, but this cannot be the conclusion drawn from the evidence from Pompeii.

⁹⁷³ *PPM* III, pp. 220-221, 246. The mosaic in the *caldarium* of the bath is black with scattered white *tesserae* and inserts of large, white marble-roundels.

⁹⁷⁴ De Vos 1979, p. 163. For a carpet-like basket-weave floor, see the *anticamera* to the *frigidarium* in *Cd Criptoportico* (I 6,2), Blake 1930, p. 60; Pernice 1938, pl. 19:1; *PPM* I, pp. 240-241.

categorises the basket-weave as a technical subgroup of *lithostroton*.⁹⁷⁵ However, given that we find the basket-weave technique employed for the floors of some iconic 2nd style-houses in and around Pompeii, it is quite remarkable how forgotten the mosaic in the former entrance of *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2) has been within Pompeian research,⁹⁷⁶ despite its being the only example in Pompeii of a *fauces*-mosaic executed by this technique.

6.4.4 Traditional or new?

The two *fauces*-mosaics that are attributed to the chronological group 2 belong to a common paving-tradition of their time, which included the basket-weave technique (*Praedia di Iulia Felix*, II 4,1-12, no. 2) and randomly scattered *tesserae* over an otherwise monochrome floor (both *Praedia di Iulia Felix*, II 4,1-12, no. 2, and *VIII 2,18*, no. 21), a technique, which can be seen on similar mortar-floors. In terms of the black-and-white colouring, these two *fauces*-mosaics are opposites of each other; one being a “salt sprinkled”-design, the other, “pepper sprinkled”. Both mosaics continue into their respective *atria*, although in *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2), a proper marble-threshold demarcates the two rooms. What the transition between the mosaics in *VIII 2,18* (no. 21) looked like is unfortunately unknown.

The other two *fauces*-mosaics, from chronological group 3, share with the older tradition the connection between the *fauces* and *atrium* in terms of floor-paving, but with a novel twist. The unparalleled border-design seen in both *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27) and *IX 5,6* (no. 28) allows the borders to avoid a boundary and instead to follow the walls into and around the *atrium*. Through this border-design and the visual effect of the all-white floors in combination with the colours on the walls,⁹⁷⁷ the impression of a larger entry-space seems not only to strengthen the welcome to the inside, but also to arouse the visitor’s curiosity as to what the interior might look like around the corner, if one were to follow the borders. The direct connection between several rooms is not discussed by Blake (or by Pernice), though she did note that the omitting of a tessellated boundary would perhaps have been a new fashion, characteristic of the very last phase.⁹⁷⁸

6.4.5 Concluding discussion

To conclude, a colour-scheme restricted to black and white is what distinguishes the four *fauces*-mosaics of this group. Chronologically speaking, the white background-colour (although rarely in an entirely all-white version) came to predominate as time went on, whereas it was still relatively uncommon during the late Republic.⁹⁷⁹ Illustrative examples of

⁹⁷⁵ Blake 1930, pp. 43, 59-60.

⁹⁷⁶ The complex was still reburied in the time of Blake and Pernice.

⁹⁷⁷ The *fauces*-walls in *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27) are decorated in the rare colour of Egyptian blue.

⁹⁷⁸ Blake 1930, p. 100; Pernice 1938, p. 105.

⁹⁷⁹ However, Morricone 1980, p. 77, states that we do not know whether the relatively small number of white mosaics at Rome provides testimony that such floors were later productions or whether it has to do with a gap in the archaeological

the traditional version are thus the black *fauces*-mosaic of *VIII 2,18* (no. 21) and the mortar-paved *fauces* from this period and a little later. It is therefore noteworthy that the late Republican *fauces*-mosaic of *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2) combined the use of the traditional basket-weave technique with a relatively new decorative idiom featuring use of a white background.⁹⁸⁰ Imitation of a carpet by the basket-weave technique was at the time fashionable for corridors and porticoes, as may be seen in some larger houses and suburban villas. Yet, surprisingly, it has been found only in one of the *fauces* excavated within Pompeii.

The power of white mosaics to lighten up the *fauces*-space is characteristic of the two latest mosaics of this group, *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27) and *IX 5,6* (no. 28). In the first of these two examples of *fauces*-decoration, the white mosaic surely balanced the beautiful and uniquely painted blue walls of the entrance, while in the second *fauces*, a red *cocciopesto*-floor in the first section of the entrance would surely produce an elegant interplay with the white mosaic. As we have seen, when mortar was employed for the floors of both *fauces* and *atria*, there could result a sense of interconnection between the rooms in the front part of the house, and sometimes even connection with the sidewalk. The change that especially the all-white mosaics with black borders brought about in the last period seems not to have been driven primarily by an urge towards openness in relation to the outside world. The boundary where the *fauces* met the street must now have been perceived as stronger, given that sidewalks were not tessellated. The visitor who had gained access to the house, would instead perceive the reception rooms of these two houses as together forming one equally welcoming room, thanks to the use of mosaic-borders that connected the rooms together, from the *fauces* to the *tablinum*.

One of the two *fauces*-mosaics just mentioned is, furthermore, likely to have been the result of imitation by one close neighbour of another, since the houses containing them are located not far from each other in *regio IX*. Of particular interest is the fact that one of these is an imposing double *atrium*-house (*Cd Marcus Lucretius*, IX 3,5/24, no. 27) while the other (*IX 5,6*, no. 28) is a more modest house in terms at least of its size and lack of an ornate garden. Spatially speaking, the *fauces*-mosaic in *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2) is the most isolated case, as it is found in the south-easternmost corner of the city, an area characterised more by horticultural plots than by dwellings. The last mosaic, in the terrace-house of *VIII 2,18* (no. 21), is found in the opposite south-western corner, where the house-owner was surrounded by a number of other neighbours who simultaneously took to the “trend” for tessellating entrances.

In sum, three of the four *fauces*-mosaics have mosaic-designs that connect with their *atria*, thus resembling the all-over effect produced by many traditional mortar-floors in entrance-passages. It is only the one *fauces*-mosaic with a white all-over design in the basket-

documentation. Cf. the possible *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd L. Caecilius Phoebus* (VIII 2,37), attributed to the late Republic, and described as being white with two black borders. See chap. 1.

⁹⁸⁰ Together with the large white panels of the *fauces*-walls, the overall impression must have been that of a remarkably light space, see *PPM I*, pp. 258-259.

weave technique that clearly relates to a carpet-imitating tradition, seemingly being aimed at eye-pleasing and at being recognised as a conventional design for an entrance. If we turn our attention towards the two late *fauces*-mosaics which are most evidently the expression of a new design, those displaying plain white surfaces within black borders that enclose the *atrium*, too, the suggested purpose of the innovative design-scheme is that of widening of the reception-space. As we do not have any other parallels for this mode of tessellation, it appears that the two owners, quite close neighbours to one another, do seem to have been involved in the choice of design for their pavements, either individually taking the design-initiative or being willing to accept innovative ideas presented to them by a mosaic-workshop.

6.5 Floral pattern group

6.5.1 Presentation

The floral group is made up of five *fauces*-mosaics out of 33. The floral mosaic-work is either displayed as an all-over pattern, as a central *emblema* or, in three cases, on a threshold-panel adjacent to the *atrium*.

<i>VI 13,13</i> (no. 8):	Fig. 103
<i>Cd Bracciale d'oro</i> (VI 17,42, no. 10):	Fig. 104
<i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I</i> (VII 16,12-13, no. 16):	Fig. 105
<i>Cd Cinghiale I</i> (VIII 3,8, no. 25):	Figs. 87/126
<i>Cd Ristorante</i> (IX 5,14-16, no. 29):	Fig. 106

In the house known as *VI 13,13* (no. 8), the rectangular tessellated threshold-panel between the *fauces* and *atrium* (of which the latter is paved in *cocciopesto*) once depicted a centrally placed rectangle, containing a lozenge, flanked by two squares on either side. Inside the square sections were stylised flowers, more specifically, buds and small six-petalled flowers, rendered in green, yellow, red, black and white.⁹⁸¹ The *fauces*-mosaic belongs chronologically to group 2 (the late Republic). It thus belongs with the black-and-white geometric mosaic (already discussed in the geometric group) that adorned the central section of this *fauces*-passage.

In *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42, no. 10), the short and wide *fauces*, reached by stairs, is adorned with a white mosaic, which contains a white square, framed with a thin black line. Inside the square is a design that consists of four, double, voluted arms, displayed so as to form a cross-shape. The inner volutes around the centre of the cross turn inwards, whereas the outer volutes curl outwards. The reason why this design is in the “floral” group is the

⁹⁸¹ Information about the mosaic survives only through the reports by Mau in *BdI* 1877, pp. 161-169, as well as a reproduction by Presuhn 1882 (VI), p. 4, pl. 4. See also Pernice 1938, p. 67; Gobbo 2009, pp. 346-347, 374; *PPMV*, pp. 179-181.

resemblance of “volutes” to the tight curls seen in some kinds of plant-growth before unfurling occurs. The mosaic of the *atrium* adjacent to this *fauces*-mosaic is white, framed by a black border.⁹⁸² The *fauces*-mosaic belongs to group 2 (the late Republic).

Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I (VII 16,12-13, no. 16) also features a short and wide *fauces*-space, with a white mosaic, framed by a thin black border set into the white ground. The all-over “embroidery” pattern of the white mosaic presents an intricate floral design, which gives a general impression of four-fold symmetry.⁹⁸³ A narrow, horizontal black band stretches across the entire mosaic, dividing the design into an upper and a lower part, the lower being almost, though not exactly, a mirror-image of the upper. The band is intertwined with ivy, and it ends in a *thyrsos* at both ends. From its central point, stylised floral sprays reach out like diagonal placed branches to the corners of the design, as well as straight upwards and downwards, featuring not just vine- and ivy-leaves, but most prominently volutes, some inward-curling and others outward-curling, enclosing heart-shapes, which in their turn are surmounted by lotus-flowers. The diagonally-positioned floral sprays end with *kantharoi* from which pomegranates spring forth in the four corners, while those which point straight up and down end, instead, with lotus-flowers only. The *atrium* adjacent to this elaborately decorated floor is paved with a black mosaic featuring white and polychrome stone-inserts.⁹⁸⁴ The *fauces*-mosaic belongs to group 2 (the late Republic).

The mosaic in the long *fauces*-passage of *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25) is mainly made up by a geometric composition (which has already been discussed) and a figurative panel containing a wild boar-hunt.⁹⁸⁵ The geometric composition consists of larger squares placed in rows along the white mosaic, in which stylised flowers are inserted. These are of various designs, mainly featuring different number of petals, while one square presents an acanthus-plant. A similar arrangement of stylised flowers in squares, side by side, is also present in the tessellated threshold-panel at the entrance to the *atrium*. The mosaic belongs chronologically to group 3 (presumably the late period).

The long *fauces*-passage of *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29) has a white mosaic, framed by a wide black border, which covers the floor like a carpet. At the approach to the *atrium*, a large rectangular threshold-panel in white, also framed by a black border,⁹⁸⁶ presents a symmetrical design in which, to the left and right of a central vertical division, one sees in profile two large, black, stylised S-shaped volutes, confronting one another. The outer ends of these are ornamented by outward-curling volutes. There are also inward-curling volutes at the inner centre, which end in ivy-leaves, and inside the heart-shaped curvilinear space enclosed by the volutes there is, furthermore, a small flower. The *atrium*-floor is paved in

⁹⁸² *PPM* VI, p. 44; Aoyagi & Pappalardo 2006, pp. 23-26; Ciardiello 2006, pp. 72, 81-82.

⁹⁸³ For the term “embroidery” pattern, see Ovadia 1980, p. 174.

⁹⁸⁴ Blake 1930, pp. 61, 65, 78, 108; Pernice 1938, p. 79; *PPM* VII, pp. 848-852; Bruni 2018; pp. 94, 100, 102.

⁹⁸⁵ Blake 1930, pp. 99, 120; Pernice 1938, p. 66.

⁹⁸⁶ Alternatively, one might take an opposite view of this bichrome composition regarding the ground colour of the mosaic as black, with two white mosaics superimposed upon it, one being a large cover and the other, a panel.

cocciopesto with inserted *tesserae* in black and white.⁹⁸⁷ This is one of the few *fauces*-mosaics in this study for which it has not been possible to assign a date on the basis of building-archaeological considerations, although Pernice confidently attributed the design to the Augustan period.

6.5.2 *Comparanda*

The particular designs of the *fauces*-mosaics can basically be grouped in two. “Floral patterns”, i.e., patterns recognisably derived from plant-growth, dominate the design on three mosaics (*VI 13,13*, no. 8, *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I*, VII 16,12-13, no. 16, and *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), while “volute patterns” is a more appropriate term to use for designs of the other two mosaics (*Cd Bracciale d’oro*, VI 17,42, no. 10, and *Cd Ristorante*, IX 5,14-16, no. 29). A general overview of floral patterns reveals a tradition that goes back to the very origins of mosaic-pavements, as witnessed by Greek pebble-mosaics from the early 4th century B.C. onwards.⁹⁸⁸ These patterns could either act as a filling border around an *emblema* or as an all-over pattern, as exemplified on a mosaic from the Palace at Vergina.⁹⁸⁹ From Delos come a couple of chip-pavements that feature centrally placed tessellated flowers, either decorating entrance-panels or the main floor.⁹⁹⁰

On Pompeian mosaics, many thresholds around the houses were decorated with flowers or crescent tendrils (some with volutes). This may be seen in many of the houses in our sample,⁹⁹¹ and elsewhere, a central *emblema* with a floral pattern might decorate a mosaic-floor.⁹⁹² The particular design of threshold-panels with inserted stylised flowers is shared by two of the *fauces*-mosaics: *VI 13,13* (no. 8) and *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25).⁹⁹³ While the mosaic in *VI 13,13* (no. 8) belongs to the polychrome, Hellenistic tradition, the black-and-white technique of the late mosaic in *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25) shows how the design continued to be used for threshold-panels during the 1st century A.D. Apart from these *fauces*-mosaics, only one more *fauces*-floor of those preserved at Pompeii displays a floral decoration. In house VIII 2,13, a mortar-pavement bears a stylised flower with six petals,

⁹⁸⁷ Pernice 1938, p. 117 (the volute-pattern has been restored in modern times); *PPM IX*, p. 601.

⁹⁸⁸ Blake 1930, pp. 68-70; Dunbabin 1999a, pp. 9, 14-15.

⁹⁸⁹ Dunbabin 1999a, p. 15, fig. 14.

⁹⁹⁰ Dunbabin 1999a, pp. 30-31, figs. 30-31. Bruneau 1972: central motif: *Maison III N*, nr. 261, figs. 229-231; *Maison du lac*, nr. 93, figs. 102-105; threshold-motif: *Maison III Q*, nr. 267, figs. 234-236; *Maison VI M*, nr. 306, figs. 260-262.

⁹⁹¹ See e.g., *ala*-thresholds with ivy and volutes in *Cd Bracciale d’oro* (VI 17,42, no. 10), *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), and in *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), the latter with ivy growing out of a *kantharos*; Blake 1930, pls. 18:3, 26:8, 28:2; Pernice 1938, pls. 27:4, 44:5. According to Jashemski, Meyer & Ricciardi 2002, p. 113, ivy is an often-recurring plant in Pompeian wall-paintings as well.

⁹⁹² See e.g., *Cd Ganymede* (VII 13,4) and *Cd Efebo* (I 7,11) in Pernice 1938, pls. 49:3, 47:4. For an overview of vegetal and floral patterns on Pompeian floors, see Pernice 1938, pp. 144-145.

⁹⁹³ Blake 1930, p. 120: “Of all the designs known to the mosaicist of the first century after Christ, none furnished him with more opportunity for variations than the row of squares separated by different bands”. However, Blake does not include the *fauces*-mosaic in *VI 13,13* (no. 8) in her few examples of those that had added polychrome details, despite the fact that the *fauces*-mosaic is entirely polychrome.

placed centrally in a large circle (as mentioned in the “mortar”-section earlier in this chapter, see Fig. 107).⁹⁹⁴

As a ubiquitous decorative design, tendrils and volutes were found on vases, in wall-paintings and stucco-work. The decorative relief-elements found in the *Tempio di Iside* (VIII 7,28) at Pompeii provide a telling example. Above the niches once containing statues, on either side of the entrance to the *cella*, a pattern almost identical to that found in *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29), is visible (Fig. 108).⁹⁹⁵ The mosaic-design in the *fauces* of *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42, no. 10) belongs to the same tradition, too: the pattern here can be seen to present a smaller version of the enlarged volutes of *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29).

Turning to the most elaborate of the floral designs,⁹⁹⁶ the all-over embroidery pattern of the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16), also including a volute design, is in a class of its own. However, one analogous piece of tessellation from Pompeii worth mentioning in connection with it features in the *atriolum*-mosaic in *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4), whose *impluvium*-panels (eight in all) exhibit so many motifs similar to the ones found in *fauces*-decoration. The panel most important for the present investigation is one displaying a tripod as it includes representation of birds, ivy and vine-leaves and tendrils meandering from a pot (Fig. 109). Another panel from the same room, which has a similar vegetal background portrays a wild boar being chased by dogs, and depicts vine growing out of a *rhyton* (Fig. 129).⁹⁹⁷ The late Republican date assigned to both the *fauces*-mosaic and to the panels in the *atriolum* fits well with the fact that their artistic idiom would become a characteristic feature of the Augustan period, masterfully expressed in the *Ara Pacis*, about which more will be said below.

6.5.3 Roman and modern views

When Blake and Pernice discussed the floors around Pompeii that were decorated with a floral design, they never really assigned a deeper meaning to any of them. Instead, floral patterns were mainly seen as the products of different time-periods; expressed in naturalistic or conventionalised styles. As Blake stated, “the difference between the Hellenistic and the Roman treatment of the floral band is exceedingly difficult to put into words, and yet one instinctively feels that it exists”.⁹⁹⁸

In his assessment of the particular floral mosaic in the *fauces* of *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16), Pernice primarily devoted his attention to the question of its date by drawing parallels to the vegetal design of the Hildesheim silver-treasure, notably

⁹⁹⁴ See Blake 1930, p. 118; Pernice 1938, p. 102, pl. 46:4.

⁹⁹⁵ See Moormann 2011, p. 153, fig. 78. The wall-paintings that once adorned the temple-portico itself also used to contain ornamental scroll-work on the upper friezes.

⁹⁹⁶ See Blake 1930, p. 108, who proposes that this *fauces*-mosaic (which she calls a “threshold”) may be the most elaborate in Pompeii.

⁹⁹⁷ See Pernice 1938, pl. 24:1; Ling & Ling 2005, esp. pp. 13-15, 56-57.

⁹⁹⁸ Blake 1930, p. 108.

the famous silver *krater*.⁹⁹⁹ He nevertheless asserted emphatically the influence of a classicizing tendency on the mosaic, sharing in this the view of Blake, who assigned the mosaic a Roman date although it “is absolutely Hellenistic in spirit”.¹⁰⁰⁰ More recently, de Vos, too, discusses the Hellenistic floral compositions of this transformation-period, before they became more stylised, and points to this *fauces*-mosaic as a good illustrative example.¹⁰⁰¹

Since the time of Blake and Pernice, the artistic idiom of the early Empire has been the subject of many studies, notably by Zanker,¹⁰⁰² which have drawn attention to its characteristic way of representing the plants and animals of the natural world in orderly compositions as being suggestive of the ideals of the new Imperial regime. Much attention has been paid especially to the vegetal scroll-friezes of the *Ara Pacis*, consecrated in 9 B.C. to the *Pax Augusta* (Fig. 110).¹⁰⁰³ The multifaceted imagery contained signals of both a socio-political and a religious character.¹⁰⁰⁴ This imagery successfully reached out to the people, who consequently imitated the decorative idiom in which it was presented.¹⁰⁰⁵

6.5.4 Traditional or new?

Floral and vegetal patterns had long been a popular type of floor-ornament at Pompeii as can be seen both from mortar-floors and from early mosaics.¹⁰⁰⁶ Blake made clear distinctions between artistic styles that, in her view, either belonged to the “Hellenistic” tradition or to the “Roman”. An example of a transformation from one period to another is illustrated by the widespread motif of the so-called Hellenistic rosette, an elaborate multi-petal “rose” often placed inside a large central *emblema*, which, for example, are seen adorning *tablina* of some of the houses included in our sample,¹⁰⁰⁷ but which would gradually be disappearing by the time of the early Empire (Fig. 111). Instead, a more simplified version of this flower representation, in the form of four-six-and eight-petal flowers, came to characterise the decoration.¹⁰⁰⁸ This is well illustrated in the mortar-paved *fauces* of the house VIII 2,13, which presents a centrally placed flower inside a square, as mentioned above.

⁹⁹⁹ Pernice 1938, p. 79, n. 3, assigns a similar date to both the mosaic and the *krater*, which belongs to the 1st century A.D. See also Castriota 1995, fig. 90.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Pernice 1938, p. 145; Blake 1930, p. 108.

¹⁰⁰¹ De Vos 1991, p. 54.

¹⁰⁰² The seminal study of the imagery in the Augustan age was first published in German in 1987. However, in the present study, all references will be to the English translation of 1988.

¹⁰⁰³ Castriota 1995; Galinsky 1996; Pollini 2012.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Galinsky 1996, pp. 147-155.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Galinsky 1996, p. 150. See also Clarke 2003, p. 26-28, who proposes that the vegetal frieze would have been a magnet for ordinary Romans (many of whom belonged to the rural population), who could view it and discuss the natural, and divine, world through the various plants and animals.

¹⁰⁰⁶ See Pernice 1938, pp. 121, 145-146, on vine, ivy and acanthus tendril-patterns.

¹⁰⁰⁷ See examples in *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), and *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20), e.g., Pernice 1938, pl. 27:6.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Blake 1930, pp. 96-98, 104-105.

Already in the early mask-and-garland threshold-panel in the *fauces* of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), the vivid and natural rendering of nature was an expression of its time (see chap. 3, Fig. 33). To a slightly later period, but still expressive of Hellenistic culture, belongs the polychrome mosaic-panel in the *fauces* of *VI 13,13* (no. 8), with its stylised design of four squares and a central rectangle, side by side, in a row. Although the floral motifs here are not executed in the typical perspective manner, the placing of just one flower in each of the five squared frames is reminiscent of Hellenistic floor-decorations,¹⁰⁰⁹ as are the colours used: green, yellow, red, black and white.¹⁰¹⁰ It is of interest to note that a similar arrangement is repeated in the late *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), although the polychrome rendering has been exchanged to the black-and-white technique.

In the transformation-period between the late Republic and early Empire, a new artistic idiom was emerging, which is observable in three of the *fauces*-mosaics of this group (*Cd Bracciale d'oro*, VI 17,42, no. 10, *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I*, VII 16,12-13, no. 16, and *Cd Ristorante*, IX 5,14-16, no. 29). The ideological programme of the Augustan age was coming to dominate the decorative arts, not just in the public sphere but also in private houses.¹⁰¹¹ Notable design-features of this time and taste are opposing volutes and scroll-work of acanthus, ivy and vine. The intricate all-over pattern of the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16) is a most telling illustration of the approach of the classicizing renaissance of the Augustan age.¹⁰¹² An artistic tradition, which had Greek precedents, of expressing the themes of prosperity and peace in visual terms, is something else witnessed by this *fauces*-mosaic.¹⁰¹³ Here, the vegetal elements of vine, ivy and pomegranate, together with the Dionysian *kantharos* and *thyrsos*, clearly allude to a Greek culture that, for us, is pre-eminently celebrated in certain decorations on marble slabs from Pergamon.¹⁰¹⁴ But the combination of the black-and-white rendering of this mosaic with the luxuriance of its floral and vegetal design, produced a peculiarly Roman style of artistic expression.

Although the mosaic in *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29) has not been assuredly dated, its design of the highly stylised volutes resembles that of certain decorations found on the *Tempio di Iside* (VIII 7,28), which in turn may relate to the symbolic idiom of the Augustan

¹⁰⁰⁹ Dunbabin 1999a, p. 55.

¹⁰¹⁰ The same colours feature also in a Hellenistic rosette-mosaic in a *triclinium* of the same house, see Presuhn 1882 (VI), p. 4 + pl. 4. See also Pernice 1938, p. 67, and Gobbo 2009, pp. 346-347, 374.

¹⁰¹¹ Pernice 1938, p. 117; Zanker 1988, esp. chap. 4 and 7.

¹⁰¹² Zanker 1988, pp. 335-336; Hölscher 2006, p. 250: "In sum, Roman art to a great extent took up and developed the artistic forms of various periods of Greek history in a very flexible manner, and this is especially clear in the time of Augustus".

¹⁰¹³ Castriota 1995, chap. 4, pp. 124-144. It is proposed by Bruni 2018, p. 94, that the mosaics in the *fauces* and *atrium* were part of a large redecoration that took place after c. 50 B.C.

¹⁰¹⁴ See reconstructions as an altar in Castriota 1995, pp. 14, 170, figs. 52-54. Castriota was keen to emphasise that the Greek artistic tradition as an important source of inspiration for the making of the *Ara Pacis*, and that the iconographic presentation of real plants among stylised acanthus scroll-work thus should not be viewed as an Augustan innovation. See also Pollini 2012, pp. 276-277, figs. VI.2-3.

age. Evidently, the long-lived popularity of this pattern is demonstrated by restoration-work of the temple that dates to the post-earthquake period, and includes the stuccoed volutes.¹⁰¹⁵ The fact that the volute-pattern, in this case, was still in use so long after Augustus could indicate re-use of an older pattern derived from an earlier temple-structure constructed during the Principate, or alternatively it might simply attest to long-lived popularity of the design.¹⁰¹⁶

6.5.5 Concluding discussion

Whether it is appropriate to interpret the floral mosaics of Pompeii as conveying a rich symbolic language is, of course, a question which one may justifiably raise. In their studies on the *atriolum*-mosaic in *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4), Ling and Ling regard the mosaic-panels featuring tendrils and small animals as solely decorative fillers.¹⁰¹⁷ Decorating the small *atrium* to the bath-suite of the house, these late 2nd style-period floors served the same function as the *fauces*-mosaics did, i.e., to greet visitors on arrival. Their date, moreover, provides evidence that patterns derived from luxurious plant-growth were already in vogue in Pompeian domestic décor prior to the breakthrough of the Augustan renaissance of classicism. The only *fauces*-mosaic possibly deserving comparison with these decorations is, in my view, the mosaic in *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16), which, like them, displayed close affinities with what was to become the characteristic visual symbolism of the Augustan age.

Floral and vegetal motifs had a long history in the visual arts of the Hellenistic world, but under the Imperial regime newly initiated by Augustus, a new paradisiacal meaning was given to the decorations of both public buildings and private homes, as the visual arts could be employed to promote the new order.¹⁰¹⁸ While the *Ara Pacis*-frieze primarily consists of acanthus and vine-scrolls,¹⁰¹⁹ the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16) features, in the first place, trails of ivy-leaves entwined around the *thyrsos*, although vine-leaves also hold a prominent place. The pomegranates in the mosaic have counterparts in the proliferation of fruits on the *Ara Pacis*, symbolic of the fertility of Ceres/Demeter.¹⁰²⁰ The lotus-flowers in the *fauces*-mosaic, on the other hand, find no

¹⁰¹⁵ Moormann 2011, pp. 149-162.

¹⁰¹⁶ The temple has several building-phases, the oldest dating to c. 100 B.C., see Moormann 2007, pp. 137-154. The original 1st and 2nd style wall-paintings of the temple were in fact replaced by 4th style-decoration after A.D. 62, while the mosaics date from early 1st century A.D. However, the stucco of the 1st style was replaced by new after the earthquake, albeit imitating the former, see Moormann 2011, p. 151.

¹⁰¹⁷ Ling & Ling 2005, pp. 56-57.

¹⁰¹⁸ The 3rd style marks the beginning of such a decorative shift in wall-paintings, see Zanker 1988, esp. pp. 279-285. See also Pollini 2012, pp. 180-182, 285, and Castriota 1995, pp. 124-125, on the *aurea aetas* (golden age) as a popular *topos* in Augustan literature as well, notably in Horace and Virgil.

¹⁰¹⁹ For a discussion on the acanthus in particular, see Pollini 2012, chap. 6.

¹⁰²⁰ Castriota 1995, p. 16. Moreover, Castriota suggests (p. 62) that the ancient viewers might associate vegetal and floral motifs with divine powers. The *Ara Pacis* features many small animals (birds, frogs and snakes) among foliage, rather

counterpart in the altar-frieze. The *kantharoi* and *thyrsos* of the *fauces*-mosaic were symbols of classical Greek religion, which alluded to the opulent Dionysian sphere of pleasure, wine banquets, and fertility and the whole “embroidery”-design of the *fauces*-mosaic, composed though it is with the tidy and elegant intricacy associated with the art of the coming Augustan era, may be said to convey the same associations.¹⁰²¹

The stylised volutes in *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42, no. 10), perhaps also those in *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29),¹⁰²² are best seen as part of a general adaptation within the arts, as witnessed in domestic decoration, furniture, and tableware, as well as in public monuments, to conform to the dictates of contemporary fashion.¹⁰²³

The *fauces*-mosaic in *VI 13,13* (no. 8) derived its design from of a well-established Hellenistic repertoire, even though it is the only example of polychrome floral mosaic-work in Pompeii that is placed in an entryway, and is therefore comparable to the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) with the mask-and-garland panel. It is noteworthy that the two houses just mentioned were located close to one another in neighbouring *insulae* of *regio* VI. The *fauces* of *VI 13,13* (no. 8) also resembled *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) in juxtaposing two mosaic-pavements, both belonging to the same period but very different in style: one, decorated with polychrome stylised flowers derived from an earlier tradition, and the other, featuring a black-and-white hourglass-pattern that was in the latest fashion.

All in all, it is somewhat surprising that such a small number of house-owners actually employed a floral or voluted design for their *fauces*-mosaics, if one considers the simple and traditional decorative purpose of such designs. Three of the four datable mosaics belong, furthermore, to the period of the late Republic, while the fourth belongs to the last period. Two of the early mosaics are contained in terrace-houses (*Cd Bracciale d'oro*, VI 17,42, no. 10, and *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I*, VII 16,12-13, no. 16), located not far from each other in the *Insula occidentalis*, while the other two are found in the city-centre (*VI 13,13*, no. 8: a double *atrium*-house by the time of the mosaic-laying in the late Republic, and *Cd Cinghiale I*, VIII 3,8, no. 25, whose mosaic presumably belongs to a late period) is found in the city-

than divinities, and these could have evoked folkloristic associations. See Jashemski, Meyer & Ricciardi 2002, p. 154, about mosaics containing pomegranates in garlands.

¹⁰²¹ Within the context of Augustan iconography, Dionysian symbols also referred to the exuberance of Octavian's defeated rival, Mark Antony. While Zanker 1988, esp. chap. 2, has stressed the rivalry and dichotomy between Octavian's Apollo and Antony's Dionysos, Castriota, Pollini and Scapini argue for a more nuanced picture, in which Augustus, now in the role as the emperor, instead adopted the Dionysian aesthetics, not just in order to secure a divine *concordia* but also to appropriate for himself its long tradition of providing symbols of power and authority, see Castriota 1995, esp. chap. 3; Pollini 2012, pp. 278-281; Scapini 2015.

¹⁰²² See the study by Knox 2014, pp. 41-43, on the indebtedness to the literary treatment of myths by Ovid, in the *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*, of many of the house's paintings (dated to the 4th style, today at MANN), whereby its owner was enabled to display his or her knowledge of mythology.

¹⁰²³ See Zanker 1988, chap. 7. The contemporaneous Boscoreale silver-treasure from *Villa della Pisanella* also exhibits vegetal and floral imagery, as well as historical and political allegories, on the various drinking-cups. The marble portal to the so-called *Edificio di Eumachia* (VII 9,1) at Pompeii shows a similar vegetal and floral idiom to that of the *Ara Pacis*, mainly featuring acanthus and including small animals and insects. N.B. the portal was not originally attached to this “Edificio”, but instead to the adjacent *Tempio del Genio di Augusto* (VII 9,2).

centre. The fifth house (*Cd Ristorante*, IX 5,14-16, no. 29, also a double *atrium*-house), with the undatable mosaic, is found on a small side-street in *regio IX*. In two of the cases (*VI 13,13*, no. 8, and *Cd Ristorante*, IX 5,14-16, no. 29), the *atria* are not tessellated but instead paved with *cocciopesto*-floors. The difference in paving-materials between the *fauces* and the *atrium* is only paralleled in two more houses of the core-sample, where the alternative to mosaic-work is *lavapesta* (*Cd Fauno*, VI 12,2, no. 7, and *Officina offectoria di Ubonius*, IX 3,2, no. 26). The time-frame for such mixing of floor-materials is, so far one can tell, consistent with the first two styles, i.e., the last century B.C.

The placement of the mosaics in their respective *fauces* is varied. Three are designed as tessellated threshold-panels at the entrance to the *atria* (*VI 13,13*, no. 8, *Cd Ristorante*, IX 5,14-16, no. 29, and *Cd Cinghiale I*, VIII 3,8, no. 25), and so, in order to see them, the visitor had first to have entered the *fauces*. In the last case, *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), the geometric composition of the mosaic included also stylised flowers in squares, distributed over the entire floor, which resemble a navigation-route for the visitor to the interior. The all-over carpet in *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16) was visible already from the sidewalk, whereas the central *emblema* of the volute flowers in *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42, no. 10) was seen first when the visitor had climbed the steps that led up to the house.

With regard to the motif-selection of the patterns, in the Pompeian repertoire of design for *fauces*, the mosaics in the floral group are all without parallel. No motif is exactly like any of the others, although there is a certain affinity between the two mosaics which feature a stylised volute-pattern, as well as between the two mosaics that present threshold-panels containing stylised flowers in squares on a row. At least in three of the datable cases, the patterns speak of a trend-sensitivity on the part of the owners that was in conformity with their time (the late Republic). The all-over pattern that covers one *fauces*-floor like an embroidered carpet is by far the most lavish, suggesting a house-owner who deliberately chose to decorate the entrance in as grandiose a manner as possible. This interpretation is further confirmed by the house's black *atrium*-mosaic that is adorned with white and polychrome stone-inserts. The *fauces*-mosaic's strong allusion to the Dionysian sphere makes it a rare entrance-mosaic: one with decoration that relates to the religious sphere, although its theme does not relate directly to protection of the house but rather, in general, to abundance and prosperity.¹⁰²⁴ We have already encountered similar attitudes, especially in the tessellated inscriptions, which could greet the visitor at the entrance to a house by asserting that wealth was welcomed or indeed already achieved.

¹⁰²⁴ See Zanker 1988, p. 273: "But whatever the case with a particular object – whether the owner sought to proclaim his political loyalty or wanted to enjoy the latest in artistic fashion – the cumulative effect of the new political imagery, echoed in Roman houses on every level of society, must have been inescapable".

6.6 Figurative group: marine motif

6.6.1 Presentation

The marine-motif group is composed of four *fauces*-mosaics out of 33. In one case, the mosaic is placed on the upper level of the two-stepped *fauces*, in another, it acted as a threshold-panel adjacent to the *atrium*, and in the last two cases, a marine subject provided an all-over design for the whole of a mosaic.

<i>Cd Ancora</i> (VI 10,7, no. 6)	Fig. 112
<i>Cd M. Caesius Blandus</i> (VII 1,40, no. 12)	Fig. 113
<i>Cd Marinaio</i> (VII 15,1-2, no. 15)	Figs. 114/84
<i>Cd Centenario</i> (IX 8,3-6, no. 30)	Fig. 115

The *fauces*-passage in *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6) consists of a two-stepped entryway, with mosaics on both levels. At the street level, a white mosaic portrays a black anchor inside a black-framed square. The anchor occupies the whole width of the framed area and is shown in profile, pointing to the right. The upper mosaic presents a black imbrication-pattern already discussed in connection with the geometric group. The poorly preserved, white *atrium*-mosaic of this house was once decorated with inserted polychrome stones.¹⁰²⁵ Both mosaics in the *fauces* belong to group 2 (the late Republic).

The *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), newly restored in 2017-2018, is white with a broad, black border that frames both the main mosaic and the threshold-panel adjacent to the *atrium*. Inside the main mosaic, a complex figurative design is outlined in black with polychrome details added. Its central feature is a rudder, with a diagonally striped blade, depicted as if seen from above, which extends for almost the whole length of the mosaic, i.e., from near the street-end of the *fauces* to the *atrium*-threshold. A black bird with a green wing and red breast is standing on the upper end of the rudder. From the lower end of the rudder, a tiller is shown, with its shaft piercing the rudder (clearly at right-angles with it though unrealistically viewed from a “sideways-on” perspective). Behind the rudder is a trident placed on the diagonal (from the right lower corner to the left top corner), with its three prongs pointing towards the *atrium*. One dolphin is swimming on either side of the rudder, both apparently heading in the direction of the sidewalk. Above the dolphin on the right, as seen by the entering visitor, a *hippocampus* is swimming towards the *atrium*. Beyond this entirely maritime composition, the tessellated threshold-panel adjacent to the *atrium* presents a crenelated city-wall in white, with a central, closed, gate, two red shields (with added *tesserae* in yellow and green) above and black towers in the far ends. The

¹⁰²⁵ Blake 1930, pp. 62, 82, 85; Pernice 1938, p. 78; Coarelli & Pesando 2006, pp. 167-171, 221-222, 229-230.

black *atrium*-mosaic is adorned with polychrome stones.¹⁰²⁶ The *fauces*-mosaic belongs to group 2 (the late Republic).

The *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15) has also been newly restored in 2017-2018, but, even so, only represents a minor part of the original floor. What is left of this mosaic, on a white ground, that once decorated the rather steep entryway, are parts of the black meander-pattern that occupied the main body of the mosaic (previously discussed with reference to the geometric group). The upper section, now lost but once recorded in a water-colour painting and later in a photograph, served as a threshold-panel. It presented a figurative scene: an arcaded boathouse shown as containing ships, with prows to the fore (adorned with painted apotropaic eyes). Below the large main field of meander, Pernice stated that a dolphin and an anchor were depicted, which today are gone.¹⁰²⁷ The black *atrium*-mosaic with inserted rows of white *tesserae* is better preserved. The *fauces*-mosaic belongs to group 2 (the period between the late Republic and early Empire).

The short and wide entryway of *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30) is reached by stairs. The mosaic has a black ground and is divided into a main body and a threshold-panel adjacent to the *atrium*. The main body further consists of a white square, framed by black borders. Inside, a small dolphin is depicted, swimming to the left as it is being chased by a *hippocampus*. Both are rendered in black, and underneath are black lines, suggesting the waves of the sea. The threshold-panel, likewise with a white ground but marked off from the main *fauces*-mosaic by its black frame, features a black horizontal band that marks the border to the *atrium*. The *atrium* itself is paved with a black mosaic with inserted rows of white *tesserae*.¹⁰²⁸ The *fauces*-mosaic belongs to group 3 (probably to the post-earthquake period).

6.6.2 *Comparanda*

Marine subject-matter is very common in ancient mosaics. The different motifs exemplified in the *fauces*-mosaics are found in many constellations, combined with one another and also with other figures. It follows that only a selection of the most illuminating examples can be cited here.

The dolphin-motif is found on many Pompeian mosaics, and especially in bath-contexts. From the core-sample, such mosaics are found, not only in the *fauces*-mosaics of *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30) and *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), but also in their private baths, where they share a range of figurative motifs with another handful bath-mosaics

¹⁰²⁶ Blake 1930, pp. 60, 75-76, 80, 83, 85, 121; Pernice 1938, pp. 53-54; Beyen 1960, pp. 234-259.

¹⁰²⁷ After the new restorations, a black curvilinear bend on this lower part is discernible, which may indicate the former presence of this figurative design. See Pernice 1938, p. 64, pl. 18:4; Blake 1930, pp. 79-81, 84-85, 109. See also water-colour by Luigi Bazzani (from 1876?) at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. nr. 1073-1886), representing the *fauces*-mosaic as yet fully preserved and *in situ*. However, the lower part, once with a dolphin and an anchor, is not clearly depicted in the painting. Cf. Fiorelli 1875, p. 305, who documented the partly destroyed mosaic as showing six prows of ships but omitting the lower part.

¹⁰²⁸ Blake 1930, pp. 98, 121; Pernice 1938, pp. 43-44, 146; Coralini 2001a; Coralini 2001b; Coralini 2017 (see i.a. pp. 82-85, 93-94, 115); *PPM IX* (Sampaolo), pp. 903-906.

around the city.¹⁰²⁹ Not only bath-suites but also other rooms could be decorated similarly: on a *triclinium*-threshold in the rear part of *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4), a black-and-white mosaic depicted two dolphins flanking an anchor.¹⁰³⁰ Dolphins also feature as popular decorative motifs for wall-paintings, sculptures and household items, of which examples will be given below.

The motif of the *hippocampus* pursuing a dolphin was particularly popular, and many parallels can be found in wall-paintings around Pompeii, both from the public and the private sphere (Fig. 116). An example from the sacral domain are the paintings in the portico of the *Tempio di Iside* (VIII 7,28).¹⁰³¹ Dated to the 4th style (see above), the decoration of the temple is contemporaneous with the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30). Within private houses, the dolphin-motif is e.g., found in *Cd Octavius Quartio* (II 2,2), both in a wall-painting as well as in the tessellated wall-decoration of the *aedicula* in the garden's *biclinium*.¹⁰³² In the centre of the floor in the courtyard of *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2), which connected the street (Via dell'Abbondanza) with the bath-section of the complex, a large mosaic took as its subject a "marine *thiasos*", featuring swimming dolphins and *hippocampi*.¹⁰³³

The anchor in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6) finds a parallel, or so its interpreters have thought, in the decoration of the façades of a couple of houses. Painted on the right entrance-pillar of *Cd Ancora rossa* (III 1,3), a red anchor was discovered when newer plaster fell off.¹⁰³⁴ Furthermore, on the brick façade to *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24), a representation of an anchor, formed by bricks, points like an arrow down the street.¹⁰³⁵ In wall-paintings, the anchor is often present in combination with other objects, for example in the trophy-paintings that once adorned the façade of the *Schola Armaturarum* (III 3,6), or in

¹⁰²⁹ Figures like dolphins, sea-animals, black swimmers, anchors and tridents: *Cd Criptoportico* (I 6,2), *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4), *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), *Cd Maius Castricius* (VII 16,17), *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,6: peristyle-courtyard leading from the street to the bath-section), *Villa Ottaviano* outside Pompeii. In *Terme Suburbane* (VII 16,a), fragmented black-and-white mosaics exhibit dolphins and marine felines; see Clarke & Larvey 2005, dating the mosaics to the late 3rd style-period (A.D. 30-45). In de Haan 2010, p. 88, the following are also listed: *Cd Fabius Rufus* (VII 16,17-22), *Villa di Pisanella* (Boscotrecase) and *Villa dei Miri* (Stabiae). Regarding the bath-mosaic in *Cd Maius Castricius* (VII 16,17), *PPM* VII (Bragantini), p. 924, describes the "dolphin and anchor"-motif in particular as popular for bath-contexts during the late Republic.

¹⁰³⁰ *PPM* IV, p. 24.

¹⁰³¹ MANN inv. nos. 8875 and 8851. The *purgatorium/Nilometer* inside the temple-precinct still exhibits stuccoed dolphins on its exterior.

¹⁰³² Another wall-painting example comes from *Cd Principe di Napoli* (VI 15,8), where an upper *aedicula* shows three small dolphins and a *hippocampus* swimming joyfully. These were clearly visible from the *fauces*.

¹⁰³³ The mosaic today at MANN is a patchwork of several combined mosaics: the border with the crenelated city-wall, together with the inscription *Salve*, once belonged to an *atrium*-mosaic from the *Villa di Arianna*, Stabiae. At the museum, this border was combined with the *thiasos*-mosaic, acting as a second border. Finally, the very centre of this patchwork was composed of yet another mosaic from the *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12), the so-called *furnacator*-mosaic depicting a slave with a shovel (i.e., a furnace-stoker), once adorning the *caldarium* of the bath, see de Vos 1991, pp. 36-37, n. 2; *PPM* III, pp. 184-186, 208.

¹⁰³⁴ Della Corte 1965, p. 342.

¹⁰³⁵ According to Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 66, the façade must have been unplastered in order for the decoration to be seen.

an association with goddesses (Fortuna or Venus).¹⁰³⁶ It is common in Pompeian mosaics for an anchor to be shown in combination with other marine figures like dolphins, as mentioned above.

Naval themes are found both in Pompeian wall-paintings (several on display at MANN today, Fig. 117),¹⁰³⁷ as well as on mosaics.¹⁰³⁸ A *triclinium*-mosaic in *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30) used to have a polychrome threshold depicting ships' prows.¹⁰³⁹ Elsewhere, this combination of motifs is of more frequent occurrence in the *atrium*-area.¹⁰⁴⁰ The mosaic-border, dated to the late Republic, framing the *impluvium* in one of the two *atria* of *Cd Citarista* (I 4,5/25) once consisted of nine ships' prows. According to *PPM* (M. de Vos), this tessellated composition may be linked to the decoration of the secondary *atrium*-complex in the same house.¹⁰⁴¹ On one of the *antae* of the *tablinum*, a fixed bronze-roundel (for the closure of curtains?), portraying a ship's prow with a *protome* (an ornamental element like a bust) of a bull, seemingly refers to the ancient custom of displaying the enemy's looted possessions as trophies.¹⁰⁴² In a couple of more instances from both Pompeii and Herculaneum, similar bronze-fittings in the shape of ships' prows, with or without bulls, have decorated *tablinum*-entrances.¹⁰⁴³ Another example of a mosaic analogous with the boathouse threshold-panel at *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15) is the *atrium*-border around the *impluvium* in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), which exhibits an all-around colonnade, each arch containing a figure. Of relevance here are the anchors, the ship's prow with a chequered rudder and the dolphins (Fig. 118).

The many interesting mosaics in the bath-suite of *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4), which have already been referred to in connection with some of the previous groups, include some

¹⁰³⁶ *PPM* III, pp. 394-395, figs. 2-3. See also the *viridarium*-painting in *Cd Caccia nuova* (VII 2,25), once portraying a statue (of a goddess?) on a pillar on to which an anchor, a rudder, helmets and shields were fastened; *PPM* X, pp. 317-318, fig. 120. Mau 1882, pp. 274-275, reports that the walls between the both *alae* in the *atrium* of *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13) were painted with 2nd style-paintings, depicting each a large upright rudder in red, green and yellow.

¹⁰³⁷ E.g., from the public/religious sphere: the wall-stucco in the *tepidarium* of the *Terme Stabiane* (VII 1,8) and the *Tempio di Iside* (VIII 7,28) (see Moormann 2011, pp. 160-161, on the proposition that they represent the victory at Actium in 31 B.C.). From the private sphere: notably from some of the terrace-houses in the *Insula occidentalis*, and *Cd Labirinto* (VI 11,9-10). Still *in situ*, although much damaged, is the megalography in the *tablinum* of VI 17,41, see *PPM* VI, pp. 16-17. For the naval motif in Pompeian wall-paintings and its particular heyday during the 4th style (but present in the 2nd style as well), see Avilia & Jacobelli 1989; Beyen 1938, pp. 312-314.

¹⁰³⁸ The bath-mosaic threshold in *Cd Nozze d'argento* (V 2,i), portraying an aqueduct, is referred to as a colonnade by Blake 1930, p. 85.

¹⁰³⁹ Mau in *BdI* 1881, p. 172. The mosaic has been dated to the period between the end of the 1st century B.C. and the beginning of the 1st century A.D. by *PPM* IX (Sampaolo), p. 1026.

¹⁰⁴⁰ In *Cd Danzatrice/Diana I* (VI 17,10), a mosaic once depicted arches of a boathouse, through which dolphins, ships, tridents and anchors were seen, see Pagano & Prisciandaro 2006, p. 45. Accompanying wall-paintings featured naval scenes (eye-decorated ships in a boathouse), today on display at MANN (inv. nos. 1172, 8603 and 8604).

¹⁰⁴¹ *PPM* I, p. 170, fig. 87. See also Pernice 1938, p. 69.

¹⁰⁴² *PPM* I, p. 121, fig. 3; Dwyer 1982, p. 87.

¹⁰⁴³ The entrance-pillars to the *tablinum* in *Cd M. Obellius Firmus* (IX 14,4) were also adorned with similar bronze-fittings, two of which had a protruding bull above a *rostrum* of a warship, see Sogliano in *NSc* 1905, pp. 255-256, figs. 7-8; Mau 1908, p. 262, fig. 135. Spinelli 2019, pp. 77-78, lists also *Cd Nozze d'argento* (V 2,i), and from Herculaneum, *Cd Apollo Citaredo* (V 11-12).

comparable with those in the marine group too. The tessellated entrance to the bath depicts a dolphin with a trident on the small threshold, while the tessellated *impluvium*-border in the *atriolum* features dolphins around a trident, two *hippocampi* facing a central trident, as well as a crenelated city-wall (Figs. 119-121). Here, then, are counterparts to all the motifs that figure in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), so it is of relevance to observe that these mosaics at *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4) have been attributed to one single mosaic-workshop operating during the late Republic, which also, most likely, produced the mosaics to at least two other private bath-suites, one of them being in *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), the other in *Cd Criptoportico* (I 6,2).¹⁰⁴⁴

The city-wall, which has counterparts also in several Pompeian mosaics in *atria* and peristyles,¹⁰⁴⁵ is particularly associated with the 2nd style-period.¹⁰⁴⁶ The most conspicuous version preserved is, however, found in *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), where a tessellated border around the late *atrium*-mosaic (an intricate black-and-white “carpet” of meander presumably dated to the 4th style-period) is adorned with the motif of a crenelated city-wall and gates at intervals (Fig. 122).¹⁰⁴⁷ A similar image of a city-wall once adorned the mosaic-border of the *impluvium* in *Cd Cornelia* (VIII 4,15).¹⁰⁴⁸

Birds are not that frequently depicted in Pompeian mosaics,¹⁰⁴⁹ but the proposed kingfisher (see discussion about the identification below) on top of the rudder in the *fauces*-

¹⁰⁴⁴ Blake 1930, p. 80, attributes at least the bath-mosaics of *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12) and *Cd Criptoportico* (I 6,2) hypothetically to one single workshop, partly due to their shared use of the same colour-palette. Clarke 1994, pp. 95-96, further supports this hypothesis, and labels the responsible *musivarius* the *Menander Master*. See also Ling & Ling 2005, pp. 3-4. Clarke 1996, pp. 184-198, proposes that the intended meaning of these mosaics can be interpreted as functioning as *apotropaia* against the evil eye. However, in Clarke & Larvey 2005, Clarke proposed a revision of the chronology, attributing the bath-mosaics of *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), the tessellated *atrium*-complex of *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) and the mosaics in the *Terme suburbane* (VII 16,a) to one single workshop (active from 15 B.C. to A.D. 30), whereas another workshop would have been responsible for the 2nd style-period mosaics in *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4) and *Cd Criptoportico* (I 6,2). However, note that the mosaics in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) has been assigned a dating to c. 30 B.C. by Ehrhardt 1998.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Pompeii and villas: *Cd Citarista* (I 4,5/25), *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), *Cd Cornelia* (VIII 4,15), *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4), *Cd Trittolema* (VII 7,5), *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30), *Villa di Diomedes*, *Villa di P. Fannius Synistor* and *Villa di Arianna*. See also Ling & Ling 2005, pp. 57-58, for similar city-wall motifs on other sites, e.g., Privernum south of Rome, *Villa di Livia* at Prima Porta, and Bruneau 1972, no. 210, fig. 168, for Delian counterparts: the border on the “dolphin-rider” mosaic is a stylised crenelated city-wall (*Maison des dauphins*), and a fragmented mosaic depicting a stylised wall with crenelation (*Maison du Dionysos*), cat. nos. 297-298, figs. 254-257.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Pernice 1938, pp. 30, 141; Ling & Ling 2005, pp. 57-58. See also van der Graaff 2019, pp. 157-160, for the motif in wall-paintings.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Van der Graaff 2019, p. 161, attributes two city-wall mosaics to *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), and thereby includes wrongly the so-called “marine *thiasos*”-mosaic from *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2), which today is presented at MANN as a patchwork, composed of several mosaics, including a city-wall border, see note above. Blake 1930, p. 99, also assigns both city-wall mosaics to *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), although the *thiasos*-mosaic was gone already by her time.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Ling & Ling 2005, p. 58, n. 299, compare with the version in the *atriolum* of *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4), where the city-wall motif only occupies one small panel out of several around the *impluvium*, which makes no obvious sense for such an image. For the city-wall motif and a picture of the *impluvium*-mosaic in *Cd Cornelia* (VIII 4,15), see Blake 1930, p. 106, pl. 31:1.

¹⁰⁴⁹ See Tammisto 1985.

mosaic of *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12) seems to be reprised further inside the same house, in a tessellated threshold-border to one of the *alae*.¹⁰⁵⁰ Another contemporaneous mosaic from Pompeii that exhibits many birds, among them perhaps, once more, a kingfisher, is the elaborate *atrium*-mosaic in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1).¹⁰⁵¹

6.6.3 Roman and modern views

It was because of the particular perception, shared by many ancient writers, that the dolphin was a friendly animal and even helpful to humans,¹⁰⁵² that it appeared quite early in the gallery of figures favoured for representation in the decorative arts.¹⁰⁵³ The symbolism of ships and their prows or rams (*rostra*), on the other hand, was important in the iconography of Roman politics in general, and did sometimes, as seen at Rome, find its way into the private sphere as well. There is testimony that Pompey displayed 90 ships' rams in the vestibule of his house after the defeat of the pirates.¹⁰⁵⁴ Such commemoration would become an important ideological feature for the new regime. The most obvious example is that the *rostra* of the Forum Romanum were paralleled on a new platform at Forum Iulium erected by Octavian in 29 B.C., which was adorned with rams from the Battle of Actium.¹⁰⁵⁵

The four *fauces*-mosaics of the "marine" group feature, in various combinations, several motifs which have received special attention from modern scholars. The following discussion takes as its point of departure a most thought-provoking reading by Domenico Esposito, which refers to two of these *fauces*-mosaics.¹⁰⁵⁶

Esposito is a representative of the scholarly tradition that sets out to identify certain areas of Pompeii, such as the *Insula occidentalis* and *regio VII* by the forum, as districts where the homes of the new colonists were concentrated (see earlier discussion in chap. 5). When portraying military or naval battle scenes, the 2nd style-décor could, Esposito argues, be

¹⁰⁵⁰ Blake 1930, p. 76, pl. 18:3; Pernice 1938, p. 53.

¹⁰⁵¹ Tammisto 1985, p. 235, n. 54.

¹⁰⁵² E.g., Hdt. *Hist.* 1.23-24; Plut. *Mor.* (*Sept. sap. conv.*), 160E-161E; Plin. *NH* 9.8-10.

¹⁰⁵³ Toynbee 1973, pp. 206-208.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Cic. *Phil.* 2.28; Plut. *Pomp.* 28. Also Trimalchio in Petron. *Sat.* 30.1, boasts over the bronze rams fixed to the doorposts of his *triclinium*. See also Murray & Petsas 1989, p. 117. As Murray & Petsas 1989, p. 101, n. 32, further point out, however, the public decoration of naval trophies (cf. the Augustan-Tiberian triumphal arch at Orange, France, where, in reliefs, rams, prows, anchors and tridents are piled up) need not to have meant to commemorate any specific event but to generally allude to the new power.

¹⁰⁵⁵ See Murray & Petsas 1989, esp. chap. 4, discussing the impressive monument at the site of Actium as being adorned with the captured rams (over thirty), following a Greek tradition in honouring naval victories. See also more recent publication by Murray 2012. On rams specifically, see chap. 2, in which one commemorative stone ram from an Augustan building is included (p. 66) showing decorations like a dolphin, a rudder and a dog (fig. 2.17, K, today at Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome). For a reconstruction of the podium and altar at Nikopolis, see appendix in Pollini 2012, pp. 191-196. Zanker 1988, p. 82, discusses various allusions to victory after the Battle of Actium, in which the marine themes of dolphins and *rostra* were employed. Fig. 67 shows a glass-paste object with a portrait of Octavian, a *rostrum* and dolphin, and fig. 102, the *Porticus Octaviae* at Rome with a relief-frieze showing an anchor, a *rostrum* adorned with a dolphin and a rudder.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Esposito 2008.

interpreted as referring to real events or, at least, understood to be articulating political positions taken by the house-owners. Hence, it is possible to view the marine mosaic-figures in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), and the city-wall upon its threshold-panel, against the chaotic background of struggle for power, exemplified by that between Octavian and Sextus Pompey.¹⁰⁵⁷ Also considered in his discussion is *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15) because of its contemporaneous marine mosaic and its location near the Porta Marina, where, hypothetically, actual battle-ships may have been anchored in the harbour below, within a naval dockyard.¹⁰⁵⁸

Indeed, it is reasonable to assume that wealthy house-owners at Pompeii could mark their support for the forthcoming Imperial regime by using certain iconographical elements in their domestic decoration.¹⁰⁵⁹ In that case, naval symbols would provide the most striking elements in the available decorative repertoire for this purpose (see below).

All the same, in my view, the search for actual Sullan veterans at Pompeii has been rather inconclusive.¹⁰⁶⁰ Furthermore, the (unknown) location of the harbour is a much-debated question, and so, emphasis placed on the siting of terrace-houses over the west wall, is a doubtful basis for argument.¹⁰⁶¹ If one accepts a political reading that incorporates specific events, narrowed down to years, there is a risk that the strong impact of Hellenistic culture is downplayed,¹⁰⁶² together with the fact that Pompeii was always a harbour-town. Despite the fact that at least four mosaics at Pompeii portray what may seem boathouses for military ships, a certain identification of the buildings represented cannot be made. Instead, it is likely,

¹⁰⁵⁷ Esposito 2008, pp. 85-90, draws attention to the terrace-houses with 2nd style-decoration where the figure of Apollo is present, suggesting that display of this god should be interpreted as support from Pompeii for Octavian. The bird depicted in the *fauces*-mosaic is identified, by Esposito, as a woodpecker, by reference to Della Corte. See also Zanker 1988, chap. 2.

¹⁰⁵⁸ To strengthen his hypothesis further, Esposito draws parallels with one specific contemporaneous mosaic found in the bath of a villa at Cirta (later Constantine, Algeria), which in many ways resembles the bath-mosaics at Pompeii that portray black swimmers. Similar figures found on this mosaic and on Pompeian mosaics are furthermore warships, thunderbolts and bulls, which could refer to the political situation during the last years of the Republic. Esposito supports the idea, first postulated by Picard 1980, that one and the same workshop was responsible for all these mosaics; Esposito 2008, pp. 80, 85-90. See also Hewitt 2000, pp. 121-124, 219-223. Clarke 1996, p. 185, discusses the apparent use of widely circulated sketches since the motif of the “heraldic swimmers” has been found in places far apart.

¹⁰⁵⁹ However, it is, in my view, unsafe to make connections between the Campanian gens Sittii (a member of which was granted land by Caesar near Cirta, and inhabited the villa with the bath-mosaic) and *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12) on the basis of the existence of a graffito containing the name Sittius in a *hospitium* next to the Pompeian house (*Hospitium Sittii*, VII 1,44-45), see Esposito 2008, pp. 79-80.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Cf. Parslow 1999b: “Whatever the nature of the dispute between the native Pompeians and the colonists to which Cicero was referring (Pro Sulla 60-62), it is unlikely to have left its trace in the archaeological record”.

¹⁰⁶¹ The ancient harbour of Pompeii has not yet been located, despite thorough investigations that have taken place outside the Porta Marina. Also, the area to the south of the city has been proposed as being the location of a harbour. See the short resumé of scholarly positions on the proposed harbour outside the western Porta Marina, either of a military or a commercial nature, in Rankov 2013, pp. 43-44, who concludes that it is far from certain that this area contained any shipways, which has been suggested.

¹⁰⁶² See e.g., the study by Avilia & Jacobelli 1989, esp. pp. 132-133, 146, on the naval motif in Pompeian wall-paintings, where it is argued that Hellenistic culture played a major role for inspiration. Real events, such as Pompey’s victory over the pirates in the 60s B.C. as well as the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C., could naturally form inspiration for some of the decoration.

as stated by Boris Rankov, that the artistic representation reflected a Hellenistic tradition rather than “any Roman reality”, belonging to a specific place and time.¹⁰⁶³

Representation of ships’ prows could also be symbolic of harbour-towns in general, as witnessed in the Hellenistic *Sophilos*-mosaic, dated to around 200-150 B.C., which either portrays the personified city of Alexandria or Queen Berenike II.¹⁰⁶⁴ The attributes of the female figure portrayed are a ship’s prow (here worn as a crown) and a stripy rudder that together form part of her regal costume. A crenelated city-wall (in a fringe style) and a wide meander-border frame the mosaic. If the lady depicted should be understood to be the personification of a city, then the crown like a ship’s prow will symbolise the seafaring of its inhabitants.¹⁰⁶⁵

Comparably, the symbolism of Pompeii’s patron goddess of Venus Pompeiana may prove a useful guide to the figurative composition found in some of the *fauces*-mosaics under consideration. As the city’s patron goddess, Venus was usually depicted with a mural crown, holding a rudder, *gubernaculum*, so as to represent her protective government of the city or simply to underline that Pompeii was a harbour-town (Fig. 123).¹⁰⁶⁶ In Pompeian wall-paintings, a ship’s prow, along with other attributes, may accompany her.¹⁰⁶⁷ In the sunken garden of *Cd Ancora* (VI 10, 7, no. 6), the *aedicula* was adorned with a decoration of rudders, besides containing an altar to Venus herself (see chap. 5). The rudder, thus, may be interpreted as evoking power over the seas, and also the fortune-making brought about by the powers and guidance of the goddess,¹⁰⁶⁸ which makes Venus Pompeiana similar to Fortuna.¹⁰⁶⁹

Of some relevance here is the bird on top of the rudder in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12). The various identifications of the bird have resulted in different propositions of its meaning. Della Corte interpreted it as a woodpecker (*Picus Martius*), providing a bellicose connotation to the mosaic (further strengthened by the military motifs depicted on the *fauces*-threshold as well on the *tablinum*-threshold inside the

¹⁰⁶³ See Rankov 2013, pp. 37-38, mentioning also a couple of late Republican mosaics from Rome.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Today at the Graeco-Roman museum, Alexandria (inv. nr. 21739). The name of the mosaic derives from the signed inscription: *Sophilos epoiei* (“Sophilos made this”), see Dunbabin 1999a, p. 25.

¹⁰⁶⁵ See Andreae 2003, pp. 33-35, who draws parallels between this mosaic and the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), and Dunbabin 1999a, pp. 24-26, for the different proposals put forward concerning the identity: Ptolemaic queen or personification of the city? The stripy rudder is a reconstruction by Andreae, whereas Dunbabin 1999a, p. 25, identifies it as a *stylis*, i.e., a flagstaff of a ship.

¹⁰⁶⁶ See e.g., Clarke 2003, p. 106; van der Graaff 2019, pp. 218-220. The mural crown can be found in iconographical depictions of *Tychai* personifying cities, i.e., the Greek counterpart to Fortuna.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Brain 2018, pp. 85-94. According to both Clarke 2003, p. 106, and Fröhlich 1991, p. 148, the sign of the mural crown ought to be included if to perceive her as representing the city of Pompeii itself, whereas Brain interprets Venus as Pompeiana even without this specific attribute. Many of the “Venus”-paintings were placed where they could be seen by as many people as possible, both in domestic settings and in public spaces.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Van der Graaff 2019, p. 219; Brain 2018, pp. 87-90.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Cf. a statue in the Musei Vaticani, Rome (inv. nr. 2244), of the goddess Fortuna holding a rudder.

house, presenting axes and shields together with lightning bolts, see Fig. 140).¹⁰⁷⁰ This idea has hereafter been supported by Esposito (see above). However, in a more recent interpretation by Antero Tammisto, it is argued convincingly that the bird is in fact a kingfisher (*Alcedo atthis*). As such it is a symbol of peaceful and prosperous times, when the bird breeds and the sea is calm and navigable.¹⁰⁷¹ The bird may not be connected to Venus as such, but the symbolism of the bird's position on the rudder may allude to the deity as a guardian of the seafarers.

A symbol with a similarly peaceable range of connotations is the anchor. In his discussion about the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6), Pesando argues that the image should be understood as containing general apotropaic efficacy against mishaps that might prevent a safe journey and return. He thus questions interpretations, which suggest that the figure of the anchor conveys messages about the circumstances of a particular individual, such as the presumption that the house had been owned by someone with a background in maritime business.¹⁰⁷²

The motif of the crenelated city-wall probably derived its inspiration from textile designs and was adopted by mosaicists during the Hellenistic period.¹⁰⁷³ The initial inspiration seems to have come from the fringes of textiles (described in Greek as *purgota*, meaning “fortress-like”) imitated in the “carpet-designs” of early mosaics. As time went on, these border-patterns turned into actual representations of crenelated city-walls. This motif is especially characteristic of the 2nd style-period.¹⁰⁷⁴ Some scholars view the pattern as a primarily decorative, albeit functional, marker of separation between different spaces.¹⁰⁷⁵ Others interpret the tessellated version as containing a deeper symbolism, for example, as conveying

¹⁰⁷⁰ Della Corte 1965, pp. 186-188. Esposito 2008, p. 79, and van der Graaff 2019, pp. 162-163 (more or less) support this interpretation. According to Plin. *NH* 29.29.92, the divine powers of Mars were concentrated in the beak of the bird, which consequently was used as a magical charm to ward off evil.

¹⁰⁷¹ Tammisto 1985, pp. 224-227, 229-234, 241, states that due to its depicted pose, there is no question about the identification; Tammisto 1997, p. 93: “Though dolphins and anchors and other subjects referring to navigation are frequent, particularly in Delian mosaics, such a clear reference to the mythical (h)alcyon days, as the Kingfisher here must be, is known only from a gemma, probably Augustan, attesting the continuity of such a significance for this subject”. Watson 2002, p. 362, supports the identification made by Tammisto (after all being an ornithologist). Already Beyen 1960, pp. 252-253, identified the bird as a kingfisher. Tammisto 1985, p. 226, points to Della Corte's (anecdotally reported) interest in the identity of the eponymous house-owner of *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12). However, this *centurio* of the Praetorian Guard (as witnessed by graffiti in the peristyle of the house) lived in the last period, and was therefore not the owner responsible for the laying of the mosaic. See also this objection by van der Graaff 2019, p. 163. Clarke 1996, p. 185, n. 7, however, accepts the identification of the house-owner as a centurion of the ninth cohort of the Praetorian Guard without discussing the time-line.

¹⁰⁷² Coarelli & Pesando 2006, p. 163.

¹⁰⁷³ Blake 1930, p. 73; Ovadiah 1980, p. 7; Andreae 2003, p. 33; van der Graaff 2019, pp. 160-161.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Pernice 1938, p. 141; Ling & Ling 2005, p. 57: an early version is illustrated by the peristyle-mosaic in *Villa di P. Fannius Synistor*, Boscoreale, which antedates the panels in *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4) and *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12).

¹⁰⁷⁵ Clarke 1979, p. 10. Van der Graaff 2019, pp. 160-161, however, does not rule out the possibility of a deeper, ideological connotation to the pattern as well.

an emphatic message that the borders between the private property and the outside world are not to be misused or treated with disrespect by a visitor.¹⁰⁷⁶

Furthermore, the pattern has even been interpreted as signalling the political standpoints of the owners. Ivo van der Graaf, in his study on the fortifications of Pompeii, discusses this mosaic-design as popular and often chronologically belonging to the Roman conquest of the Italian peninsula, a significant development which in itself may have acted as inspiration for the mosaicists. In his view, the city-wall design was a testimony of *Romanitas*, as seen in other newly established colonies, not only at Pompeii.¹⁰⁷⁷ More specifically, he views the tessellated city-wall in the threshold-panel of the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12) as commemorating an example of an ancestor's *evergetism* for the city. The last owner has recently been hypothetically identified as a relative to one of the *duumviri* responsible for restoring the Pompeian city-wall in the early years of the colony (i.e., some time after 80 B.C.): either Loreius or Cuspius.¹⁰⁷⁸ In the end, though, the time-lapse between this *evergetic* event and the laying of the *fauces*-mosaic, which is dated to c. 40-30 B.C., does not encourage one to postulate a direct connection.

Mosaics with the city-wall motif either go back to the Hellenistic period or, in the case of those discovered at Pompeii, they post-date, by several decades, the abandonment of its city-wall. Some are even attributed to the last period, as is the case with the *atrium*-mosaic in *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25). As van der Graaff states himself, the motif was so common within Hellenistic and Roman culture that it is reasonable to assume that standardised models were available in pattern-books.¹⁰⁷⁹ The pattern's evocation of defensive fortresses and the marking of boundaries between two contrasting areas made it a perfectly appropriate motif for the entryway leading into a private house.

6.6.4 Traditional or new?

The popularity of the dolphin-iconography is well attested all around the Mediterranean.¹⁰⁸⁰ It was also noted by Blake that the first pictorial *fauces*-mosaics that were made at Pompeii, dating from the 1st century B.C., had a connection to the sea, and that they were perhaps

¹⁰⁷⁶ Ling & Ling 2005, p. 58: "The city-wall motif, as normally deployed, has a certain logic. In a threshold it acts as a metaphor of entry, through the city-gate, to an interior space; as a framing border it turns the enclosed space into a kind of defended enceinte".

¹⁰⁷⁷ Van der Graaff, 2019, esp. pp. 157-173, argues (p. 161) for a connection between new Roman colonies in the late Republic and the use of the pattern in mosaics, as illustrated by wealthy houses in Atri and Suasa. It is interesting to note occasional variations in how the walls are presented in the mosaics, e.g., with or without gates and towers, although the majority are displayed as having heavy orthostat-walls.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Pesando & Guidobaldi 2006b, pp. 212-213. Cf. Van der Graaff 2019, p. 163, who is more cautious in identifying the house-owner, although the family, no matter which one proposed, may have been pro-Sullan in the early days of the colony. The inscription on a limestone, stating the rebuilding of the city-wall by the *duumviri*, was found in fragments in the house, reused in a threshold after the earthquake in A.D. 62 (63), see *CIL X 937*.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Van der Graaff 2019, p. 161.

¹⁰⁸⁰ See e.g., Toynebee 1973, pp. 206-208; Ferris 2018, pp. 26-32.

influenced by popular types of floor-decoration found also on Delos.¹⁰⁸¹ In many entrances to interior rooms and courtyards there, mosaics displayed dolphins entwined with (red) anchors, tridents or dolphin-riding *putti*.¹⁰⁸² At Pompeii, the motif of the dolphin was a regular feature on mortar-floors as well as mosaics and in wall-paintings.¹⁰⁸³ In other words, the marine theme was highly traditional, and in some cases it is even possible to detect how models (from pattern-books?) could inspire similar compositions in different places, sometimes crossing borders of different media (see below). The marine theme continued to be popular throughout the history of ancient Pompeii, as is seen from the presence of the motif “*hippocampus* chases dolphin” in wall-paintings and on column-bases of the 4th style. It was on the strength of this perpetuation of the reuse of an ancient motif into Pompeii’s latest art-historical period that Pernice settled upon a contemporaneous dating for the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30).¹⁰⁸⁴

For the purposes of this present study, it is interesting to note that the *impluvium*-border containing several panels with dolphins in the *atriolum* of *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4) actually displays certain similarities to the arrangement of the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12). Although many details differ (important items like the bird, rudder and the *hippocampus* are omitted in the *impluvium*-mosaic), the general design is still that of two dolphins flanking a centrally placed object, which is a trident alone in the case of the mosaic in *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4). In both mosaics, the dolphins are facing downwards, and the central object (rudder or trident) is in both cases depicted as having a stripy decoration. Both share also the crenelated city-wall motif.

Another striking counterpart is found on a silver cup (*patera*) from *Villa di Stephanus* (which contained a silversmith’s workshop) outside Porta Vesuvio. This cup’s handle features much the same iconography as the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12) though it lacks the trident, the bird and one dolphin.¹⁰⁸⁵ Instead, the handle shows one dolphin intertwining the rudder, and a swimming *hippocampus* below, together with small sea-creatures like a shrimp and molluscs. The rudder is presented with the blade towards the outer part of the handle, similar to the *fauces*-mosaic where the rudder-blade faces the *atrium*. A handful more *paterae* and casseroles have been unearthed in the Vesuvian area, with

¹⁰⁸¹ Blake 1930, pp. 85, 121.

¹⁰⁸² Blake 1930, p. 85; Bruneau 1972, cat.no. 228, figs. 211-214; no. 261, figs. 228-229; nos. 208-210, figs. 167-175: *Maison du trident*, *Maison des dauphins* and *Maison III N*.

¹⁰⁸³ Mortar-floors with dolphins in the corners: the *cocciopesto*-floor in the *tablinum* in *Cd Achille* (IX 5,1-3) is dated to the 2nd century B.C., see *PPM* IX, p. 386; a *cocciopesto*-floor in *Cd Iulius Polybius* (IX 13,1-3) is similarly dated, see *PPM* X, p. 342. For wall-paintings, see King 2002, p. 419. The dolphin-motif is also found as marble sculptures in Pompeian peristyles, sometimes portrayed as rescuing cupids from octopuses. Waterspouts could also be shaped like dolphins, then adorning *compluvia*, peristyles, as well as antefixes on temples. Although found only in very small numbers, the dolphins either acted as the spout *per se* or as decorative elements next to the spout, see von Rohden 1880, pp. 14-15, 32-33, and pls. VIII and IX.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Pernice 1938, p. 43.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Sogliano in *NSc* 1900, p. 500. Today at the MANN, inv. nr. 125256 (no. 168 in Guzzo 2006. It is here assigned a dating to the 1st century A.D.).

decorative handles of dolphins twisted around or under rudders or tridents.¹⁰⁸⁶ This suggests that there was a standardised repertoire for at least this motif, employed for various decorative media.

The same hypothesis about standardised repertoire can be proposed in the case of the “*hippocampus* chasing dolphin”-motif. A mosaic resembling in its iconography the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30), as well as being contemporaneous with it, is the one depicting a marine *thiasos*-depiction, formerly in the courtyard at *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2),¹⁰⁸⁷ which was the first reception-hall for the visitors to the semi-public premises. As the Niccolini reproduction shows, the swimming *hippocampi* and dolphins move in a counter-clockwise formation, as if to indicate to visitors in which direction to move.¹⁰⁸⁸

The representations of the dolphin and the anchor in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15) find parallels in earlier works of art as well as ones of similar date. The anchor in the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6) shares the late Republican date with the mosaics in *Cd Marinaio* and *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12). Of the more or less contemporaneous mosaics featuring this motif and others from the “marine” repertoire, including the boathouse-motif with visible ships’ prows, the majority adorn the *atrium*-area, although rooms in the rear, such as *triclinia*, could also be decorated similarly. The same goes for the city-wall motif that primarily decorated borders and thresholds in the front part of houses, though it might also be found sometimes in the rear part.¹⁰⁸⁹

As for the rudder displayed in the *fauces* of *Cd M. Caesius Blandus*, VII 1,40, no. 12 and elsewhere in Pompeian art, it may be considered as exemplifying a visual equivalent of what was called in classical rhetorical theory the figure “*synecdoche*”.¹⁰⁹⁰ This was, and is, a compositional device whereby a word denoting part of an entity may be substituted for the usual name of that complete entity, so that the word “rudder”, for example, may denote “ship”. Similarly, in classical art, the trident stands for Poseidon/Neptune, whose weapon and symbol of power it was, and for the fearsome forces of nature, which this god was reputed to control.

On the upper story of the *Villa di Stephanus* near Pompeii, which has been mentioned above in connection with a silver cup with marine decoration found there, a painting was found showing the goddess Fortuna, holding a *cornucopia* and leaning on a rudder, both

¹⁰⁸⁶ No. 8 in Guzzo 2006 (from Pompeii: VI 14,37?, MANN inv. nr. 111151); Sarntaro 2010-2011, pp. 224-225.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Both de Vos 1991, p. 36, n. 2, and Clarke & Larvey 2005, p. 25, assign the mosaic a late date, between A.D. 62-79.

¹⁰⁸⁸ See Niccolini & Niccolini 1862, vol. 2, pl. 5, and de Vos 1991, p. 36, n. 2.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Cf. van der Graaff 2019, p. 161, who remarks on the atypical combination of the marine theme and that of the crenelated city-wall, as seen in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12). However, the combination does occur in Hellenistic mosaics as well, e.g., on the *Sophilos*-mosaic, and on a Delian courtyard-mosaic with dolphins and riders. See also the black-and-white mosaic in the *cella* of the Hercules temple at Sulmona, with a central Hellenistic rosette, a wave-border, a crenelated city-wall border, swimming dolphins, and an outer border with stylised ivy-tendrils (see Moormann 2011, p. 56, figs. 9-10), and the *impluvium* of the *atriolum* in *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4).

¹⁰⁹⁰ See Quint. *Inst.* 8.6.19.

depicted in red.¹⁰⁹¹ As for the *fauces*-floor of *Cd M. Caesius Blandus*, (VII 1,40, no. 12), the rudder here may be regarded as alluding to Fortuna, to be compared with her “wheel”, which was reckoned a suitable subject for the *cocciopesto fauces*-paving of *Cd P. F. L.* (IX 6,3), discussed in the mortar-section of the present chapter.

Even though each of the four *fauces*-mosaics exhibits its own variation on the marine theme, all of them are manifestations of a shared cultural heritage. The “marine” group of figurative *fauces*-mosaics is also remarkable in having obvious parallels in the decoration found in rooms of a quite different sort: those contained in bath-suites. But if the marine theme finds a natural explanation in the watery context of baths, the theme may seem a little odd for an entryway into a *domus*. Perhaps it may be said, nevertheless, that the mosaics in these two kinds of domestic space shared the same function: to offer assurance that the room entered was safe from any danger, and to create a pleasant atmosphere in order to greet visitors.

6.6.5 Concluding discussion

The dolphin-iconography, as witnessed in Pompeii, may well have been perceived as most appropriately belonging to a watery context, but it is nevertheless found in a variety of spatial contexts, ranging from civic to private, and in the latter sphere, it might feature in different parts of the *domus*. It may be suggested, then, that the dolphin-motif primarily played a decorative role, serving the function as beautiful adornment of the spaces concerned, either when deployed in isolation or in the company of *hippocampi* and the like. However, when dolphins are depicted together with several other marine attributes like rudders and anchors, a more profound allusion to safety and good fortune seems discernible. Both in *fauces* and baths they were evidently regarded as providing an appropriate welcome for visitors. But it is important to stress here that the motifs derived from templates could be used for other media as well, such as the decoration of household utensils.

The notion that some types of Pompeian decoration might refer to a specific political situation is not *per se* an unlikely reading. The case of the mosaics in *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12) and *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15) is intriguing as they combine similar motifs, and were produced in a period when the political situation was in a most critical stage. Motifs like anchors, rudders, ships’ prows and crenelated city-walls were certainly popular for the floor- and wall-decoration of the *atrium*-area in particular. However, we find decoration involving them in houses scattered all over Pompeii, and not only in the terrace-houses overlooking the presumed harbour. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that these marine motifs, especially the dolphin and the anchor, were traditional Hellenistic visual commonplaces that suited to being used and re-used for centuries, and combined in various ways. Amid the chaotic political and military situation of the late Republic, combinations of certain motifs may indeed sometimes have been regarded by their commissioners as evocative

¹⁰⁹¹ Sogliano in *NSc* 1899, p. 494.

of current events. However, attempts at pinpointing house-owners as supporters of either side in the civil war tend to become too speculative, so it is best to acknowledge that the marine art of Pompeii typically deployed traditional motifs in a repertoire of possible combinations, but which might sometimes simultaneously reflect the ongoing political situation. To explain the choice of motifs in terms of a house-owner's hypothetical profession is, in my view, just as doubtful a procedure as to explain it in political terms that cannot be verified.¹⁰⁹²

A final remark is called for concerning the mosaics' designs within the space of the *fauces*. In *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6), the visitor is first greeted by the house's eponymous anchor, which is placed on the lower level of the stepped entrance, while the upper-level mosaic welcomes, by means of its imbrication-pattern, the visitor already about to enter. The repeated curvilinear scales, turned towards the *atrium*, can be seen as encouraging a movement to the inside.

In the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), the *hippocampus* to the right, together with the bird and the trident, are components on this mosaic that are turned towards the *atrium*, as if pointing to its entrance. The *hippocampus*' position to the right, with the head turned towards the *atrium*, may have encouraged the visitor to take this path.¹⁰⁹³ The kingfisher is standing on what would have been the fore-part of the unseen boat steered by the tiller. The two dolphins, on the other hand, are (rather oddly) facing towards the house-entrance. One possible reading could be that the dolphins are facing the visitors on their arrival, and thus contributing to their welcome. The threshold-panel with the city-wall motif, which would have arrested the attention of visitors to some extent, maybe causing them actually to pause, contains an additional motif consisting of two red shields placed above them. As the shields are tilted towards the *atrium*, they seem also to point to an entering. The reddish colour of both the shields and also of parts of the bird, which has a green wing, would have drawn attention to these details, though perhaps other parts of the mosaics were originally coloured as well. Blake proposed that it was restored already during antiquity by replacing polychrome parts (perhaps green and pink) in the dolphins with black and white *tesserae*.¹⁰⁹⁴

The addition of polychrome parts to the black-and-white mosaics belonged to the Hellenistic mosaic-tradition. But as we will see with reference to the remaining groups to be considered, the colour red was specially selected for retention after the larger colour-palette of earlier times went out of fashion. It is hence not unlikely that red was used on account of the strength attributed to it specifically as a protection against harm.

¹⁰⁹² See Pesando & Guidobaldi 2006b, p. 225, where it is suggested that the boathouse-depiction of the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15) perhaps alluded to the owner's assumed background in the shipping-business.

¹⁰⁹³ See discussion in Clarke 1979, p. 10.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Blake 1930, pp. 76, 121, proposes also that the *fauces*-mosaic was re-laid during the 4th style-period, but that the design was preserved, at least the parts with the dolphins. Coarser *tesserae*, next to finer ones, would indicate the replacement. Blake envisages, hypothetically, the earlier presence of the colours pink and green, by analogy not only with the bath-mosaic in *Cd Criptoportico* (I 6,2) but also with dolphin-patterned mosaics at Delos.

The main part of the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15) consisted of an intricate black-and-white meander pattern. In the mosaic's lower part, close to the outer threshold, the figurative design of a dolphin and an anchor would link this part with the design of the upper section. Thanks to the steepness of the *fauces*-passage, the visitor would have already caught sight of the boathouse-design in the threshold-panel when at the outer threshold. Somewhat reminiscent of the city-wall motif, the repetitive pattern of arcades must have functioned as a first symbolic barrier offered by the decoration of the *fauces*-floor, before admittance into the house could be granted.

The mosaic featuring the *hippocampus* pursuing the dolphin in the *fauces* of *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30) shares its subject-matter with at least one more mosaic, one from a bath-context: the peristyle-courtyard in the semi-public complex of *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2). Indeed, on a speculative basis, one might ask if the *fauces*-passage in *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30) was adorned in the very last phase when, as has been proposed in a recent Italian study (see chap. 4), the house itself was partly turned into a similar semi-public entertainment complex with a bath-section? If the proposition is correct, was the mosaic in the *fauces* decorated in the marine style with other bath-mosaics in mind? Or was the pattern simply a widespread stock-model of that period, and one, which was already established as suitable for use in *fauces*?

The houses with marine-style *fauces*-mosaics are located in various parts of the city-centre. The date of the mosaics is in three of the four cases assigned to the late Republic or early Empire, and to a period when the houses either saw enlargement (two being double-atrium houses) or other forms of embellishment (e.g., a sunken garden or bath-suites). The unusual combination of motifs found especially in the tessellated paving in the *fauces* of *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), and perhaps, also, *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), suggests possible involvement of the house-owner(s) in the design-process.

6.7 Figurative group: wild animal motif

6.7.1 Presentation

The “wild animal motif” comprises four *fauces*-mosaics out of 33. Of these four, only three are now available for inspection: the fourth is only known to us from 18th and 19th century reports. The designs of two of the three extant mosaics can be labelled as *emblemata*, one placed close to the outer threshold of a house-entrance, the other in the centre of the *fauces*-floor which it embellished. The third design decorates a panel placed before the threshold dividing the *fauces* from the *atrium*.

<i>Cd Leone</i> (VI 17,25, no. 9)	-
<i>Cd Orso</i> (VII 2,45, no. 14)	Figs. 124/83
<i>Cd Cinghiale II</i> (VIII 2,26, no. 23)	Figs. 125/86
<i>Cd Cinghiale I</i> (VIII 3,8, no. 25)	Figs. 126/87

Unfortunately, the first mosaic, discovered in the late 18th century and once a notable feature in *Cd Leone* (VI 17,25, no. 9), seems not to exist any longer. Certainly, no information exists about its whereabouts today. 19th century documentation reports that the ground colour of the mosaic was black, and that, in a central rectangular field, a coloured depiction of a lion was placed against a white background.¹⁰⁹⁵ The house has suffered much destruction, both due to its having been built as a terrace-house (in the *Insula occidentalis*), and also as the result of modern bombardment.¹⁰⁹⁶ Since no more information exists about the mosaic, it has not been assigned any date.

The *fauces* in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) enclosed an elongated rectangular space, and the design of its all-over mosaic has a white ground. The visitor, on entering the *fauces*, immediately encountered a black framed *emblema* in the mosaic lying just beyond the outermost threshold, where a tessellated panel, outlined in black and now fragmentary, was laid askew due to a non-aligned doorway. Inside the *emblema*, a brownish-grey bear is portrayed in profile, sitting on a rock, which is partly outlined in blue. Blue *tesserae* highlight parts of the bear's legs and paws. A spear has wounded the bear in the shoulder, creating a red-orange blood-spillage from the injury, and with its mouth and paw (the head is turned downwards), the bear holds the remains of the broken hunting-weapon. In the left corner above the bear is an inscription that reads *Have* ("Welcome!").¹⁰⁹⁷ The remaining white mosaic that paves the *fauces*-corridor is framed by a black border, and its inner pattern of rectangles is arranged like modern brickwork composed of white bricks and black mortar (see geometric group). The mosaic is divided from the *atrium* by a thin marble-threshold, but in its geometric design bears some relation to the *atrium*-mosaic that, on a white ground, has a black chequerboard-pattern with large squares on the northern and southern sides of the *impluvium*, whereas the two other sides are decorated with a honeycomb-pattern.¹⁰⁹⁸ This

¹⁰⁹⁵ Fiorelli in *PAHI* 1860, p. 311; Pernice 1938, p. 157; de Vos 1991, p. 56; Pagano & Prisciandaro 2006, p. 78. According to Ludwig G. von Agyagfalva 1825, pp. 101-102, the mosaic once adorned the threshold (information not confirmed by Fiorelli), but was almost completely destroyed between two visits over a period of two years, probably due to ignorant travellers who took pieces, *tesserae*, with them to decorate their cabinets at home.

¹⁰⁹⁶ García y García 2006, p. 96. The entrance-space as seen today also raises questions. It is a very wide space, and the marble-threshold that runs across the entire width of the door presents a groove of a kind that reminds of a door-threshold to a *taberna*.

¹⁰⁹⁷ *CIL* X 872c. In the excavation-record by Wolfgang Helbig in *BdI* 1865, pp. 230-231, the inscription is not mentioned at all; instead, the wall-paintings are the main focus of attention and thus more thoroughly described. Blake 1930, p. 95, does mention the inscription, whereas Pernice 1938, p. 99, fails to do so.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Blake 1930, pp. 111, 122; Pernice 1938, pp. 98-99; Ehrhardt 1988; *PPM* VI (Ehrhardt), pp. 742-751. Cf. the *atrium* in *Cd Atrio a mosaico* (IV 2) in Herculaneum.

fauces-mosaic (together with the *atrium*-mosaic) belongs to group 3 (the pre-earthquake period).

In the divided *fauces* of *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23), the mosaic decorates the inner section beyond the central marble-threshold that divides the entryway into two parts. The outer *fauces*-section has a *cocciopesto*-floor decorated with 1). a design of crosses each composed of four white *tesserae* flanking the sides of a single black one, and 2). a large central rhomboid, framing a white meander-pattern.¹⁰⁹⁹ A meander-pattern features again in the white mosaic of the inner *fauces* as a wide border, this time in black, framing a portrayal of a wild boar. Alternatively, one may view the design as a meander-carpet, placed on a black ground, and adorned with a central *emblema* on a white ground. The depiction of the boar is a close-up, showing the animal, wounded,¹¹⁰⁰ sitting on its hind legs and with its head turned towards the viewer (and perhaps towards the wound as well). Underneath the animal are lines that indicate a shadow. His fierce eye is marked out in red, as is his open mouth, whereas the body is mainly depicted in greyish-brown.¹¹⁰¹ The border with the *atrium* is demarcated by two narrow rows of white *tesserae* that frame the black *atrium*-mosaic.¹¹⁰² The *fauces*-mosaic belongs to group 2 (the Augustan period).

The last house, *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), shares its name with the previous one mentioned. The long *fauces*-corridor has an all-over white mosaic, framed by a guilloche-pattern, with a geometric grid-pattern outlined in black, in which stylised flowers are inserted (see geometric and floral groups). The figurative scene is located in a square panel, framed in black, which someone entering the house would see just before the rectangular threshold-panel (featuring a geometric pattern) in front of the entrance to the *atrium*. Inside the square panel one sees two dogs depicted attacking a centrally placed wild boar.¹¹⁰³ So as to make the scene more realistic, a couple of trees and bushes surround the trio, all outlined in black. The *atrium*-mosaic is a completely unique piece, where an interlaced meandering T-pattern covers the white floor, framed by a wide border within which one sees a crenelated city-wall with towers and gates.¹¹⁰⁴ The *fauces*-mosaic belongs to group 3 (presumably the late period).

6.7.2 *Comparanda*

All three of the extant mosaics in this group are centred on the theme of the hunt, the imagined hunters' quarry being, in two cases, wild boars, and in the other, a bear. Depiction

¹⁰⁹⁹ Blake 1930, pl. 5:3.

¹¹⁰⁰ See de Vos 1991, p. 56.

¹¹⁰¹ Added colours are white, black, red, and blue, which are the same colours as in the figures of the *Cave canem*-dog in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) and the wounded bear in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), see *PPM VIII*, p. 197.

¹¹⁰² Blake 1930, pp. 26-27, 122; Pernice 1938, p. 99.

¹¹⁰³ With the black-and-white (late silhouette) technique used, in order to show that the boar has been wounded, white *tesserae* have been arranged so as to suggest bloodshed.

¹¹⁰⁴ Blake 1930, p. 99, pls. 26:3, 27:3; Pernice 1938, pp. 66, 141. A later *atrium*-wall has been added, thus covering one of the mosaic's corner-towers, see *PPM VIII*, pp. 362, 366, fig. 6.

of the wild boar-hunt, in particular, occupied a central place in the visual arts of ancient Greece and Rome, and it was, correspondingly, a widely favoured motif in Pompeian wall-paintings. Without competition, the most frequently chosen subject for paintings in Pompeii is the so-called *paradeisos*, representing a hunting-park and its wild fauna, which has been found preserved in numerous houses.¹¹⁰⁵ Often adorning peristyle-walls, these megalographies contain a mixture of indigenous and exotic animals such as lions, leopards, wild boars, bears, bulls and dogs, often in a rocky landscape (Fig. 127). The animals here are not necessarily being hunted by men but are represented as prey for other animals.¹¹⁰⁶ In general, the image of the wild boar in these large wall-paintings is often placed centrally, indicating how significant it was for the Romans to hunt and defeat this animal. Hunting dogs can be included in these paintings, of various breeds, some of which are shown as having red collars.¹¹⁰⁷

The theme of the wild boar-hunt is also exemplified in a couple of other Pompeian mosaics.¹¹⁰⁸ One highly unusual rendering is a mosaic that once adorned the floor of an entrance to the rear of *Cd Fiori* (VI 5,19/10), perhaps even the entryway connecting the street with the peristyle (Fig. 128).¹¹⁰⁹ The polychrome (mainly yellow, brown and grey) mosaic portrays a man, dressed for action in a natural-coloured tunic, using a stick to urge on his dog, which has managed to grab a boar by its ears. Vegetation and rocks are shown in the foreground as indications of a rural setting. Beneath that, as it were in a separate panel, are shown what may be interpreted as two cocks in a fight, one with a small stick in its mouth, both upside-down with feet uppermost. In addition, to one side of the man, seemingly hanging up, one sees (the corpse of?) an animal with a long tail. Above the man's head, an inscription reads: *Festus cum Torquato* (Festus with Torquatus). Beneath the cock-fight panel is a second, unfortunately damaged, inscription, the most probable restoration of which is "*Cave Torquatium*", meaning "Beware of Torquatus". The whole of the name Torquatium is still plainly visible (see chap. 2, nos. 46-47).

Blake proposed a workshop-connection between the watchdog-mosaic in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) and the hunt-motifs in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) and *Cd Cinghiale*

¹¹⁰⁵ Andrae 1990, p. 96, discusses the boom of this wall-painting motif with reference to 13 houses. However, at least 30 houses have been found exhibiting this genre-painting. The Greek term *paradeisos*, equivalent to the Latin *vivarium*, is commonly used when discussing these paintings. See also *Häuser in Pompeji*, vol. 3 (Michel 1990) and vol. 11 (Allison & Sear 2002), especially Allison & Sear 2002, pp. 74-75, where reference is given to at least 22 houses, which had such paintings.

¹¹⁰⁶ Andrae 1990, p. 96. If leaving the sightline free of obstacles, the images of the animals, and occasionally hunters with spears, were in many cases visible already from the *fauces*.

¹¹⁰⁷ See e.g., the megalographies in *Cd Ceii* (I 6,15) and *Caserna dei Gladiatori* (V 5,3), the latter as a close-up in Andrae 1990, p. 75, fig. 40. Andrae (p. 92) discusses the possible pattern-book model that may have been used for the depictions of the dogs in these two paintings.

¹¹⁰⁸ Around the alabaster-centred *tablinum*-mosaic in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), panels portray wild animals that seem to move around the *emblema*, including a wild boar, an elephant and a lion. However, they do not form part of a hunting context.

¹¹⁰⁹ Today in Musée Condé, France, inv. nr. OA 872. For modern documentation of the house, see Bonghi Jovino 1984. Unfortunately, neither Blake 1930 nor Pernice 1938, p. 39 (see VI 5,19), mentions the mosaic.

II (VIII 2,26, no. 23).¹¹¹⁰ The datings proposed in this present study could support at least a connection between the two first mosaics, and to this group, it is plausible to add the hunter-mosaic in *Cd Fiori* (VI 5,19/10).

For the purposes of this study, the mosaics of the *atriolum* in the bath-suite in *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4) have proved useful in repeatedly providing parallels for the themes and motifs that feature in tessellated *fauces*.¹¹¹¹ A panel in the *impluvium*-border even displays an example of the motif of a wild boar under attack (Fig. 129). Its treatment of the motif closely resembles that in the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), where two dogs on either side attack a centrally placed wild boar. A difference, though, is that the background behind the wild boar, in the bath-mosaic, seems to depict some kind of *rhyton*, out of which both the wild boar and vine-tendrils grow. In addition, not just two flanking dogs are depicted there, but three. This bath-mosaic belongs to the 2nd style-period,¹¹¹² while the *fauces*-mosaic is dated a date to the late period (chronological group 3). This means that the motif was still in use following an elapse of time equivalent to several generations. As will become evident, this motif actually increased in popularity over time.

To take a few examples from Pompeian wall-painting: a small painting in the *tablinum* in *Cd Caccia antica* (VII 4,48) portrays a wild boar, placed in a similar natural environment as in the *fauces*-mosaic, being surrounded by two attacking dogs (Fig. 130).¹¹¹³ On the *pluteus* (balustrade) in the peristyle of the so-called *Caserma dei gladiatorum* (V 5,3), several painted panels depict wild boars.¹¹¹⁴ Of special interest here is the panel that shows a centrally placed wild boar being encircled by four barking dogs (Fig. 131).¹¹¹⁵ The same motif is also attested as a bronze sculptural group.¹¹¹⁶ In the central garden of three belonging to *Cd Citarista* (I 4,5/25), a wild boar, with its two attackers, formed a fountain-group (Fig. 132), and nearby were several other statue-groups, featuring Apollo and animals, around the pool of the garden.¹¹¹⁷ All these examples show a close relationship with the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd*

¹¹¹⁰ Blake 1930, p. 122. See also Blake 1936, p. 72: "The man who made the "Cave canem" thresholds and a few other striking animal thresholds at Pompeii seems to have been the only mosaicist to achieve competence in that field".

¹¹¹¹ Pernice 1938, pl. 24:1.

¹¹¹² See description of the bath-mosaics and a summary of the scholarly discussion regarding the date in Ling & Ling 2005, pp. 13-18, 56-63.

¹¹¹³ Allison & Sear 2002, p. 30. In *Cd Nozze d'argento* (V 2,i), a rather similar representation of a central wild boar flanked by two dogs is painted on the upper lintel between the columns of the Rhodian peristyle, see *PPM* III, p. 716, fig. 80. The large *nymphaeum* next to the peristyle in *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30) also contains a *paradeisos*-painting with a wild boar, see Andreae 1990, pp. 83-90.

¹¹¹⁴ The function of this building has been much debated, but in general terms it seems to have related to gladiator-training. It may have housed gladiators' families, at least until A.D. 62, see Esposito, Kastenmeier & Imperatore 2011, p. 116, p. n. 26.

¹¹¹⁵ One dog is depicted as slender, one (female) as larger and with a furry-like collar around the neck, and the other two as little smaller. Their respective colours differ also, from various hues of brown to white, see Andreae 1990, p. 72, fig. 36.

¹¹¹⁶ MANN, inv. nr. 4900.

¹¹¹⁷ See Dwyer 1982, p. 126, on the possibility of arranging this sculpture-group as one liked, with the centrally placed boar being attacked by either one, two or even three dogs (as the dogs were cast separately). The garden of *Cd Amorini dorati* (VI 16,7) also used to have a marble sculpture portraying a dog attacking a wild boar by jumping on its back, see Appleton 1987, pp. 4-5.

Cinghiale I (VIII 3,8, no. 25). The frontal depiction of the attacked boar, looking at the visitor, in the painting in *Caserna dei gladiatori* (V 5,3) also particularly recalls the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23), with both boars sitting on their hind legs.¹¹¹⁸

If considered in relation to the repertoire of wall-paintings, the designs of the *fauces*-mosaics can be described as close-ups, which may be explained by the generally restricted space of the entrance.¹¹¹⁹ More specifically, the two wounded animals in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) and *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23) can be defined as cases of visual *synecdoche*. Even though the whole picture, showing human and other figures in a landscape, is not being displayed, the viewer nevertheless grasps that the two *fauces*-mosaics represent hunting-scenes. As Westgate suggests, with regard to late Hellenistic mosaics, a man in action does not need to be portrayed next to wild animals, in order for the (ancient) viewer to read the symbolic qualities represented by these animals, and consequently, by the house-owner as well.¹¹²⁰

It was not only decoration within the domestic sphere that featured the motif of the wild boar-hunt, but also some belonging to the sepulchral sphere.¹¹²¹ A prominent example is the tomb, outside Porta Ercolano, traditionally associated with the *garum*-merchant Aulus Umbricius Scaurus, the late owner of the house *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17).¹¹²² Hunting-scenes in relief, alluding to the games held in the amphitheatre, were once present on the marble-façade, exhibiting firstly a wild boar running towards a hunter, and secondly a wild boar being attacked by dogs. A lion and several gladiators are also present in the reliefs. Arena-shows represented on funerary monuments have been found all over the Empire and served the function of commemorating either a donor responsible for them or a gladiator.¹¹²³

The bear is not featured as often as the very popular “wild boar hunt”-theme, and, to my knowledge, no other mosaic from Pompeii depicts images of bears.¹¹²⁴ When it occurs in Pompeian art, the animal is primarily found next to other beasts in large peristyle-paintings (Fig. 133). To give an example, wall-paintings in *Cd Caccia antica* (VII 4,48) portray bears

¹¹¹⁸ The Boscoreale silver-treasure from *Villa di Pisanella* contained a *kantharos* showing in relief a squatting boar.

¹¹¹⁹ Compare the late Roman mosaics from the large rural villa-estates in North Africa, which present a lengthy narrative extending from the initial capture of the wild beasts to their arrival at the games in Rome, on which see Blake 1930, p. 123; Dunbabin 1978.

¹¹²⁰ Westgate 2011, p. 303.

¹¹²¹ Within the domestic decoration-category belong also the one waterspout depicting a wild boar, see von Rohden 1880, esp. p. 32, and pl. III. Similar waterspouts have also been excavated at the Roman Republican-Imperial villa at Settefinestre, see Carandini 1985, p. 96.

¹¹²² However, recent doubts have been raised with regards to this identification, and according to Valentin Kockel, a more likely candidate may be a Festus Ampliatus, a *munus*-giver responsible for several games, see Kockel 1983, pp. 75-85; Dunbabin 2016, p. 179. The marble-relief can be seen in Mazois 1824 (part 1), pls. 30-32.

¹¹²³ Dunbabin 2016, pp. 177-180.

¹¹²⁴ One does find bears on Roman mosaics from the later Empire recounting major hunting-narratives, see e.g., the large 2nd century-mosaic from a villa at Zliten near Lepcis Magna; Dunbabin 1999a, pp. 119-121. See also Blake 1940, pp. 115-116, regarding mosaics from Rome depicting bear-hunts. Furthermore, Jansen 2007, p. 258, reports also that waterspouts in the Pompeian *atrium*-houses could take the shape of bears.

trying to escape hunters armed with spears (some hunters are also represented as cupids, in some kind of a parody).¹¹²⁵ Another painted composition is yet more illuminating, as it closely resembled the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14). In a *paradeisos*-painting (no longer preserved) from the above-mentioned *pluteus* in *Caserna dei gladiatorum* (V 5,3), a crouching bear was shown being attacked by dogs, while trying to remove a broken spear from its neck with the right paw.¹¹²⁶

Like the animals previously discussed, the lion, in Pompeian art, is mainly featured in the large wall-paintings, but it also appears in designs for waterspouts,¹¹²⁷ or in reliefs or paintings on tombs or in temples.¹¹²⁸ In terms of mosaics, there are at least four other representations of lions on Pompeian mosaics, the most notable coming from *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7).¹¹²⁹ There is another similar one from a *triclinium* in *Cd Colombe a mosaico* (VIII 2,34).¹¹³⁰ Also, in the *atrium*-mosaic with a coffered pattern in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), a lion, placed in a square by the *impluvium*, and facing the *fauces*, is one of the many figures depicted (Fig. 134). Further inside the same house, as mentioned above, another lion is presented in the border surrounding the *tablinum*-mosaic.¹¹³¹

6.7.3 Roman and modern views

The hunting theme was indeed an ancient leitmotif within the arts, important for all ancient cultures around the Mediterranean.¹¹³² The hunt referred in many instances to aristocratic customs, and evoked also traditions about the mythological past, most notably, the hunt by

¹¹²⁵ For the *tablinum*- and peristyle-paintings, see Allison & Sear 2002, pp. 25-30, 69, 74-75, 88. The notion of the hunt – “l’occupation virile par excellence” – referring to Stuveras 1969, is here being mocked, and perhaps the parody is aimed at the peristyle-painting of the same house. For another *paradeisos*-painting, see *Cd Marcus Lucretius Fronto* (V 4,a), where a couple of bears are featured among the many animals.

¹¹²⁶ Mau in *RM* 16, 1901, p. 296. However, neither Andreae 1990, pp. 72, 108, nor Mau makes connections to the portrayal of the wounded bear in the *fauces*-mosaic.

¹¹²⁷ E.g., in *Cd Pittori al lavoro* (IX 12,9); *Cd Nozze d’argento* (V 2,i); *I 12,11*, *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7); *Cd Sallustio* (VI 2,4) as well as an example recently found in the new excavations of *regio V* (2018). See von Rohden 1880, esp. pp. 31-41, on the handful of examples of lion-waterspouts that have been found at Pompeii, but these unfortunately lack provenance. Some of them can be attributed to temples, such as those of Mercury and Venus. In the catalogue by Pensabene 1999, also, nearly 190 examples of lion-waterspouts are listed. Lions are also featured in garden-sculptures, notably in *Cd Citarista* (I 4,5/25), see Appleton 1987, pp. 110-115.

¹¹²⁸ See e.g., a painting once adorning the *sacrarium* of the *Tempio di Iside* (VIII 7,28), here evoking the southern province of Egypt, *PPM* VIII, p. 815, fig. 173. In the funerary context, lions are also presented as sculptures on tombs and sarcophagi, referring to the soul’s victory over death, on which see Toynbee 1973, pp. 64-67.

¹¹²⁹ See Pernice 1938, pp. 155-161, e.g., pl. 57-58, on these mosaics, and Meyboom 1995, p. 359, n. 8, who states that Pernice is the only descriptive source for the lion-mosaic of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7, room 42) and that the mosaic was left *in situ* until its gradual disappearance.

¹¹³⁰ Pernice 1938, pp. 155-156; *PPM* VIII, pp. 279-280; MANN inv. nr. 114282. The mosaic depicts a lion attacking a panther or leopard. In Hellenistic art, the lion and the wild boar were the most prominent animals represented on floors so as to evoke hunting and military values so vital for the males of the elite, see Westgate 2011, pp. 299-303, on Hellenistic pebble-mosaics from Olynthos, Sikyon, Eretria and Pella.

¹¹³¹ See *PPM* I, pp. 487-491, 511, figs. 5, 9, 13 and 44.

¹¹³² See e.g., Aymard 1951; Anderson 1985; Epplett 2014, p. 505; Cohen 2010.

Greek heroes for the Calydonian boar, and Herakles' deed in capturing the Erymanthian boar.¹¹³³ The hunt of the wild boar was considered by the Romans as one of the most dangerous, and thus, as the most prestigious, human activities. Defeating this ferocious wild animal was a certain proof of the utmost male courage, *virtus*. As the wild boar was perceived to be equal, in its ferocity and aggression, to the Roman soldier and hunter, it also became closely linked to the art of war, as witnessed by the use of its image on legionary standards during the Republic.¹¹³⁴ In short, the concept of the hunt was deep-rooted in the society by the time of the early Empire, when the mosaics under consideration were laid down.¹¹³⁵

One of the most essential meanings of the hunt was the expression of a communal activity, which included training of youths for their future role as Roman citizens characterised by martial *virtus*.¹¹³⁶ This was a conception of "virtue" characterised by physical prowess and courage, which could be manifested through participation primarily in wars but also in hunts.¹¹³⁷ As the whole of Roman society had evolved around the concept of *res publica*, the youths needed to be prepared to defend the state both physically as soldiers as well as by the political skills required for their holding of public office.¹¹³⁸ Recognition of this background is vital, I believe, for an understanding of the mosaics that we are examining, although it must be stressed that the ideal of manliness may have changed during the course of the Empire when the emperors took upon themselves the role of embodying the idea of Rome's martial glory.¹¹³⁹ Moreover, long before that, from the late Republic onwards, hunting shows, *venationes*, which involved various types of animals, had come to be regarded as suitable for exhibition to the general public.

There is information in painted "*edicta munerum*"-inscriptions about the Pompeian amphitheatre's import of wild animals for public shows, which most surely included wild

¹¹³³ For the mythical wild boar-hunts as essential not only for Greek but also for Roman city-foundations, see Scherrer 2014.

¹¹³⁴ Green 1996, pp. 239-241: The period of concern here is somewhere between c. 350-250 B.C. For the Umbri in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. into the first century A.D., the wild boar was associated with Mars, and served an apotropaic function as a protector, as testified in the Iguvine tablets. See also Apul. *Met.* 8.4-5, for a description of a savage wild boar who first kills the attacking hunting-dogs and then also one of the hunting men.

¹¹³⁵ See especially Green 1996, questioning earlier scholarship, e.g., Aymard 1951 and Anderson 1985, that downplayed the hunt's essential role within the early Roman society. Nevertheless, studies postdating her work tend from time to time to keep repeating the traditional view that the Romans became hunters only at a later stage, and then under the influence of the Greeks, see e.g., Epplert 2001, pp. 14-15, and to some degree Tuck 2005, p. 243, and Corbeill 2001.

¹¹³⁶ McDonnell 2006, pp. 181-185. See also McDonnell 2003; Corbeill 2001, pp. 277-281; Green 1996, p. 226. This activity seems to have engaged boys and men of all classes.

¹¹³⁷ See Polybius' account, in *Hist.* 31.29, of the virtuous Scipio Aemilianus, the future destroyer of Carthage in the third Punic war, as being an excellent hunter, and how he learnt to practise in the fields of Macedonia while his young contemporaries advanced within the political offices at Rome.

¹¹³⁸ Green 1996, esp. pp. 244-254; McDonnell 2006, esp. pp. 172-185. See also Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.64; Hor. *Sat.* 2.2.9-11.

¹¹³⁹ McDonnell 2006, pp. 384-386; Tuck 2005. This is especially apparent during the reign of Domitian when the emperor displayed himself as a mounted hunter, as an example of great *virtus*. However, not all emperors were totally absorbed by this idea of physical fitness, as testified by e.g., Caligula who preferred the litter instead of marching with his troops, see Suet. *Gaius* 43. According to Anderson 1985, pp. 87-88, there is neither any information about Augustus being a hunter, or at least being described as such.

boars, and even bears.¹¹⁴⁰ Larger beasts like felines, however, were most likely not part of the Pompeian repertoire, since the amphitheatre's structure could not handle such animals adequately.¹¹⁴¹ But, at all events, public shows (*munera*) were held in Pompeii at which gladiators might engage in various sorts of combat, and a hunt (*venatio*) might be laid on as a staged performance. The finance and organisation of these shows came from private citizens and local magistrates.¹¹⁴² Even though the emperor would eventually become the primary *munerarius* or *editor* of games, it was certainly a fact that, within the period covered in this study, Pompeian patrons were able, and indeed even expected, to observe the custom of providing the public with shows. Furthermore, much prestige and honour was bestowed upon the local magistrates or wealthy individuals sponsoring such benefactions, allowing them to climb further up the political ladder.¹¹⁴³ The dates of the games financed in this way were linked with the dates of important political elections of the year, which implies a closeness between politics and games at a very fundamental level.¹¹⁴⁴ In his study of *edicta munerum*-advertisements, Steven L. Tuck also reaches the conclusion that the games were held deliberately on dates over the year which would not coincide with important political affairs or interfere with the agricultural calendar.¹¹⁴⁵ These advertisements, apart from functioning overtly as a means of addressing the general public may thus be viewed also as a communicative display directed towards the local elites in the region and their peers.¹¹⁴⁶

For land-owners with large country-estates, the hunt could be practised for economic as well as for recreational reasons, so that they were engaged in as a serious enterprise, as is explained by Columella.¹¹⁴⁷ Large exotic parks, *vivaria*,¹¹⁴⁸ might be instituted on estates of

¹¹⁴⁰ See Tuck 2008, pp. 27, 29-30, tables 1-2; Franklin 1997; Mouritsen & Gradel 1991; King 2002, pp. 445-446. See also *CIL* X 1074d, in which a sepulchral inscription over the *duumvir* A. Clodius Flaccus lists the sponsor's offered entertainments, including hunts with wild boars and bears in the last years of the 1st century B.C.

¹¹⁴¹ Jacobelli 2003, p. 61; Dunbabin 2016, p. 177, n. 33. However, King 2002, p. 440, does not rule out the possibility that at least lions could have been put on display at the Pompeian amphitheatre. The amphitheatre's paintings on the parapet-walls also showed exotic animals like the lion and leopard as well as the indigenous wild boar.

¹¹⁴² See e.g., Aymard 1951, pp. 74-85; Toynbee 1973; Dunbabin 2016; Epplert 2001, Osanna 2018, Franklin 1997.

¹¹⁴³ Epplert 2001, pp. 48, 51; Dunbabin 2016, pp. 171-173. According to Jacobelli 2003, p. 40, the local magistrate was bound by law to offer gladiatorial shows during office.

¹¹⁴⁴ Tuck 2008, p. 26, suggests that some of the advertisements may even have been posted during the decade A.D. 59-69 when the amphitheatre was supposed to have been closed due to a ban after a fight there between the Pompeians and the neighbouring Nucernians, on which see Tac. *Ann.* 14.17. A famous wall-painting from Pompeii (from the house *Cd Anicetus*, I 3,23) commemorates this fight at the amphitheatre, see *PPMI*, pp. 80-81, fig. 6a. Today at MANN, inv. nr. 112222.

¹¹⁴⁵ Moreover, the games would neither coincide with other large *munera* taking place either in the vicinity or at Rome itself, see Tuck 2008, pp. 28-30, plus the three tables in the study, listing at least 15 hunts at Pompeii.

¹¹⁴⁶ Tuck 2008, pp. 30-33.

¹¹⁴⁷ Col. *Rust.* 8.1; 9.1. In *Epist.* 5.6.8, the younger Pliny mentions the possibility of hunting when on one's country estate.

¹¹⁴⁸ According to Aulus Gellius, the earlier writers did not use the term *vivarium* in contrast to his own contemporaries during the 2nd century A.D., *NA* 2.20. However, both the elder Pliny, in *NH* 8.78.211, and Columella, in *Rust.* 8.1, and 9, use the term *vivaria*. In Imperial times, the emperors further embraced this status practice by having enormous parks within the city of Rome, among them Nero, who kept all kinds of animals in the park around his *Domus Aurea*, see Suet. *Nero* 31. Domitian also had a large park at his Alban estate outside Rome, at which he was fond of hunting wild animals, see Suet. *Dom.* 19.

walled areas, in which wild animals were kept for entertaining hunts,¹¹⁴⁹ and for re-enactments of well-known myths, such as that of Orpheus.¹¹⁵⁰ There are different scholarly views, however, as to whether to read the hunt-motif in the decorative arts of Pompeii as alluding to the games of the amphitheatre or to actual *paradeisoi*, parks of a type originally designated for royal hunts by Persian and Hellenistic courts,¹¹⁵¹ and in due course imitated by country land-owners in what became the Roman Empire.

Several scholars propose that the Pompeian paintings mainly should be understood as referring to hunts conducted in the parks of Rome,¹¹⁵² whereas Maria Theresia Andreae, in her thorough study on the paintings, proposes that, given that they were executed in a rather uniform way, they are likely to have found their inspiration from the very paintings that once adorned the amphitheatre at Pompeii. In that case, the paintings in the private homes could both refer to the actual paintings at the amphitheatre, but also act as an evocation of the games for the invited guests.¹¹⁵³ The underlying reason for the increased popularity of *paradeisos*-paintings in the late 4th style, Andreae suggests, was the re-opening (and repainting) of the Pompeian amphitheatre in the last years after its closure due to a ten-year ban.¹¹⁵⁴ Perhaps linked to the fashion and date for *paradeisos*-paintings, and suggested to belong to the same period, are some sculptured garden animals, like the wild boar under attack in *Cd Citarista* (I 4,5/25), although ancient sculptures in general are difficult to date.¹¹⁵⁵ Two of the *fauces*-mosaics that represent wild animals have been dated to this late period, namely the “wounded bear”-mosaic in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) and (tentatively so) the “hunted wild boar”-mosaic in *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), which could therefore be seen as reflecting an event then topical within the community of Pompeii.¹¹⁵⁶

The lion in mosaics does not seem to necessarily form part of the general hunt-motif. In his survey of the many lion-mosaics that have been found in and outside Pompeii, Pernice proposed that they were based on pattern-books, and primarily late Republican (1st century

¹¹⁴⁹ Varro, *Rust.* 3.3, emphasises the vast number of wild boars and roes to hunt in his days (116-27 B.C.) compared to the previous generation’s smaller preserve of mainly hares; Pliny, *NH* 8.78.211, mentions Fulvius Lippinus as the first Roman to introduce game-parks for wild pigs and other animals (1st century B.C.). See also Aymard 1951, esp. pp. 68-73; Green 1996, p. 254, and Epplert 2001, p. 76.

¹¹⁵⁰ In *Rust.* 3.13, Varro describes such an exciting event. A humorous description, in a letter from the younger Pliny to Tacitus (*Ep.* 1.6), testifies of a somewhat different attitude towards the expected and traditional *virtus*-display, which perhaps instead emphasises the virtuous efforts of intellectual work.

¹¹⁵¹ See Xen. *An.* 1.2.7 (dated to c. 370 B.C.) on the Persian ruler Cyrus the younger’s game-park.

¹¹⁵² Schefold 1962, p. 146; Jashemski 1979a, pp. 69-73 (*paradeisos*-hunts rather than amphitheatre-games); Zanker 1998, pp. 186-190. See also King 2002, pp. 402-405. Andreae 1990, p. 104, refers to Schefold’s hypothesis that the Pompeians were inspired by events and decorations of Rome. Allison & Sear 2002, pp. 74-75, take a middling position between the two hypotheses.

¹¹⁵³ Andreae 1990, pp. 108-114. Beacham 2013, pp. 403-404, calls such an evocation an “*amphitheatricalism*”.

¹¹⁵⁴ Andreae 1990, pp. 113-114. See also King 2002, p. 404; Leach 2004, pp. 130-132.

¹¹⁵⁵ Appleton 1987, pp. 242-245.

¹¹⁵⁶ With regard to the so-called *Festus cum Torquato*-mosaic from *Cd Fiori* (VI 5,19/10), the rocky environment could point either to a rural setting, i.e., a private hunt, or to a staged performance taken place at an arena. The short tunic of the depicted hunter could match the apparel worn by arena-hunters, at least with regard to the period of the 1st century A.D., see Dunbabin 2016, pp. 228-229. See also Mart. *Ep.* 11.69, for trained dogs hunting wild boars in arena-shows.

B.C.) in date.¹¹⁵⁷ Outside Pompeii, examples of the lion-motif have been found at Teramo (in today's Abruzzo).¹¹⁵⁸ Another contemporaneous mosaic is the large hunt-mosaic (discussed in chap. 3) from a *domus* in Palermo, dating to around 100 B.C., where the composition and style related to the famous Alexander-mosaic in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) in its depiction of a battle-like scenario, but one in which mounted hunters and their accompanying dogs are attacking a lion and a wild boar.¹¹⁵⁹ Unfortunately, not much can be said about how the polychrome lion from the *fauces* in *Cd Leone* (VI 17,25, no. 9) was presented. Other tessellated depictions of lions from Pompeii allude to hunting contexts or perhaps even the foreign provinces from which lions had to be imported for the games at Rome.¹¹⁶⁰ But, given that it is represented to have been placed on a rectangular white background, apparently as an *emblema* on an otherwise black field, and there is no mention of its having been portrayed as wounded, the lion in the *fauces* of the Pompeian house named after it may simply have been copied from a stock lion-design which formed part of a traditional Hellenistic repertoire of mosaic-motifs.

6.7.4 Traditional or new?

The particular motif of the wild boar being attacked by dogs is found in various sorts of place within Pompeian *atrium*-houses, from their *fauces* (in one case) and *tablina* to gardens, where it occurs most often. Occurring in many formats, and in various media, the motif is repeated so often that selection from pattern-books is the most natural explanation. It is interesting to note that this pattern was in use already by the 2nd style-period, as seen in the *atriolum*-mosaic from *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4). However, the majority belong to the 4th style-period: the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), the *tablinum*-painting in *Cd Caccia antica* (VII 4,48), the peristyle-painting in *Caserma dei gladiatori* (V 5,3), and also the garden-sculpture at *Cd Citarista* (I 4,5/25).¹¹⁶¹ The motif was capable of variation over time so that instead of being associated with a *rhyton*, as at *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4), it would eventually be treated as an independent image which might be set in a natural environment. But the length of time

¹¹⁵⁷ Pernice 1938, p. 158.

¹¹⁵⁸ The polychrome *tablinum*-mosaic in the so-called *Domus del Leone* at Teramo presents a lacunar design. A central *emblema* depicts a lion holding a snake, and the whole mosaic is surrounded by a festoon. Another similar mosaic (today in Holkham Hall, England) is often stated to have adorned Hadrian's villa at Tivoli but which instead may originate either from an earlier structure or else from the vicinity of Naples, see Blake 1930, pp. 135-137; Pernice 1938, p. 156, pls. 6:1; 58:1; Meyboom 1995, chap. 6 (p. 359), n. 8.

¹¹⁵⁹ For a fuller discussion on this mosaic, see Wootton 2002; Cohen 2010, pp. 137-145.

¹¹⁶⁰ Aymard 1951, p. 81; King 2002, p. 440; Toynbee 1973, pp. 61-63; MacKinnon 2006; Plin. *NH* 8.20-21.54-55. See also Martial's *Liber spectaculorum*, in honour of the inauguration of the Colosseum. For a discussion on the ancient lion-image as representing ideal masculine characteristics, see Westgate 2011. Cf. the Lion-gates at the Bronze Age cities of Mycenae and Hattusa, and the neo-Babylonian Ishtar gate at Babylon. Many temples, Greek and Roman, had antefixes or waterspouts in the shapes of lions' heads.

¹¹⁶¹ See Andrae 1990, p. 75, for the painting in *Caserma dei gladiatori* (V 5,3), and for the garden-sculpture, see Appleton 1987, p. 245.

over which this boar-hunting motif remained in use and its adaptability to various decorative media both seem remarkable.

The presentation of the sole wounded wild boar in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23) is the earliest of the *fauces*-mosaics belonging to the “wild animal” group, predating the boar-hunting design popular in the 4th style-period by several decades. The mosaic also relates to the older mosaic-tradition by its extensive use of polychrome *tesserae*. However, this colourful mode of presentation would be adopted again in the wounded bear-mosaic of *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), which belongs to the last period. In fact, it is only the late stock-motif of the boar-hunt in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25) that is completely black-and-white (the presumed wound is also depicted in white). With regard to the hunt-motif in general, it is noteworthy that the animals portrayed as prey in *fauces*-mosaics are those that are seen as a threat to man and not the more defenceless quarry of hunters, such as deer.

In the *fauces*-mosaics where the wounded animals are represented not in pure black-and-white but in subdued dark or murky colours, the use of the red colour is very striking. Here, the red eyes, mouths and/or wounds turned towards the visitor, who could not fail to appreciate the importance attached to these details. The special use of this particular bright colour runs through the artistic idiom of figurative *fauces*-mosaics from the 2nd style to the 4th style-periods like a red thread. As we have seen in the case of marine-themed mosaics, and will see again in the case of mosaics belonging to the “canine motif” group, the red colour could owe its presence in these art-works to a superstition that regarded it as a protective, a belief which is still prevalent around the Mediterranean today.

According to Andreae, the *paradeisos*-paintings appealed to all social strata, and the house-owners who commissioned them set up a sort of competition by imitating each other in what would become a fashionable trend.¹¹⁶² Our sample of mosaics, of course, is much smaller than the full range of Pompeian wall-paintings, which makes it futile to locate the examples of “wild animal” motif discussed in this study within the general fashion for hunting-park themes.

Indeed, the three *fauces*-mosaics are all “one of a kind” in relation to each other and Blake’s crediting of originality to the motif of “wild boar with dogs” in the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25) cannot be regarded as valid, since this particular motif in fact is the most widely distributed within different decorative media.¹¹⁶³ The *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23) is furthermore proposed to have predated the wall-painting trend. Nevertheless, the outlined shadows beneath the depicted wild boar in this mosaic and in the bear-mosaic in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) are unusual, and should perhaps be regarded as details that imitate wall-paintings in general. The appreciation of hunt-motifs on *fauces*-mosaics might evidently be found among owners of really large houses (*Cd Leone*,

¹¹⁶² Andreae 1990, pp. 96, 113, states that the architectural layouts of the houses of concern are of more value for studies like these, since too little information about the proper house-owners is known.

¹¹⁶³ Blake 1930, pp. 99, 122-123.

VI 17,25, no. 9) and also of small (*Cd Orso*, VII 2,45, no. 14). The greatest distinction between these owners and those possessing large *paradeisos*-paintings is that few chose to adorn their *entryways* in this manner; the *fauces* constituting a spatial location within a *domus* that differed greatly from the outdoor-setting of the garden, which had more natural affinity to hunts or games.

6.7.5 Concluding discussion

Whether the owners of the Pompeian houses under consideration were actually in the habit of participating in hunts (in the surrounding forests?) or in some way involved, as organisers or spectators, in the games presented at the amphitheatre, is naturally impossible to say.¹¹⁶⁴ On the other hand, this question does not have to be crucial for an understanding of the reason behind the laying of such mosaics. What is of interest here is the psychology implicit in the choice of hunt-motifs for decoration, a liking which might suggest that one either wished to be regarded as belonging to the elite or else wanted to relate to a generic male ideology.

Clarke, however, is critical of such interpretation of genre-paintings of the *paradeisos*-sort, and believes that these, *per se*, hardly can tell anything about their owners, apart from the fact that the owners followed the latest decorative trends, which drew inspiration both from private hunts and from public games.¹¹⁶⁵ In my view, however, this description of an almost non-reflective house-owner may not suit the owners of the *fauces*-mosaics with hunt-motifs. As far as we can tell, these were fewer than a handful, one of whom seems to have commissioned a “wounded wild beast” mosaic as early as the Augustan period, long before the *paradeisos*-trend that was particularly characteristic of the last period at Pompeii. As this particular mosaic with the frontal wild boar displays similarities to some of the later painted versions, it is reasonable to assume that a liking for the hunt-motif had already been spreading through the city from the late Republic and early Empire onwards.

A well-known symbol of power and courage, the hunt was a social activity that was a visible expression of the strength, success and exclusivity of the elite’s males. Hunting was, of course, primarily a country pursuit, but for the inhabitants of Pompeii, it was no doubt present as a popular entertainment form at the amphitheatre. In the Pompeian streetscape, one passed by painted advertisements for *munera* on the house-façades and large wooden-plaques in the forum that portrayed participants in the games,¹¹⁶⁶ one might also admire large wall-paintings and garden-sculptures in private peristyles and smaller close-ups in *fauces*-mosaics. Obvious as it may be, commissioners of art depicting wild animals for private residences, like the local politicians who made *evergetic* donations for games or restorations

¹¹⁶⁴ With regard to the fauna of Italy: animals like the wild boar and the bear were certainly native to the surrounding forests, see Mart. *Spect.* 8 (on the Lucanian bear); Hor. *Epod.* 16.51. However, many bears were also imported from the southern and eastern provinces of the Empire for the games, see King 2002, p. 446.

¹¹⁶⁵ Clarke 1991, pp. 162-163.

¹¹⁶⁶ Tuck 2014, p. 430.

of public buildings,¹¹⁶⁷ are likely to have been male and concerned to be approved of by other men. The fashion for especially the *paradeisos*-paintings shows some of them to have been highly trend-sensitive, too.

The figurative panel of the *fauces*-mosaic in the large house *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25) presents a wild boar attacked by dogs at the far end of the entryway. When the doors stood open, this scene was visible from the sidewalk (of the thoroughfare of Via dell'Abbondanza, close to the forum), but the owner chose to communicate primarily with those that had already entered. According to Della Corte, the mosaic would have been laid in order to commemorate a certain Gaius Coelius Calvus, an ancestor of the owner, who had been a militarily successful consul and governor of Hispania, and who caused coins to be imprinted with his standard of the wild boar.¹¹⁶⁸ The hypothesis that such a commemoration could have been transferred to this very Pompeian house, is, of course, disputable. Theoretically speaking, personal messages could indeed be put on display in the front part of an *atrium*-house. However, the theme chosen for this *fauces*-mosaic was of a very standardised depiction, typical of its time. Nor does the tessellated city-wall framing the *atrium*-mosaic of this house have to allude to specific military and/or political achievements.

As for the *fauces*-mosaic once found in the very large (western) terrace-house *Cd Leone* (VI 17,25, no. 9), no other representation of a lion has been found at Pompeii in an entryway. On the other hand, the choice of motif was not in itself a remarkable one for a wealthy Pompeian house-owner to make if compared with other rich *domus* around the city, where they could decorate inner reception rooms.

The solitary, wounded, wild boar in the (southern) terrace-house *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23) is portrayed as a terrifying animal. On its guard and angered by its wound, the wild boar turns to the viewer, who has reached the second part of the *fauces*. This is the only case at Pompeii where the wild boar is depicted in isolation, thus conveying, maybe, the owner's wish to present the animal's well-known savage strength as unequal to man's power to conquer the wild. In this very finely detailed mosaic, the colour red is employed to enhance the one eye of the animal visible to the viewer, as well as its open, somewhat grinning mouth. A final touch of red in this picture is located on the animal's rear part so as to indicate a small wound. As suggested earlier, the colour red, apart from drawing attention to these details, would have been reckoned suitably apotropaic with regard to evil forces.

The bear-mosaic in the small, centrally located, house of *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) is likewise unusual with regard to its position in an entryway, though its composition occurs also in a painted version (from a peristyle). The mixed messages conveyed by the juxtaposition of the welcoming inscription *Habe* with the image of a wounded animal trying to remove a broken spear by means of its paw and mouth, make the mosaic a complex piece. The location of the bear next to the outer threshold at the street-border has the effect of making the animal appear to turn to visitors immediately on their arrival. The image arrests

¹¹⁶⁷ For the latter at Pompeii, see also Reinfjord 2011.

¹¹⁶⁸ Della Corte 1965, pp. 228-229. See also King 2002, p. 444.

their attention before the progress up the long and geometrically tessellated passage-way to the *atrium*. It is hard to imagine that no sympathy for the dying animal was evoked in those who first beheld it, while at the same time the image conveyed the message that, despite being such a great and savage enemy of humans, the bear is after all inferior. Viewers would have been familiar with the games at the amphitheatre, for which bears were regularly captured and brought.¹¹⁶⁹ and to which sphere the mosaic may refer. The *Have*-inscription may be suggestive of how proud and self-confident the owner was, although it remains unknown whether he or, just possibly, she was a donor of arena-games or even a bear-provider to the amphitheatre.¹¹⁷⁰ Instead, one could perhaps view the mosaic and inscription from the perspective hypothesised by Ehrhardt: that the small house was a *hospitium*, so that the bear with its welcoming inscription could be likened to a modern pub-sign, and, more to the point, to the “elephant”-sign of the neighbouring *Hospitium Sittii* (VII 1,44-45)?¹¹⁷¹ Whether or not this conjecture is valid, the owner evidently appreciated the hunting-theme, for this is further illustrated by the impressive painting on the rear wall of the small garden, showing a wild boar and a dog facing each other in action.

6.8 Figurative group: canine motif

6.8.1 Presentation

The canine-motif group consists of three *fauces*-mosaics out of 33. The dogs depicted in these mosaics are placed either centrally on the floor, as an all-over pattern or like an *emblema* in the front part of the *fauces*, near the outer threshold.

Cd Paquius Proculus (I 7,1, no. 1)

Fig. 135

Cd Caecilius Lucundus (V 1,23-26, no. 3)

Fig. 136

Cd Poeta tragico (VI 8,3/5, no. 5)

Fig. 137

The *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) has a white background and its main image lies within a large rectangle framed by two narrow, black borders. Inside, a large black dog is shown lying in profile, alert and with its long neck upright, in front of a double house-

¹¹⁶⁹ E.g., Livy, in *Ab urbe cond.* 44.18, mentions an arena-event, displaying leopards, elephants and bears (40 in number), which took place in 169 B.C. In one section of the paintings adorning the Pompeian amphitheatre, a fight between a bear and a bull chained together recalls the words of Seneca, *De ira*, 3.43, about shows that included *tauri et ursi pugnam inter se conligatorum*.

¹¹⁷⁰ Hales 2003, p. 110, proposes that the mosaic relates to a (private) act of animal-supply to the amphitheatre. N.B. the inscription *Have* is omitted in this review of the mosaic.

¹¹⁷¹ Ehrhardt 1988, p. 77, does not want to interpret it as a “pub-sign” since the animal-motif exists on other *fauces*-mosaics. Indeed, this is correct, but as will be discussed in a following group, the wrestler-mosaic of *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22) is a contemporaneous, tessellated, advertisement for the building that contains it.

door, which is depicted as half-open. The portal forms the background of much of the framed image.¹¹⁷² In front of the dog, an imagined threshold is shown, decorated by two squares, flanking a central rectangle. The dog is fastened with a chain to the left-hand door-leaf, while the right leaf is standing open. Military symbols, an axe-head and a shield pierced by a spear, adorn the uppermost part of each door-leaf. The dog's mouth is open, showing the teeth and the hanging, red, tongue. The neck-collar is also coloured red, with alternating white and black stones in a row. One red *tessera* is inserted in the lower part of the visible eye. Above this main body of the mosaic, outside the black-bordered frame, is a rectangular threshold-panel, in front of the *atrium*-entrance, which also has a figurative theme. Its subject is a mythological landscape, outlined in green and brown. It features two centaurs, holding a lance, a tree-branch, a shepherd's crook (*pedum*) and a flute (or a bagpipe), which, from opposite sides are approaching a goat, which is standing close to a centrally placed tree. The *atrium*-mosaic, similarly on a white ground, is completely unique for Pompeii in its decoration: an all-over design outlined in black, called a "lacunar" pattern because of its resemblance to a coffered ceiling. There are figures in most of its square divisions, mainly birds, but also theatrical masks and two human portrait medallions. Around the *impluvium*, the mosaic-border portrays figures rendered in black within an arched colonnade, such as dolphins, fish, *cornucopiae*, a goat, a rudder, an anchor, a *caduceus*, a horseman with a spear, a gladiator, an amphora, military weapons etc. The *fauces*-mosaic (together with the *atrium*-mosaic) belongs to group 2 (the late Republic).

In the upper part of the two-levelled *fauces* in *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), one encounters a very different rendering of a dog.¹¹⁷³ On the white mosaic, which lacks any border, an unchained black dog is portrayed slumbering (in an empty space), as if taking a siesta nap despite what one assumes to be its protective placement in the entryway. However, the one eye visible to us is actually highlighted in red and yellow, suggesting watchfulness all the same.¹¹⁷⁴ The border with the *atrium* is marked by a thin line of black *tesserae* and, once past this transition-marker, within the *atrium* itself, the visitor found a black mosaic decorated with rows of white *tesserae* and scattered polychrome stones. The *fauces*-mosaic belongs to group 3 (the Claudian period).

The long, white *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) is framed by three black borders. Next to the outer threshold, just in front of the door, a most watchful black-and-white dog is shown attached by a yellow leash to an invisible wall or door.¹¹⁷⁵ Black lines under the front legs indicate shadows. The dog has taken a crouching stance, as if ready to either welcome the guest warmly or attack. The most probable reading must be the latter, in

¹¹⁷² Blake 1930, pp. 121-123; Pernice 1938, pp. 95-96; Clarke 1979, pp. 10-11, 62-63; Ehrhardt 1998, pp. 26-27, 30-32.

¹¹⁷³ Blake 1930, pp. 114, 121-122; Pernice 1938, p. 96; Clarke 1979, p. 11.

¹¹⁷⁴ Green is also used for the nose-tip, breast and side, see www.pompejiprojektet.se (V 1,26/*fauces*/floor).

¹¹⁷⁵ Blake 1930, pp. 111, 121-122, stating that the mosaic had been moved to MANN, but then relocated to the house again; Pernice 1938, p. 98; Clarke 1979, pp. 10-11.

view of the very famous inscription below the dog: *Cave canem* (“Beware of the dog”).¹¹⁷⁶ The eye, mouth, tongue and collar are all outlined in red, the collar being further adorned with blue and black *tesserae*. The remainder of the white mosaic-floor is decorated with a series of carefully measured rows (thirteen in number) of evenly spaced, black *tesserae* (see geometric group).¹¹⁷⁷ This regular pattern is interrupted only by the realistic figure of the dog and its leash. A rectangular threshold-panel, all-white and framed by a black border, marks the entry to the *atrium*, after which the pattern consisting of rows of *tesserae* continues as an all-over mosaic. The *fauces*-mosaic belongs to group 3 (the last period).

6.8.2 *Comparanda*

It is obvious that the chief message conveyed by the mosaics in the present group was one about protection. As we have seen in the previous group on the wild animal theme in Pompeian art, dogs are also included in Pompeian mosaics and in wall-paintings as partaking in hunts.¹¹⁷⁸

A most interesting case for comparison with the watchdogs in tessellated *fauces* is the dog shown seizing a boar by the ear as seen in the mosaic inscribed *Festus cum Torquato* from *Cd Fiori* (VI 5,19/10: see wild animal group, Fig. 128). This dog seems quite similar in its characteristics to the watchdog in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), both in breed and attitude. The two dogs are large and portrayed with quite fluffy black-and-white fur and tails. The mosaic from the peristyle-area of *Cd Fiori* (VI 5,19/10), as has already been noted (in chap. 2), bears a second inscription, unfortunately damaged, which however in all probability issued a warning to beware of (the dog) Torquatus. There were dangers to be encountered both inside and outside the domestic sphere, and evidently the same breed was reckoned suitable for both purposes.

From Pompeii, only one more mosaic depicts a watchdog. Today exhibited at MANN, this mosaic is said to have been found placed near the threshold in a *cubiculum* to the north of the *fauces* in *Cd Orfeo* (VI 14,20) (Fig. 138).¹¹⁷⁹ It is similar to the “*Cave canem*”-mosaic in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5): it portrays a dog, wholly black in colour, with a red collar adorned with precious stones and a red leash that restrains it. The dog is shown in profile, eager to move forward towards the visitor. The eye that we see and tongue that protrudes have also been outlined in red. However, it is a much more stylised rendering than the ones in the mosaics of *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) and *Cd Fiori* (VI 5,19/10), which appear lively and natural.

¹¹⁷⁶ *CIL* X 877.

¹¹⁷⁷ The dog occupies about one fifth of the space; Clarke 1979, p. 11.

¹¹⁷⁸ In Pompeian wall-paintings, one may also find pet dogs, as seen in *Cd Epigrammi greci* (V 1, 18), where a puppy is painted in the dado, accompanied by the name *A Synclētus*, see www.pompeijiprojektet.se/inscriptions. Furthermore, in the *tablinum*-mosaic in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), an animal is presented in each panel, one of them being a dog, see *PPMI*, p. 511, fig. 44.

¹¹⁷⁹ Sogliano in *GdSc* 1875 (vol. 3:25), p. 169. See picture in Presuhn 1878 (III), pl. 4. MANN, inv. nr. 110666.

Caroline Dexter has proposed that the documentation about its original placement must be erroneous,¹¹⁸⁰ and, certainly, this depiction of a watchdog would seem much more appropriate for an entrance than for a small room adjoining an entryway. This position is also advocated by Clarke, who asserts that “it probably belonged to an architectural setting like that of the *cave canem* mosaic”.¹¹⁸¹ However, since excavation records state that the *cubiculum* was its original location, and also that the *fauces* was paved with a mortar-floor,¹¹⁸² we will have to imagine instead a tessellated watchdog keeping watch from the threshold of the adjacent room.

Turning to representations of watchdogs other than in mosaics,¹¹⁸³ there are four documented wall-paintings portraying chained dogs, one from a private house and three from commercial establishments. The *Caupona di Sotericus* (I 12,3) on Via dell’Abbondanza still presents a large brown guard-dog with a decorated collar, sitting calmly next to a tree (Fig. 139). Located on a pillar inside the (former) *atrium*, the painted dog is watching the entering visitor. The painting is credited to the period of the founding of the inn, i.e. to the 1st century A.D.¹¹⁸⁴ The next example was found in the annex (IX 5,16) of *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29), which has been identified as a restaurant,¹¹⁸⁵ where the eastern wall inside the *atrium* used to contain depictions of two dogs in chains, eating.¹¹⁸⁶ Another painting comes from *Cd Casellius Marcellus* (IX 2,26), where a small representation of a dog chained to a tree once decorated the *fauces*-wall seen on the left as one entered.¹¹⁸⁷ The final painting is a newly excavated one, decorating a *thermopolium*-counter in V 3.¹¹⁸⁸ Together with depictions of a rooster and still-life birds, a large watchdog is portrayed with dark brown fur and with its red tongue hanging out. It is seen sitting in profile, being leashed to the upper corner of the image, and wearing a red collar studded with white stones. The rendering suggests an intimidating guardian, and regardless of their spatial location – whether inside or outside –

¹¹⁸⁰ Dexter 1975, p. 8.

¹¹⁸¹ Clarke 1979, p. 17, n. 29. Blake 1930, p. 121, states only that she has been unable to find documentation on the unearthing of the mosaic, that is on display at MANN. Pernice 1938, p. 98, does assign the mosaic to the house at least, but states that he was not able to locate its placement. See also Giordano & Pelagalli 1957, p. 177.

¹¹⁸² Sogliano in *GdSc* 1875 (vol. 3:24), pp. 99-100.

¹¹⁸³ Pompeian *compluvia* could be adorned with waterspouts in the shape of dogs’ heads. In general, the provenance and original location of waterspouts has not always been documented, and so far, only one house from the core-sample has been identified as once having had waterspouts in the shape of dogs, *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17). See von Rohden 1880, in which houses like *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), *Cd Sallustius* (VI 2,4) and *Cd Argenteria* (VI 7,20) also are discussed. According to von Rohden 1880, p. 15, the most common type of waterspouts in Pompeii was lion-shaped, followed next by the dog-shaped type. Other figures represented could be satyrs/maenads, dolphins and even wild boars. See also Merone 1993-1994, and Pensabene 1999, who lists more than 240 dog-examples, mainly from Campania and Latium and belonging to the Julio-Claudian period.

¹¹⁸⁴ *PPM* II, p. 709.

¹¹⁸⁵ Also identified, tentatively, as a *lupanar*, due to erotic paintings in one room.

¹¹⁸⁶ Mau in *BdI* 1879, p. 209; Presuhn 1882 (VIII), p. 6.

¹¹⁸⁷ Schefold 1957, p. 245; *PPM* IX, p. 106. The house faces a smaller street off Via di Stabia, and the semi-preserved *fauces*-floor is of *lavapesta*-mortar with rows of white *tesserae*.

¹¹⁸⁸ See description in Osanna 2020, pp. 167-172, although the actual image of the dog had not yet been unearthed by the time of the publication.

the usual way in which dogs were presented in painting or mosaic emphasised that they were ready to protect. The dogs shown as eating, on the other hand, may be interpreted, as suggested by Presuhn, as simply being the companions of their owners, the restaurant-guests.¹¹⁸⁹

To display the dog of the house as resting, as in *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), is actually quite unusual within the Graeco-Roman decorative repertoire.¹¹⁹⁰ However, there is one parallel found, on mid-Republican coins from the Roman colony of Hatra in Picenum. Issued during the 3rd century B.C., the *aes grave*-coins actually feature a very similar sleeping dog, together with the abbreviation *HAT*. The sleeping dog here is similar in breed to the one whose memorial is the Pompeian plaster-cast from *Cd Orfeo* (VI 14,20, see below),¹¹⁹¹ and it is also portrayed in a very similar way to its half-asleep counterpart in the *fauces* of *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), though giving no sign that its visible eye is open.

As for the famous “Beware of the dog” mosaic-inscription from *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), this is not the only such floor-inscription found. Two parallels, albeit without portrayal of the dog, come from private houses in the Roman colony of Celsa in Hispania Citerior.¹¹⁹² One black tessellated inscription with the warning *Cave cane* (without an m), decorated a mortar-floor (possibly from a *fauces*), while the second seems to have decorated a mortar-floor further inside another house (perhaps from a *triclinium*).¹¹⁹³ On-going scholarly discussion focuses on this colony’s possible employment of architects from Italy, given the strong resemblance of buildings there to contemporary Campanian architecture.¹¹⁹⁴ This discussion is certainly of relevance to the present study as it highlights how interior decorative designs spread over vast areas, maybe thanks to the travels of craftsmen.

Apart from the watchdog, additional figures are included in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) that are well worth more attention. Unfortunately, these figures are in many cases omitted from the scholarly discussion,¹¹⁹⁵ which makes holistic

¹¹⁸⁹ Presuhn 1882 (VIII), p. 6.

¹¹⁹⁰ A depiction of a sleeping dog is shown on a marble bas-relief from Pompeii, acting as a sign outside a metalwork-shop. Of uncertain provenance, the relief shows coppersmiths at work, accompanied by the dog who figures apparently as company for the craftsmen.

¹¹⁹¹ Keller 1909, p. 124, fig. 49. Toynbee 1973, p. 104, tentatively suggests that the depicted dog on the coin could be of the so-called Umbrian breed.

¹¹⁹² Bruun & Edmondson 2015, p. 91. The editors also mention a graffito from a wall-painting in Isca Dumnoniorum (Exeter), Britannia, which may have issued the warning “*cave canem*”.

¹¹⁹³ See Beltrán Lloris 1991, p. 68; Tang 2018, pp. 147, 453 (VelE3.01 and VelE4.01); online database: “Decorating floors. The tesserae-in-the-mortar technique in the ancient world” (nos. 1488-1489). The houses are *Casa de la Tortuga* and *Casa del Emblema blanco y negro*.

¹¹⁹⁴ See e.g., Galve, Magallón & Navarro 2005, p. 172. The colony of Celsa was founded in 44 B.C., and excavations have revealed several *insulae*, some with houses containing high-status wall-paintings and floor-pavements. In *Casa de los Delfines*, a tessellated inscription in a reception-room (dated to c. 30 B.C.), issued the greeting “*Salve*”, see Tang’s online database: “Decorating floors. The tesserae-in-the-mortar technique in the ancient world” (no. 1479).

¹¹⁹⁵ Both Blake 1930, pp. 121-123, and Pernice 1938, p. 95, mention the centaur-panel but not the military symbols depicted; Dunbabin 1999a, p. 58, mentions only the architectural setting behind the dog; Balch 2008, p. 35, focuses

interpretation of this pavement difficult. The main mosaic is unusual in portraying the dog as protecting both the depicted portal behind it (which must surely lead to a *domus*, rather than to a public building), and also the actual entrance of the house. Of interest here are the emblems shown on the door-leaves depicted behind the door: an oval shield pierced by a spear on one leaf, a double axe on the other. The war-spoils pattern is found elsewhere at Pompeii,¹¹⁹⁶ both in private decoration and public, e.g., in the shape of the common suspended shield-motif that features in wall-paintings. A trophy-painting, *tropaion*, once adorned the façade of the public *Schola Armaturarum*, III 3,6).¹¹⁹⁷ In *Cd Criptoportico* (I 6,2), the *lacunar*-style division of the wall-stucco in the *criptoporticus* exhibits both double axes and round shields with spears.¹¹⁹⁸ These symbols are furthermore repeated in mosaics, notably around the *impluvium* in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), and in *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12). In the latter, the threshold-panel at the *atrium*-end of the *fauces*-mosaic features two red, oval shields placed above the crenelated city-wall, while the tessellated threshold-panel to the *tablinum* exhibits small squares with shields and spears next to thunderbolts (Fig. 140).¹¹⁹⁹ All these three houses are decorated with 2nd style-period mosaics, so it seems that the iconographical fashion for *militaria* belonged to a period which, politically speaking, was one of crisis.

In the mosaic threshold-panel that separates the tessellated watchdog from the *atrium*-entrance in the *fauces* of *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), a prominent role is given to two centaurs, mythological figures which also may be present in Pompeian wall-paintings. Similar depictions are found in two wall-paintings once located in a *triclinium* in *Cd Poeta tragicus* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5).¹²⁰⁰ There, two centaurs, holding spear-like weapons, are shown encircling a victim in the centre, a lion. The landscape features trees, and in one of the pictures, a hunting-dog accompanies the attackers. Within the sphere of mosaics,¹²⁰¹ a parallel for the scene of centaurs at *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) has been found in a Roman villa at

only on the dog-depiction. For full descriptions, see Spinazzola 1953, pp. 304-305; Ehrhardt 1998, pp. 26-27; Clarke 1979, p. 10; *PPM* I, pp. 483-485, and Hales 2003, p. 111.

¹¹⁹⁶ In the surrounding villas of Pompeii, a similar decoration-repertoire can be seen, as exemplified in *Villa di Arianna* at Stabia, where an all-over patterned mosaic depicts oval shields inside squares. In wall-paintings, the armour-motif is attested in several rooms in *Casa di Augusto*, see Randle 2015, vol. 2, pp. 176-184.

¹¹⁹⁷ *PPM* III, pp. 394-395, figs. 2-3. Sadly, the exterior of this building was severely damaged due to collapses in 2010.

¹¹⁹⁸ *PPM* I, pp. 224-227, figs. 49-53. See also the ceiling in the men's *apodyterium* in *Terme Stabiane* (VII 1,8), see *PPM* VI, pp. 196-199, figs. 91-96.

¹¹⁹⁹ In *Cd Criptoportico* (I 6,2), a house with mosaics attributed to the same workshop as the mosaics in *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40) and *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4), i.e., to the 2nd style-period, a tessellated *oecus*-border also displays a shield, spear and a helmet, see *PPM* I, pp. 250-252, figs. 99-104.

¹²⁰⁰ *PPM* IV, pp. 566-567, 574-576, figs. 77a-b, 90. See also Ehrhardt 1998, p. 154, who lists *comparanda* in stuccos and wall-paintings from the 1st and 2nd styles, although the rendering of one of the centaurs in the *fauces*-mosaic as having goat-horns, i.e., as being a mix between Pan and a horse, is unusual. For paintings of centaurs chasing Lapith women in *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4), see Ling & Ling 2005, pp. 70-71.

¹²⁰¹ Blake 1930 includes a photograph of a black-and-white centaur-mosaic from Parma (*Albergo Diurno*), newly excavated at the time, which she first attributed to the 1st century A.D., see p. 123, pl. 48:1, but thereafter to the 2nd century A.D., see Blake 1936, p. 138. Another famous mosaic comes from the emperor Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, where the centaur is about to stone a leopard, which has killed his female centaur companion, see Pernice 1938, p. 20.

Corinth: there, a large mosaic includes polychrome figures, a geometric border and figurative *emblemata* with birds.¹²⁰² In the so-called *rinceau*-border (a scroll of plants and flowers), wild animals and centaurs leap, brightly coloured, as was customary on Hellenistic mosaics.¹²⁰³ Through the foliage runs a centaur with a spear chasing after a wild feline, and this pattern repeats itself around the mosaic. In view of similarities with Pompeian mosaic-patterns in general and with regard to the use of colours, Stella Grobel Miller has argued for a Campanian influence (i.e., the influence of a workshop in Italy or itinerant mosaicists) on this eastern mosaic from the late 1st century A.D., which is notable for a return to some of the motifs favoured in an older Hellenistic stylistic tradition.¹²⁰⁴

However, the combination of motifs found in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), that is, the bringing together of centaurs, on the one hand, and a watchdog, on the other, seems to be unique. Indeed, the adornment both of a main *fauces*-mosaic and of an adjacent threshold-panel with figurative compositions is paralleled by the *fauces*-mosaics in *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15) and in *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12). The first mosaic presents a marine motif with a dolphin and an anchor in the lower section of the main mosaic and ships' prows in the threshold-panel. The second mosaic also presents marine subject-matter, including dolphins, in the main mosaic, whereas the threshold-panel shows a crenelated city-wall and shields. All three *fauces*-mosaics are attributed to the chronological group 2, and to the period of the late Republic and/or early Empire, which was a period when decorative threshold-panels between the *fauces* and *atria* were popular. The figurative decoration of the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) is very remarkable in presenting a symbol of ordered watchfulness and controlled strength, namely the watchdog, in close proximity to centaurs, normally symbolic of disordered Dionysian wildness.

6.8.3 Roman and modern views

The agrarian writers Columella and Varro, among others, offer us detailed insight into the distinctive characteristics of different breeds of dog and how they served various purposes. In their works, three major groups can be discerned: the watchdog, the hunting dog and the sheepdog, the pet dog being disregarded. Both writers are particularly interested in discussing the watchdog and the sheepdog as they are vital for anyone who uses dogs to protect his property at night or to guard the sheep.¹²⁰⁵ With regard both to depictions of dogs at Pompeii

¹²⁰² Grobel Miller 1972.

¹²⁰³ Examples are found at Delos, Pergamon (the Palace V), Alexandria (palace) and Pompeii (*Cd Fauno*, VI 12,2, no. 7), see Bruneau 1972: *Maison des masques*, cat. no. 214, figs. 177-181; Pernice 1938, pp. 22-23; Grobel Miller 1972, pp. 339-340. See also Ehrhardt 1998, p. 154. In Hellenistic mosaics, the centaur may be depicted as accompanying Dionysos in his entourage.

¹²⁰⁴ Grobel Miller 1972, pp. 353-354.

¹²⁰⁵ Varro, *Rust.* 1.19; 1.21; 2.9. Columella, *Rust.* 7.12.2, says that the sheepdog and the watchdog are the important ones for the countryside whereas the hunting dog "does not help the farmer but actually lures him away from his work and makes him lazy about it." (transl. by E. S. Forster & E. H. Heffner). On the Maltese pet dog, see e.g., Plin. *NH* 3.26.152, and Busuttill 1969 for an ancient literary review.

and to actual remains of dogs found there (see below), the groups of dogs in this classification which are of interest are the watchdogs and the hunting dogs.

For the task of protection, the breed called Molossus, a sort of mastiff imported from Greece, was known for its strength and bravery.¹²⁰⁶ Columella provides with a lengthy description of how the watchdog ought to look: the heavy square-like guardian shall have a large head, a wide chest, and black eyes and fur. The colour is important in order for it to be disguised by the night, and yet terrifying in the day. The tail shall, moreover, be short, and the ears droopy. The manners shall be in between mild and fierce, balanced by the situation.¹²⁰⁷ For both the hunting and the sheep-guardian task the Greek Laconian was used, as its more slender body, small head and pointy nose, proved suitable for the purpose.¹²⁰⁸ However, for arena-hunts, we have also evidence of the Molossian beings used, as described by Martial.¹²⁰⁹

In a famous passage by Petronius in the 1st century novel *Satyricon*, encounters with an imaginary watchdog as well as a real one, are described:

“As I stood gaping at all of this, I almost fell flat on my back and broke my legs. To our left as we went in and not far from the porter’s room was a wall painting of a huge dog tied with a chain, and over it in big capitals was written: BEWARE OF THE DOG”.¹²¹⁰

Later in the story, we are introduced to *Scylax*, the real Molossian hound guarding the house of the freedman Trimalchio. Though still chained, and instructed by a thrust from the doorkeeper’s heel to lie down, he is tempted into combat with a lapdog and succeeds in terrifying the whole party.¹²¹¹ What is of interest in this parody on the realities of social class-distinctions in early Imperial society, is that Petronius reveals how architectural spaces could be decorated, and how these may have functioned. The satirical depiction of established decorative iconography, as pointed out by Veyne,¹²¹² suggests that Petronius was alluding to a motif more widely spread than one otherwise would propose on the basis of the Pompeian examples alone.

Within modern scholarship on *fauces*-mosaics, those that depict dogs, which are sometimes referred to as “*Cave canem*”-mosaics, have attracted by far the most attention. The mosaic-dog from *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) has been discussed from a perspective

¹²⁰⁶ Lucr. 5.1063-1072; Virg. *G.* 3.404-413. On hunting dogs in general, see Xenophon’s *Cynegeticus* and the poem *Cynegetica* by Grattius, e.g., 150-248. See also Toynbee 1973, pp. 106-107.

¹²⁰⁷ Columella, *Rust.* 7.12.4-7.

¹²⁰⁸ Xen. *Cyn.* 10.4, 10.10; Hor. *Epod.* 6.5-6.6 (on the Laconian as a sheepdog). See also Petron. *Sat.* 40, about Spartan, so-called Laconian, dogs taking part of a re-enacted wild boar-hunt at Trimalchio’s dinner-party.

¹²⁰⁹ Mart. *Spect.* 33.

¹²¹⁰ Petron. *Sat.* 28-30 (transl. by G. Schmeling): *Ceterum ego dum omnia stupeo, paene resupinatus crura mea fregi. Ad sinistram enim intrantibus non longe ab ostiarii cella canis ingens, catena vinculus, in pariete erat pictus superque quadrata littera scriptum “cave canem”.*

¹²¹¹ Petron. *Sat.* 64.

¹²¹² Veyne 1963.

that draws attention to the so-called “double take” that the mosaic gives rise to. The mosaic, first of all, presents a guard-dog which faces the visitor entering from the sidewalk, while the continuation of the floor-design after the “guard-dog” motif, with a row-pattern, surely emphasises the impressive length of the corridor-space while at the same time guides visitors towards the *atrium*. Perhaps the picture of the dog was meant to resemble a mat placed on top of simple flooring, whose row-pattern in turn was derived from old-fashioned mortar-floors. The mat, then, could indicate the appropriate position for the house’s actual guard-dog, while the tessellated portrayal of an imaginary dog seems to pop up three-dimensionally, thanks to the details of the shadows, from an imaginary (mortar?) floor. Clarke has designated this visual twist as a “double take”, i.e., a “*trompe l’oeil*”-image that surprises the visitor when it is revealed to be only an illusion, and maybe evokes a laughing response.¹²¹³ As rightly pointed out by Clarke, the dog seems to have broken loose from his chain as he fiercely turns towards the visitor. On the one hand, it can be imagined that the dog has “left” his place on the (mortar?) pavement, while on the other, the image of him may contain reference to actual placement of mats in the *fauces*, not to mention a real guard-dog.¹²¹⁴

The combining of images and texts within arts has recently been discussed by Arja Karivieri.¹²¹⁵ The “*Cave canem*”-mosaic belongs in the category called *text in image*, where the text is supplemented to emphasise the meaning of the image. Karivieri refers to Clarke’s “laughing response”-interpretation and also suggests that the dog may, after all, have been intended to represent the actual canine guardian of the house. The half-asleep dog in *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), on the other hand, in view of its more welcoming and expectant attitude, may belong, rather, to the category of *text-based art* containing literary references. Of particular concern here, as proposed by Karivieri, is the faithful hound Argos, who loyally awaits his master Odysseus twenty years after the outbreak of the Trojan war.¹²¹⁶ The visitor to the house would, thus, be introduced to the cultural domain of the well-educated owner, who took pains to share his literary enthusiasm by means of wall-paintings in the *atrium* and *tablinum* that illustrate the Homeric epics and classical drama (see chap. 5).¹²¹⁷

Bettina Bergmann has stressed that many (fruitless) attempts have been made in the past by historians and archaeologists to link the mosaics to real watchdogs residing in Pompeian houses.¹²¹⁸ Morphological analyses of the osteological remains at Pompeii generally indicate

¹²¹³ Clarke 2007a, pp. 53-57.

¹²¹⁴ Regarding threshold-mosaics on Delos in relation to the older tradition of using mats, see Joyce 1979, pp. 257-258. It is emphasised here, though, that the Pompeian employment of pavements reflects how the floor was viewed as a single unit and paved thereafter. The overall pattern here is suggestive of a net that has been laid over the floor as a contrast to smaller mats.

¹²¹⁵ Karivieri 2020.

¹²¹⁶ Karivieri 2020, pp. 112-113. See Hom. *Od.* 17.290-327.

¹²¹⁷ Karivieri 2014, pp. 91-94.

¹²¹⁸ See Bergmann 1994, p. 229, on the *fauces*-mosaic as well as the find of dog-remains in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5).

a prevalence of smaller (pet) dogs over larger ones in the samples from the time of the eruption. Two of the individuals are, however, interpreted as Molossian types, thus confirming both literary statements and artistic representations.¹²¹⁹ In view of the range of dog-breeds, one may assume that different kinds of dogs were employed for the task of watching the door. The “*Cave canem*”-dog in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) is indeed similar to the representation of the hunting dog in the *Festus*-mosaic in *Cd Fiori* (VI 5,19/10). This could indicate that the two mosaics came from one workshop, but it might equally well reflect combined use of one breed for both guarding and hunting (see above regarding the use of the Molossian for both tasks).¹²²⁰ The slimness of the dogs, quite similar to each other, shown in the mosaics at *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3) and *Cd Orfeo* (VI 14,20), seems to match well with the osteological remains of dogs recovered from Pompeian houses.¹²²¹ The case with *Cd Orfeo* (VI 14,20) may serve as a last thought-provoking example. In the *fauces* there, a plaster-cast was made in modern times, revealing the death-throes in A.D. 79 of a chained watchdog, which, lying on its back, twisted its body as it hopelessly tried to escape (Fig. 141).¹²²² This real dog is revealed to have been quite close in appearance to the one shown in the mosaic, which was found in a room adjacent to the *fauces* of this very house.

In sum, the dogs in mosaics were depictions of actual breeds that inhabited Pompeii,¹²²³ and one can only speculate about the underlying reason behind the selection of types. In only one case do we have enough archaeological evidence to confirm that the dog shown in a mosaic resembled the last one to keep watch over the house in reality. In other cases, we can only guess that the choice between a Molossian and a smaller and slimmer dog was ultimately a matter left to the house-owner, no matter whether it was the actual guarding of the house that was at issue or the commissioning of a *fauces*-mosaic.

Within Graeco-Roman culture, the faithful dog was traditionally revered as an averter of evil forces, in both the religious sphere proper and the domain of superstitions and folklore. Besides acting as protector of specific buildings, e.g., the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill at Rome,¹²²⁴ dogs were furthermore believed to possess supernatural powers even in their own so-called afterlife. As we have already noted in chap. 2, the elder Pliny reports a

¹²¹⁹ Zedda et. al. 2006, pp. 320-323, table 2: in total, a number of 113 bones have been excavated prior to the year 2006, belonging to 10 different individuals. N.B. Already the study by Giordano & Pelagalli from 1957 identified both “watchdogs” and “pet dogs” in the Pompeian remains.

¹²²⁰ King 2002, p. 414.

¹²²¹ Giordano & Pelagalli 1957, pp. 167-169. Finds of dogs, both with collars and without, and some in pairs, have been excavated in some of the core-sample’s houses: *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4), and *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), and also in *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4), *I 13,1*, and *Cd Romolo e Remo* (VII 7,10). See also King 2002, pp. 410-414.

¹²²² Sogliano in *GdSc* 1875 (vol. 3:24), pp. 99-100.

¹²²³ See Toynbee 1973, p. 108, who sees a similarity between the depicted watchdogs in the *fauces*-mosaics of *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) and *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) and the plaster-cast from *Cd Orfeo* (VI 14,20).

¹²²⁴ Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 20.56, and Gell. *NA* 6.1.6 mention protective dogs guarding the temple-area at night. See also Burriss 1935, p. 36.

recommendation that the animal's genitals should be buried underneath thresholds, and the walls of an entrance sprinkled by its blood in order to ward off the entry of bad spirits, restless souls or *invidia*.¹²²⁵ No such sacrifice has been identified at Pompeii, but archaeological investigations around Italy do confirm the ancient practice of burying a sacrificed dog in the foundation-walls of colonies or forts.¹²²⁶

We have noted that the door shown behind the tessellated watchdog in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) features military symbols. Despite expectations aroused by classical literary testimonies concerning Roman customs, the iconography of spoils of war or military attributes does not seem to have been common in the decoration of Pompeian entrances.¹²²⁷ Such symbols may refer to the protection of the house as well as to the aristocratic tradition of hanging war-spoils on one's front door for public display (on which, see chap. 2). In a recent study of the armour-motif within Roman decorative art, it is concluded that of all examples found in the Vesuvian area, as well as at Rome, only the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) can with certainty be said to exhibit idealised spoils of war on display in a private entrance in accordance with the custom mentioned by Roman writers.¹²²⁸ Instead, house-owners seem to have been motivated by different reasons for the decorative display of military symbols, such as to allude to the richness of such symbols decorating the public buildings in Roman cities.¹²²⁹ Other reasons may have been a desire to allude to non-military activities like gladiatorial combats, or to the elite Hellenistic practice of displaying weaponry in palaces.¹²³⁰

The placement of military symbols in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), to which one may add the shields over the city-wall in that of *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), do support the literary statements about the display of military paraphernalia in the very entryway.¹²³¹ But, according to the above-mentioned study, these two mosaics are the only extant pictorial examples recording this actual practice; the former containing a more clear and realistic representation of the custom than the latter.¹²³² As we recalled when examining the marine motif group, there have been attempts to explain the use of military and naval symbols in décor of the 2nd style-period as commemorating a house-owner's status or political affiliation, and this is a possibility that Randle does not rule out.¹²³³

¹²²⁵ Plin. *NH* 30.24.82. See also Pensabene 1999, p. 48, and a discussion of the "scape-dog" in Burriss 1935, pp. 32-35.

¹²²⁶ De Grossi Mazzorin & Minniti 2006, p. 65. Examples of such places are the slope of the Palatine at Rome and at Paestum, underneath a bastion.

¹²²⁷ Cf. the wall-paintings of the *fauces* of *Cd Meleagro* (VI 9,2/13), where small shields are displayed as if placed in wooden racks, see Randle 2015, vol. 1, pp. 236-237.

¹²²⁸ Randle 2015, vol. 1, pp. 13-14; 166-167.

¹²²⁹ Randle 2015, vol. 1, pp. 61-62.

¹²³⁰ Randle 2015, vol. 1, pp. 147-148.

¹²³¹ Randle 2015, vol. 1, pp. 50-55, 57, 63.

¹²³² Randle 2015, vol. 1, p. 167.

¹²³³ Randle 2015, vol. 1, p. 175, discusses this possible interpretation, although without mentioning the mosaics in particular.

However, military display in a private entrance or on the front door of the *domus* may point, in fact, to a generic high status that one had earned by *virtus*, and which granted one the right, or resulted in a wish, to mark the exterior façade and the entrance in such a conspicuous way. The liminal location of the *fauces* further reinforces the gravity of the symbols, making them awe-inspiring and causing the visitor to enter with attention.

The motif of the centaurs in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) strengthens the general case for interpreting the mosaics in this house as presenting a deliberate interplay of symbolism. How exactly we are to interpret them, however, is puzzling. The fantastic figures of the centaurs, unusual subject-matter though they seem for a *fauces*-mosaic, could nevertheless be considered as a quite appropriate entrance-décor. These untamed mythological figures are after all liminal beings, given that they were believed to transcend different spheres, human and animal, wild and civilised.

It is reasonable to assume that the panel-scene depicted a common goat-hunt in the forest,¹²³⁴ as witnessed by the centaurs' attributes of a tree-trunk and a shepherd's crook. However, the inclusion of the flute or bagpipe, held by the centaur to the left, seems to add a bucolic sense to the scene as well. This view has been advocated by Ehrhardt, who regards the composition not as a purely decorative ornament, but instead as one containing allegories of happiness and peace. To strengthen his arguments, he refers to other versions of "welcoming" entrance-décor as found around Pompeii, including the tessellated *Salve*-inscriptions, the phallic Priapus-painting and the Dionysos-alluding figurative pilaster-capitals that flank house-portals to a handful of noble *domus*.¹²³⁵ This interpretation by Ehrhardt relies largely on the ideas of Vittorio Spinazzola, who, in his publication of the excavated house, viewed the centaur-panel as rural in its nature, by the presence of the goat, and one which symbolised a harmonious transition from the watchdog-depiction to the large and elaborate *atrium*-mosaic.¹²³⁶ In their view, then, the two parts of the *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), seem to simultaneously speak of an allegorical theme about war and peace, chaos and harmony. Despite the armament of the centaurs, it is possible to assume that the motif transmits a bucolic message.

6.8.4 Traditional or new?

The representation of watchdogs on mosaics has (to my knowledge) only been found at Pompeii. Thus, Blake concluded that the mosaics were a local phenomenon, perhaps the

¹²³⁴ However, the proposition by Blake 1930, pp. 122-123, that the landscape-panel is reminiscent of the setting in the wild boar-image in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25), and therefore of the same late date, is not entirely valid. Firstly, the wild boar-setting is, as we have seen, conventional in its depiction of vegetation, and secondly, there are other grounds for attributing the centaur-panel to the late Republican period.

¹²³⁵ Ehrhardt 1998, p. 154.

¹²³⁶ Spinazzola 1953, pp. 304-305.

production by a single workshop or even one single mosaicist.¹²³⁷ On this point, I am myself more inclined to agree with Dexter and believe that the different portrayals of the dogs, ranging from stylised to life-like, may suggest several workshops.¹²³⁸ The range of dates assigned to the mosaics also discourages the hypothesis of one mosaicist.

If we follow the timeline produced by the suggested datings of the mosaics in the “canine group”, the rendering of the watchdogs goes through a development from stylised to natural: the tessellated dog in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), dated to the 2nd style-period, is presented in a stiffer and more stylised fashion than, especially, the lively *Cave canem*-dog in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5: cf. the hunting-dog in the *Festus*-mosaic), which belongs to the last period. The *Cd Orfeo*-dog (the dating of which is contested¹²³⁹) may be placed somewhere in between: it is seen in motion although rather stylised. Even though the half-asleep dog in *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), belonging to the mid-first century A.D., is not portrayed in an active stance, it is nevertheless depicted in a fairly realistic manner. As mentioned above, the selection of these different versions may point to an active choice on the part of the house-owners. In the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), the contrast between the restrained *virtus* of the watchdog and the more frenetic activity of the centaurs is evident.

6.8.5 Concluding discussion

The watchdogs depicted both in mosaics and in wall-paintings are found either in the front parts (typically the *fauces*) of *atrium*-houses, or in commercial establishments, where they signalled protection of the property and of the occupants. However, only one of the portrayed watchdogs is accompanied with the inscription *Cave canem*, and thus mirrors the contemporaneous Petronian “Beware of the dog”-notice. *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) is, moreover, located close to *Cd Fiori* (VI 5,19/10) in the city-centre, which may explain the similar traits in their respective mosaics featuring dogs along with inscriptions. The same reasoning may also be applied for the two spatially close houses *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3) and *Cd Orfeo* (VI 14,20), in the northern part of the city, facing each other on opposite sides of Via del Vesuvio.¹²⁴⁰ *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) is located relatively far from the others but in a prime location on the major thoroughfare of Pompeii (Via dell’Abbondanza). However, only a few blocks away and facing the same street, another (painted) watchdog is found, protecting the *Caupona di Sotericus* (I 12,3).

¹²³⁷ Blake 1930, p. 121, who sees the various postures of the dogs as designed by someone who was “a close observer of animal nature”.

¹²³⁸ Dexter 1975, p. 9.

¹²³⁹ Pernice 1938, p. 98, advocates a dating to the 3rd style-period as the house is mainly painted in this style, while Clarke 1979, p. 17, n. 29, and Petersen 2006, p. 266, n. 44, propose instead a dating to the 4th style-period.

¹²⁴⁰ Furthermore, both houses have herm-statues flanking their *tablina*, which is another quite unusual feature, see Leander Touati 2021.

In the case of two of the houses, *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) and *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), the fact that, by the time of the laying of their *fauces*-mosaics, they were lavishly decorated double *atrium*-houses fits in well with the general picture as outlined in chap. 5. On the other hand, a new development is seen in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), a smaller house located on one of the thoroughfares of the city, not far from forum. The date of its late mosaic to around the earthquake-period is shared with the similarly small house *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), which also includes a figurative *fauces*-mosaic with an inscription. Certainly, this “new development” is exemplified only by these two houses but in relation to the core-sample, they represent change. It seems that some owners of smaller houses in the last phase were able to embrace the cultural language of the well-to-do. The decorative relation of the mosaic-floors to the architectural space of the *fauces* in these two houses is of interest, too: in both cases, the entryways are long corridors, in which it is the first section that is adorned with a figurative *emblema*. The remaining corridor-floor is decorated primarily in white, with added geometric patterns. Even though the corridors could be considered as “too” long for achieving a good visual effect, the house-owners were not discouraged but solved the problem by letting the first section be tessellated, and with a very striking image.

The *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) can be linked to the contemporaneous *fauces*-mosaic in *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), in that they both feature (polychrome) symbols, i.e., various animals and military emblems on both the main mosaics and on the threshold-panels adjacent to their *atria*. The former mosaic is, however, unique in being the only *fauces*-mosaic at Pompeii to include a purely mythological depiction. Animals like dolphins, wild boars and bears are naturally parts of the Graeco-Roman myths, but as they are real animals, native to the land and sea close to Pompeii, they could represent events in real life. The centaur did not, and for this reason this mosaic is one of a kind so far as the Pompeian repertoire of *fauces*-flooring is concerned.

The dog-mosaics are naturally full of signs alluding to protection: the chains or leashes, the stances and grins of the dogs with open mouths, and also due to the inclusion of the colour red in important places. In the oldest mosaic (*Cd Paquius Proculus*, I 7,1, no. 1), indebtedness to the Hellenistic mosaic-tradition is discernible in the use of green, blue and brown. As time went by, the purely bichrome black-and-white technique was becoming more dominant, but red was nevertheless employed up until the very last period, as seen in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), and also in the representation of the wounded bear in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), which is rendered in more colours as well. The marking of the eyes, mouths and collars with red make the dogs very striking, as befitted their status as guardians.

Clarke has proposed that the eye, highlighted in red and yellow and turned towards the visitor, belonging to the mosaic-dog in *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), could represent an “Argus’ eye” (cf. the guardian giant Argos Panoptes which, according to Greek mythology, had one hundred eyes), to which apotropaic powers might be ascribed.¹²⁴¹ This

¹²⁴¹ Clarke 1979, p. 11.

interpretation could apply to the other three mosaic-representations of dogs as well. Even though other colours, like yellow and green, also are present in some of the representations, the red colour is (of course) the most striking. To employ this colour, unnatural for an eye, could thereby perhaps signal a “like-for-like” principal against the powers of the evil eye.¹²⁴² The red eye is also present in the wild boar-depiction in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23), whose appearance of turning towards the visitor is indeed terrifying. From a slightly later Roman period comes one mosaic in which barking dogs, among other animals, are pictured as attacking a red-lined evil eye (Fig. 142, cf. the similar “KAICY”-mosaic, Fig. 4, where the eye is also outlined in red).¹²⁴³ However, not all of the wild animal-renderings at Pompeii share this “red-eye” feature, as may be seen from the otherwise polychrome bear in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14). As discussed in the “wild animal”-section, the wounded bear is not facing the visitor but instead, by displaying utter vulnerability, seems to appeal for sympathy from the viewer. On the other hand, red seems to have been the prevalent colour of dog-collars: at least, it became standard where leashed dogs are portrayed in paintings and on mosaics.¹²⁴⁴ Was this colour simply chosen, in real life, for very practical reasons related to its conspicuousness outdoors, or was it thought of as having deeper connotations?¹²⁴⁵

The spatial location of the three dog-mosaics within their respective *fauces* further testifies not only to the way in which their messages were intended to reach the viewers but also to the way in which the designs interacted with the actual *fauces*-space. The stylised dog in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1) is placed in the front part of the mosaic, thus confronting the visitor directly after he or she has entered the open space before the doors (i.e., the outer *fauces*). In conformity with how the *fauces*-layout at Pompeii is commonly structured, the mosaic here is particularly visible when one has turned towards the doors, although it may be seen by passers-by near the entrance. The figurative threshold that meets one’s eye after the watchdog encourages a natural stop before the visitor moves inwards.

In the very corridor-like *fauces* of *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), the attentive dog is portrayed in its very first section, close to the outer threshold. This is done as a consequence of the shape of the architectural space and with the intention of addressing the visitors

¹²⁴² Dundes 1992, pp. 284-285.

¹²⁴³ See Blake 1936, p. 158, pl. 38:2. Nine animals, including birds, goats and a bull, are on the verge of attacking the centrally placed eye while a spear already has reached the target. However, regarding the accompanied inscription on the mosaic, suggested to date to the 2nd century A.D., which is placed inside a *tabula ansata*, Blake states that no mosaic from the 1st century A.D., that she is aware of, includes this winged tablet. But cf. the *Salve*-inscription in *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4).

¹²⁴⁴ Even in late antique mosaics from Roman Britannia, e.g., from Frampton or Cirencester, the dogs partaking in hunts are portrayed with red collars. Important to note, though, is that already the artistic repertoire from Bronze Age Greece (specifically, one wall-painting from Tiryns), features depictions of wild boar-hunts, including hunting-dogs with red collars.

¹²⁴⁵ See Gratt. *Cyn.* 401-407: “Thus there are some whose prescription has been to fasten cock’s combs upon the dog-collars made from the light-shunning badger, or they twine necklets around, strung of sacred shells, and stone of living fire and red coral from Malta and herbs aided by magic incantations. And so the peace of the gods won by the protective amulet is found to vanquish baleful influences and the venom of the evil eye.” (transl. by J. Wight Duff & A. M. Duff).

immediately.¹²⁴⁶ Furthermore, this image is also accessible through the two added doors on either side of the *fauces*, that lead to adjoining *tabernae*. By contrast with the ferocious depiction of the dog and its inscription, the remainder of this mosaic has, as its decoration, a simple design consisting only of rows of *tesserae*, which urges the viewer to continue looking inwards, as well as entering.

In *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3), the *atrium* is accessible through two doors from neighbouring *tabernae* (V 1,25 and V 1,27). However, in this house, the *fauces*-mosaic showing the half-asleep dog is somewhat further removed from the viewer as it is situated on the upper level of this two-levelled entrance, so that it requires a visit to the house in order to fully appreciate the mosaic. All the same, the dog is placed closer to the exit than to the *atrium*.

The differences in appearance between the various dogs represented, some furrier and some slimmer, point to a broader flexibility on the part of both the mosaicists and the owners in relation to their canine subject-matter than is discernible in the case, notably, of the marine group. There, greater standardisation of the available motifs seems more apparent.

The fact that a protective watchdog was considered a suitable subject for portrayal in *fauces*-mosaics once more brings to the fore the whole question as to whether the *atrium*-house was typically characterised by openness or by seclusion. As we have seen, there were many other entrances, apart from the *fauces*, which granted access to the houses. Nevertheless, the bars used for locking the *fauces*-doors at night speak for themselves about the prevailing opinion about protection and the need for it. Even if we focus solely on the function of the *fauces* during the day, the very presence of mosaics there is paradoxical, and particularly so those featuring watchdogs. On the one hand, mosaics were a conspicuous type of adornment desirable for drawing attention to the house-entrance, in particular, and ultimately, to the house itself also. On the other hand, the need to protect the entry from intrusion by anything harmful was evidently a matter of great concern. The solution adopted by these house-owners, in order to take account of both considerations, was a pragmatic one, namely: to tessellate the *fauces* but with appropriate symbols and colour-codes. If the watchdogs portrayed, furthermore, mimicked realistic guards, perhaps even the one that actually guarded its commissioner's house, a humorous meaning could be interwoven with the obviously more serious ones, and the resultant laughter, in turn, reinforced the defence against evil.¹²⁴⁷ The half-asleep dog provides an illustrative example of a laughter-inducing "double take". This dog is presented as one that seemingly is mismanaging its main task. The initial response to this is laughter, but after closer examination, the visitor realises that the dog's one visible eye depicted eye is shown open as a sign of its watchfulness.

¹²⁴⁶ Clarke 1979, p. 11, discusses the tunnel-like space and how difficult it must have been to place the figurative image further inside.

¹²⁴⁷ Clarke 2007a, pp. 53-57.

6.9 Figurative group: wrestling motif

6.9.1 Presentation

This group is represented by only one *fauces*-mosaic out of 33, the one which adorns the semi-public bath-establishment known as the *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22) (Fig. 143). Despite not decorating an entrance to a private house, this mosaic is included in this study as it illustrates a shift between a situation where the tessellating of *fauces* was confined to private *domus* only, to the position reached in the final period, where it occurred in public premises, too.

In the large *fauces* of the *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22), a white mosaic, framed by a black border, portrays two large, and well-built wrestlers, rendered in black, who are moving towards each other.¹²⁴⁸ They are situated in the centre of the mosaic, at some distance from the outer threshold. The space underneath the wrestlers is marked by a so-called *ombra portata*, made up by black lines so as to outline their shadows and also to indicate the actual movement of the men. The bodies are furthermore marked with white lines in order to emphasise the musculature, and the hair of each man is tied back on the crown of the head in a small ponytail, which may be understood as a *cirrus*, the hairstyle generally believed to have designated a professional athlete (see below). The border to the *atrium*, also adorned with a white mosaic, consists of a black-framed threshold-panel, in which a single, black horizontal line marks the transition from one space to another. This *fauces*-mosaic belongs to group 3 (the Claudian period).

6.9.2 Comparanda

The theme of athletics on mosaics is not found frequently in this period. Nevertheless, there is one comparable wrestler-mosaic from the vicinity: in the bath-suite (*frigidarium*) of *Villa di Numerius Popidius Florus* at Boscoreale. Although not as elegant in its execution as the *Palaestra*-mosaic, this smaller black-and-white mosaic presents the same sort of confrontation between wrestlers.¹²⁴⁹ However, the figures are more stylised, and the underlining of the spatial setting by the *ombra portata* seen in the *Palaestra*-mosaic is missing here. Still, the fact that all four wrestlers share the *cirrus*-arrangement of the hair must indicate that the iconographical details here were based on current customary practice, although it is likely that the hairstyle was one that was generally the mark of professionals.¹²⁵⁰ In the Boscoreale-

¹²⁴⁸ Blake 1930, p. 123; Pernice 1938, p. 116; Clarke 1979, p. 12: the figures are about one metre in height.

¹²⁴⁹ Blake 1936, p. 162.

¹²⁵⁰ Newby 2002. Thuillier 1998 proposes that the hairstyle draws a distinction between younger and older, bearded, athletes. Regarding the association of the term *cirrus* with curly hair, see Suet. *Nero* 45. In Jones 1998, p. 293, the hairstyle is referred to as a “spiky crest”, an example of which is seen in the “Alexander and Helix”-mosaic from *Caupona di Alexander e Helix* (IV,VII,4) at Ostia. This same description may also be applied for the *Palaestra*-mosaic since the wrestlers’ hair is actually made up of two protruding wisps rather than topknots. Since the hairstyle is not depicted on Greek images, Crowther 2012 asks whether it may designate wrestlers, native to Italy rather than certain age-groups, and

version of the composition, a vegetal scroll has been added around the mosaic, as well as an inscription below the two figures, conveying the double welcoming message, *Have Salve*. At each end of the words is a small ivy-leaf. On stylistic grounds, this mosaic has been dated to the mid-first century A.D.,¹²⁵¹ thus making it contemporary with the *Palaestra*-mosaic.

Similar compositions of athletes are also found in wall-paintings from the same period, especially those adorning bath-suites. In the *atrium* of the *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22) itself, portraits of boxers and other athletes occupy the walls (Fig. 144), and further examples can be seen in the bath-suite of *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4).¹²⁵² In the centuries that followed Pompeii's destruction, such subject-matter, in various forms, would become a very popular choice for mosaics, as may be seen, e.g., in Rome and Ostia (Fig. 145).¹²⁵³ An illustrative example for comparison is the entrance-mosaic to the *Casggiato dei Lottatori* (V, III,1) at Ostia, presenting two named combatants, one of whom is portrayed as crouching down after defeat. Dated to the early 3rd century A.D., the image of these wrestlers might have acted as an advertisement for the guild of athletes, which is supposed to have occupied the building.¹²⁵⁴

6.9.3 Roman and modern views

Despite the initial identification of the Pompeian establishment containing the wrestler-mosaic as a *palaestra*, i.e., an athletic (wrestling) area, the building has subsequently been interpreted as a semi-public bath-establishment. In fact, it was the *fauces*-mosaic of the wrestlers, together with the 4th style wall-paintings in the *atrium*, that originally led to conclusions that the place must have served for athletic and gymnastic exercise.¹²⁵⁵ The motif of the two naked men confronting each other may, in fact, refer to activities like wrestling such as could very well have taken place in a building used as a (semi-) public bath, as we shall see. The fact that the mosaic depicting wrestlers in the *Villa di Numerius Popidius Florus* at Boscoreale belonged to the decoration of a bath-suite confirms that athletic motifs of this sort were perceived as appropriate in such contexts (see below).¹²⁵⁶ Given that this latter mosaic also contained inscriptions issuing the greeting “*Have*” and “*Salve*”, a custom of welcoming people from outside the strictly private sphere seems to have dictated the bath-suite's decoration.

Newby 2002, p. 181, n. 18, problematizes the designation *cirrus* as perhaps not being so widely used as is generally believed.

¹²⁵¹ Della Corte in *NSc* 1921, pp. 442-460; Clarke 1979, p. 18, n. 34; Stefani 2010, pp. 109-110.

¹²⁵² *PPM* II, pp. 385-386, figs. 231-234.

¹²⁵³ See Blake 1936, pp. 162-166; Newby 2002.

¹²⁵⁴ Newby 2002, pp. 193-194.

¹²⁵⁵ The revised identification of the house as a semi-public bath-house, rather than a *palaestra*, was made by Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936. The *scenae frons*-paintings (showing theatrical stage-fronts) in the *atrium* are dated to the 60s A.D. and were therefore produced after the early Claudian mosaics of the *fauces* and the *atrium*, see p. 96. See also *PPM* V, pp. 166-168.

¹²⁵⁶ Dunbabin 1999a, pp. 62, 117, 313.

That said, even the identification of the “*Palaestra*” at Pompeii as a semi-public establishment has been called into question, by Eric M. Moormann.¹²⁵⁷ With regard to the theatrical and athletic themes of the *atrium* wall-paintings especially, and also the *fauces*-mosaic, he suggests that it might have been a private *atrium*-house. The owner, although unknown,¹²⁵⁸ may have been commemorating the sports-events that were perhaps held at the (supposedly) closed amphitheatre of the last period (from A.D. 59). The owner could, thus, have been a financier of sports-events, acting out of *euergetism* for the city. For a comparable case where the private section of a house was combined with a semi-public one, *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2) naturally comes to mind. However, the parallel seems in my view a little too weak for one to make such an identification of the house-type on the basis of its decoration alone. The architectural design of the complex, with two flanking benches outside, combined with a *thermopolium* with a large bar-counter (VIII 2, 24) that communicates with the *atrium* by a door, and a window that opens to the *fauces*, could indicate a public character of at least the front part of the building (Fig. 146).¹²⁵⁹ Moreover, the dates of the decoration are assigned by Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben to two different decorative phases, so that the *fauces*-mosaic predates the 4th style-paintings. Their suggested early Claudian date for the mosaic would therefore place the paving in a period prior to the enforced closure of the amphitheatre in A.D. 59.

6.9.4 Traditional or new?

Mosaics depicting wrestlers often formed part of the decorative repertoire in public, Hellenistic-Roman bath-establishments, found both in Greece and in North Africa.¹²⁶⁰ As regards Italy in the mid-first century A.D., the two above-mentioned wrestler-mosaics are the only ones preserved that exemplify this kind of subject-matter. The three bath-mosaics depicting black swimmers in *Cd Criptoportico* (I 6,2), *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4) and *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12) show that human figures were being portrayed already on mosaics in the 2nd style-period. Furthermore, the mosaic in the entryway to the *caldarium* in the bath-suite of *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4), presents a bath-servant holding vessels (*askoi*) (Fig. 147).¹²⁶¹ From this time-period also comes the coffered *atrium*-mosaic in *Cd Paquius Proculus*, I 7,1, no. 1), with the depiction of two heads in medallions. Blake also noted, by reference to some of these examples, that they comprised more or less the whole figurative

¹²⁵⁷ Moormann 1983, pp. 104-105.

¹²⁵⁸ See Koloski-Ostrow 1986, pp. 82-85, on the wax-tablets found in *Terme del Sarno* (VIII 2,17-21, including house VIII 2,18, no. 21), concerning a business-transaction between two women. One of them may have been Dicia Margaris, the owner of the whole bath-complex (from *Terme del Sarno*, VIII 2,17-21 to *Palaestra*, VIII 2,23) during Pompeii's last period, before, perhaps, it was sold to a new owner (L. Aelius Magnus?).

¹²⁵⁹ See discussion in *PPM* VIII (Sampaolo), pp. 166-168. According to Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 93-94, there is no doubt that it was a bathhouse with a bar for the visitors, and with rented apartments on the upper floor.

¹²⁶⁰ E.g., the 2nd century B.C., polychrome wrestler-mosaic from Alexandria, which depicted two standing wrestlers, one white and the other black (although only the white one is still fully preserved).

¹²⁶¹ *PPM* II, pp. 380-381, fig. 225.

repertoire found in Pompeian mosaics, and that the human figure in Italian mosaics in general was still rare for this early period (in Blake's view, specifically the 1st century A.D.).¹²⁶²

Assuming, then, that we are dealing with a bathhouse, one may further ask why the traditional mosaic-motifs like dolphins or swimmers were not employed but instead wrestlers. The reason may be linked to the increased popularity of athletic sports during the Julio-Claudian period, especially the Greek system of training that included wrestling. Most references in Roman literature to this sort of training and public display date from the mid-first century A.D. onwards.¹²⁶³ Public spectacles became very popular, e.g., the so-called Sebestan games in nearby Neapolis, founded to honour emperor Augustus in A.D. 2, and still held during the reign of the emperor Claudius.¹²⁶⁴ The *athletae* involved competed in wrestling, boxing, and in the complex challenges of *pentathlon* and *pancratium*,¹²⁶⁵ in line with the Graeco-Roman ideal that demanded that physical training of the body should complement the intellectual education of a young man's mind, in preparation for good citizenship.¹²⁶⁶ From the writings of Seneca and Martial, we know of boys practising wrestling in Rome, an exercise, which was perceived by the moralists as depraving due to its "non-Roman" nudity.¹²⁶⁷ However, modern research has done much to nuance this traditional negative view of the practice, and instead, the enthusiasm and interest for the sport by the Romans is now being emphasised.¹²⁶⁸ In her study on the later mosaics, Zahra Newby states that "it seems likely that the new prominence of athletics in these public spectacles may have encouraged its adoption in private", and that athletic training was indeed among the activities associated with the particular space offered by bathhouses.¹²⁶⁹

The entrance-floor of the *Palaestra* is the only Pompeian *fauces*-mosaic portraying men and it was remarkable also in fulfilling the function as a signboard; a praxis that would come to characterise public spaces in the imperial harbour-town of Ostia.¹²⁷⁰ The image thus predates by centuries the mosaic-announcements that one can find there in the city's baths

¹²⁶² Blake 1930, p. 123; Blake 1936, p. 162. See Clarke 2007b, p. 330, on the mosaic with a Medusa-head from *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30), here assigned a 3rd style-period date. Pernice 1938, p. 44, states only that this mosaic does not date from the last period. The *Festus*-mosaic from *Cd Fiori* (VI 5,19/10), featuring a hunter with his dog, has not been assigned a date although its resemblance with the "*Cave canem*"-mosaic in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5) indicates a late dating. Lastly, the portrait of a lady in a mosaic-*emblema* executed in the fine *opus vermiculatum*-technique from *Cd Matrona ignota* (VI 15,14; now at MANN, inv. nr. 124666) is assigned a date to the early 1st century A.D. at the latest, by Pernice 1938, pp. 88, 147, pl. 78.

¹²⁶³ Newby 2002, p. 180, n. 15.

¹²⁶⁴ Crowther 2012, p. 196. Corbeill 2001, p. 278, discusses aristocratic disdain during the Republic, towards individual athletic competition, a practice which, in fact, would popularise spectator-sport in Rome.

¹²⁶⁵ Crowther 2012, pp. 195-196; Van Nijf 2003, p. 273.

¹²⁶⁶ Van Nijf 2003, p. 267; Crowther 2012, p. 199, citing the orator Quintilian.

¹²⁶⁷ Sen. *Brev. vit.* 12.2; Sen. *Ep.* 56.1-2; Crowther 2012, p. 199; Newby 2002, pp. 177-178. See also Mart. *Ep.* 14.45-50, on ball-games and athletic exercise.

¹²⁶⁸ See e.g., Christesen & Kyle 2014; Papakonstantinou 2012; Bohne 2011; Newby 2005; König 2005; Thuillier 1996.

¹²⁶⁹ Newby 2002, pp. 178 (quotation), 184-185.

¹²⁷⁰ Clarke 1979, p. 12, puts emphasis on the figures' confrontational pose, directed towards one another, and not towards the entering visitor; he sees it as related to the function of the mosaic as a signboard.

and *tabernae*, e.g., the fish-shops, the *Foro delle Corporazioni* (II, VII,4) or in different “guilds” (Fig. 148).¹²⁷¹ Within Pompeii, it is entirely unique as it directly speaks of the function of the space beyond the entryway, which no other mosaic does in such a vivid way.¹²⁷² Certainly, other bath-mosaics may also be figurative and allude to the marine world, but to portray wrestlers, i.e., human figures, representative both of an ideal and also of a reality,¹²⁷³ at the entry to a bath-house, explicitly advertises the intended use by the visitors. In a temporal sense, this novel mosaic can be viewed as indicative of how the art of tessellation at Pompeii would probably have developed after A.D. 79, had it not been for the catastrophic eruption of Vesuvius.

6.9.5 Concluding discussion

The wrestler-mosaic of the so-called *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22) in Pompeii is remarkable in so many ways, being the only mosaic that decorated a public entrance, which, moreover, included human figures.¹²⁷⁴ All the same, its composition seems to have been a variation on an established model, as is witnessed by the similar bath-mosaic from a villa in the vicinity. It differs from some later examples from Ostia, in not including inscriptions recording the wrestlers’ names. The compositional repertoire of Ostian wrestler-mosaics became wider in the later period when their theme had increased in popularity. Close examination of the Pompeian example thus suggests that the concept of “practical” mosaics giving information about the function of the space inside had just come into being, but that they were, as yet, executed in a standardised form, without the personal touches seen elsewhere and in later times.¹²⁷⁵

With regards to the composition of the Pompeian wrestler-image, it is worth addressing the question of where on the mosaic a visitor would be inclined to set foot. Since the wrestlers take up most of the spatial width of the very large mosaic, and are shown with almost interlocking arms, passage through the space in between seems precluded. Nevertheless, this space may have been the intended walking-route, if following Clarke in his observation that

¹²⁷¹ Newby 2002, pp. 178-179.

¹²⁷² Mosaics with greeting inscriptions, such as “*Have*” and “*Salve*”, do, in a sense, advertise the *fauces*-space as an entry, but they do not reveal any other function of the *atrium*-houses in which they are found.

¹²⁷³ In this case, the wrestlers are standardised and allude to generic combatants, in contrast to the famous “Alexander and Helix”-mosaic from *Caupona di Alexander e Helix* (IV,VII,4) at Ostia where the athletes are named, and thus portray real individuals (Helix being the leading pancratiast (boxer/wrestler) of his day, i.e., early 3rd century A.D.); on this subject, see Jones 1998. Tuck 2013, p. 431, emphasises, though, the function of this Ostian space as a *caupona*, which was not a place for training. N.B. His reference to a similar wrestler-mosaic from a “tavern at Pompeii” has to mean the mosaic from the *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22).

¹²⁷⁴ However, see previous discussion (chaps. 4-6) about the questioned identification of the houses of *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) and *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30) as being strictly private, which perhaps could mean that their (late) *fauces*-mosaics, in fact, were laid down as advertisements.

¹²⁷⁵ Although not entirely comparable to the wrestling-scene at the “*Palaestra*”, the *atrium*-mosaic in *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17) is a truly personal mosaic that through inscriptions advertises the owner’s successful *garum*-business.

“someone coming into the entryway would be inclined by their heraldic placement to walk between the two figures”.¹²⁷⁶ That, at least, may have been true of a solitary visitor, since the space between the figures does create a central, albeit much narrow, path. But if several people were visiting at the same time, it would have seemed more apt to regard the wrestlers themselves as marking out the route-path, even though one might initially hesitate to walk at all upon a figurative composition.¹²⁷⁷

6.10 Concluding discussion of the mosaic iconography

The first *fauces*-floors to be examined were the ones paved with mortar as these constituted the most common form of flooring throughout the history of Pompeii, from the late Samnite period down to A.D. 79. Popular types were the plain and monochrome mortar-floors, but there were also floors with stone-inserts and with geometric patterning. When house-owners turned to mosaics for the adornment of their *fauces*, the modes of decoration already in use for mortar-floors were consequently taken over. Of these decorative schemes, those featuring bichrome geometric patterns form by far the largest category of Pompeian *fauces*-mosaics. These may be seen both as continuing the fashion for geometric patterns on entrance-floors already seen in mortar-floors and also as testifying, through their exclusively black-and-white colour-scheme, to increasing Roman impact on the artistic medium of mosaic.

Mortar-paved *fauces* were decorated with designs that could either be all-over patterns that were linked with the floor in the adjacent *atrium*, and sometimes even with the paving of the sidewalk, or else carpet-like designs (often consisting of geometric patterns) with borders and also a threshold-panel that provided a decorative division-marker between the *fauces* and the *atrium*. The interlinking design is seen especially in the stone-inserted *fauces*-flooring, whether composed principally of mortar or of mosaic. Even though we lack information as to whether or not decorative threshold-panels or proper thresholds existed for these stone-inserted *fauces*-mosaics, it is plausible to suggest that there were not, as they almost in all cases correspond in design with the *atrium*-mosaics. The same interlinking principle is seen on the plain and mono- or bichrome floors, whether in mortar or mosaic. Such floors signalled, in this way, that the two spaces – *fauces* and *atrium* – belonged together. Expectation of a richly embellished house is especially aroused by *fauces*-mosaics that make use of luxurious polychrome marble-pieces, reminders of Roman expansion overseas.

Decorative threshold-panels were nevertheless also used as division-markers in some mortar-paved *fauces*; a design-feature which is also found in some early *fauces*-mosaics. They characterise both mortar- and mosaic-floors especially during the periods of the 1st and 2nd

¹²⁷⁶ Clarke 1979, p. 12.

¹²⁷⁷ See Thiis-Evensen 1991, p. 73: “[...] human portrayals are associated with something, which “hurts” to step on. To put one’s foot directly on the face of a human portrayal is most uncomfortable. A physical conflict arises between reality and illusion, between the form and image”.

styles (and into the early 3rd style).¹²⁷⁸ The very ornate threshold-panel in the earliest extant house-entrance at Pompeii known to have been tessellated, the *fauces* of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), demonstrates this trend well. However, floors that featured threshold-panels could at the same time present patterns in their principal surface-area that offered directional signals to visitors making their way into the house. In a sense, the visitor was both urged by the mosaics to move inside but then also to stop before proceeding further. In *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), navigational guidance is offered by the triangular cut stones of the main *opus sectile*-floor that seem to point into the house. The optical barrier of the tessellated threshold prompts a stop, but soon admission is granted through the space between the two theatrical masks shown tilted towards the interior. A design with comparable directional signs implicit within it is seen in the late Republican *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12), where the city-wall motif of the threshold-panel articulates a natural stop, whereas the (red-coloured) shields placed above the city-wall and its central gate are tilted and prompt movement further into the house.

From the core-sample, the houses of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), *VI 13,13* (no. 8), *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1), *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12) and also *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), present richly decorated (figurative and floral) threshold-panels. Geometric designs (triangular ornaments) are found on them in *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4), *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20), and *Officina offectoria di Ubonius*, (IX 3,2, no. 26). The main period for these mosaics is the late Republican and Augustan period. The use of two separate mosaic-floors in a *fauces*-passage, one main floor and one threshold-panel, as seen in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), is also found in *VI 13,13* (no. 8). The early date (2nd style-period) of the two mosaics in this entryway, together with its topographical proximity to *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), suggests that the inspiration for it came from this neighbouring, impressive and much older, house. Later, in the period of the 4th style, tessellated threshold-panels tended to be less distinctly articulated (see, e.g., the thin marked out lines or empty panels in *Cd Poeta tragico*, VI 8,3/5, no. 5; *Cd Orso*, VII 2,45, no. 14, and *Palaestra*, VIII 2,23, no. 22). The panel featuring squares with stylised flowers in the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25) is an “exception that proves the rule”. In other cases, however, the panels were not even present, and a new format (or rather a new one reinvented) had become fashionable: one which contrived to link the *fauces* with the *atrium* straightforwardly by the laying of one continuous mosaic over the floors of both (*Cd Marcus Lucretius*, IX 3,5/24, no. 27, and *IX 5,6*, no. 28).

“Navigational” patterns may be found in mosaics of all sorts: those with stone-inserts, geometric patterns or figurative compositions. Interestingly, though, certain popular navigational patterns seen on mortar-floors (e.g., the multi-lined rows of *tesserae* or the imbrication-pattern) were not reprised to the same extent on their mosaic equivalents. Distinctly new was the fashion for floral and figurative compositions, although such compositions do exist on mortar-paved *fauces* (e.g., one case featuring the design of the

¹²⁷⁸ Ehrhardt 1998, p. 143.

“wheel of Fortune”) but to a much lesser extent. Designs taken from the real world instead of “abstract” patterns provided another way of highlighting the *fauces*-floor, and of prompting the visitor to pause slightly, and would distinguish the period of mosaic-production from approximately the 50s B.C. onwards.

Many of the *fauces* in the core-sample were decorated during the transition-period between the late Republic and early Empire (see Table 14). Almost the whole repertoire of designs and subject-matter that we find on *fauces*-mosaics was present already during the late Republic. This repertoire includes plain and bichrome mosaics, mosaics with stone-inserts of limestone and later of marble, mosaics with geometric, floral and figurative compositions. An especially important room for purposes of comparison is the late Republican decorated *atriolum* of the bath-suite in *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4). The overall floor is made of a black mosaic with scattered white and polychrome stone-inserts (comparable with the *fauces*- and *atrium*-mosaics in *Cd Popidius Priscus*, VII 2,20, no. 13). The tessellated border around the *impluvium* in the *atriolum* consists of several panels, which exhibit: a floral pattern, a wild boar being chased by dogs, a crenelated city-wall, a pair of dolphins framing a trident, and a pair of *hippocampi* confronting a trident. The use of red-coloured details is exemplified in the entrance-mosaic to the bath’s *caldarium*, where an oil flask (*aryballos*) depicted is outlined in red, and where a bath-servant portrayed above, with a red-coloured penis, holds two red vessels. In other words, many of the motifs and design-features that are found on *fauces*-mosaics are also found on mosaics in the bath-section of one particular house in Pompeii. Evidently, the motifs chosen for this bath-suite were seen as equally appropriate for a *fauces*-passage, and the natural explanation for this must be that both spaces were designed so as to welcome and impress visitors, while also ensuring that no forces of evil would succeed in gaining admission.

Many of the floor-patterns characteristic of the late Republic are found later on as well. However, some are nonetheless most characteristic of specific time-periods. Floral patterns are attested primarily in the late Republican period,¹²⁷⁹ while geometric all-over patterns and mosaics with stone-inserts are mainly found in the 2nd and 3rd style-periods. The marine theme, featuring creatures and objects associated to the sea, also belongs also mainly to the repertoire of the late Republican 2nd style-period.

In Imperial times, all the above-mentioned patterns were still employed, although seemingly to a somewhat lesser extent. Instead, certain motifs that had not been widely employed for entrances before were now becoming more common: figurative representations of watchdogs and wild animals. The canine motif is found already from the late Republican period, and continues in use right up to the last phase, whereas the depiction of wild animals

¹²⁷⁹ Blake 1930, pp. 96, 108, discusses the designs of floral patterns, and asserts that there is a change from naturalistic to conventional and stylised from the 1st century A.D. onwards; Pernice 1938, p. 145, discusses the popularity of ivy-tendrils on particularly 2nd style-period mosaics and the acanthus-tendrils in the following period. Following after these, there are also more classical compositions belonging to the 3rd style-period, see de Vos 1979, p. 172, citing the example of the *fauces*-mosaic of *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16). However, for the present study, this particular mosaic has been assigned a dating to the late Republican 2nd style.

is mainly attributed to the later periods (although found on one particular *fauces*-mosaic assigned an Augustan date). With these figurative compositions came also a tendency towards *emblemata*. An unusual rendering of human figures, specifically wrestlers, are also found in a *fauces*-passage belonging to a late phase. The inclusion of inscriptions in *fauces*-mosaics is also a feature of the Imperial period, one being found in a probable Augustan context and others in two post-Claudian *fauces*-mosaics, where animals are displayed. *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), with its tessellated greeting on the sidewalk, may here have served as the inspiration for these.

Among the *fauces*-mosaics, those with geometric designs are the most numerous (14 mosaics), whereas the other categories account for scarcely a handful of examples each: stone-inlay group (four mosaics), plain-bichrome (four mosaics), floral patterns (five mosaics), marine motifs (four mosaics), wild animal motifs (four mosaics), canine motifs (three mosaics) and wrestlers (one mosaic). If we group together the last four categories of mosaics, i.e., all those containing figurative representations of animate beings (not excluding marine creatures and humans), these still number fewer (12 mosaics) than the total of those with geometric decoration. It should be noted that a number of *fauces*-mosaics exhibit a composite design made up of more than one type of decoration. For example, mosaics of the figurative group may include geometric compositions as well.

Pompeian *fauces*-mosaics hardly ever resemble one another closely. Of all the *fauces*-mosaics, only two are identical in type: the two all-white ones with black borders that continue without a threshold-panel into their *atria*. The two mosaics with imbrication-patterns are also similar, although the distribution of black-and-white seen in one is reversed in the other. In three threshold-panels with geometric patterning, a design featuring rows of triangles is exemplified. With these exceptions, however, patterns are individually composed, although similar designs may be found on the floors in other types of room around the city.

It seems quite obvious that pattern-books were used, especially for geometric patterns, that may have exact counterparts elsewhere. The motifs exemplified in floral and figurative compositions are found in other media as well, e.g., in wall-paintings, stucco and sculptures, and this suggests that decorative designs, generally, could find inspiration from a wider range of sources than just pattern-books. The patterns were not confined to the domestic sphere alone, but present also in public establishments (bath-houses and the amphitheatre) and within the religious sphere (temples and tombs).

House-owners could choose an individual or reworked version of the pattern, as we may see from representation of different sorts of animals. The variation in the appearance of watchdogs reflects the fact that different breeds were kept in the Roman society and that the tessellated guard-dogs were not mere stock models, although the question whether they represented any actual dogs that inhabited the houses concerned is naturally unanswerable. As for the wild animal motif, the megalographic paintings that mainly decorated peristyles are close parallels to our examples, although one of the *fauces*-mosaics (*Cd Cinghiale II*, VIII 2,26, no. 23) seems to predate these popular 4th style-paintings (as does the *atriolum*-mosaic

of *Cd Menandro*, I 10,4). The designing of *fauces*-mosaics was probably a joint effort by the house-owner and the mosaicist, planning together with reference to pre-existing patterns.

The marine theme, together with the single centaur-panel (*Cd Paquius Proculus*, I 7,1, no. 1) and the single luxuriant floral carpet-design (*Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I*, VII 16,12-13, no. 16) take the viewer into the milieu of myths. However, if we set aside the mythical figures of the centaurs, and theatrical masks' allusion to Dionysos in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), no figure from the realms of Graeco-Roman religion is ever depicted on the *fauces*-mosaics. Here, it is plausible that the act of stepping on a depicted divinity on the way into a house would have been perceived as disrespectful, hence the absence of such direct figurative representation. Instead, the new motif of the watchdogs spoke, appropriately enough in the *fauces*, of the everyday life of the family resident in the house, and of its need for protection. The wild animal motif did not allude in the same way to the space of the *fauces*, or to the house, but instead reflected the house-owners' interests and status. However, the wounds and eyes of the animals outlined in red could have been chosen as a way of ensuring the protection of the *fauces* from evil.

The depiction of wounded animals could have meant different things to different viewers. For a country land-owner from the appropriate social class and milieu it might be a reminder of the hunting activity of his peers. Or, if the viewer was instead (or also) a keen attender of hunting displays at the local arena, the animals could evoke the games that were regularly commissioned by leading members of Pompeian society. In this way, the house-owners could interest and impress fellow (male) citizens, whether it was by reminding them of the practice of hunting in the open country (a custom ubiquitous in Hellenistic and Roman rural life) or by referring to the urban *venatio*, the Roman spectator-sport open to the general public at the amphitheatre. Whatever class their visitors belonged to, they could be relied upon to approve of the manly virtue, which successful hunters of wild animals were assumed to exemplify.

Mosaics featuring marine themes have sometimes been interpreted as manifestations of particular sorts of political stance. Many of the symbols that appear in them do indeed invite interpretation as in some way connected with the political situation that characterised the late Republic. However, it is in my view equally important to emphasise the symbols' allusion to a generic maritime environment, as represented by Pompeii itself as a harbour-city under the protection of Venus Pompeiana. Consequently, it may be reasonable to assume that these mosaics were open for various interpretations, depending on the viewer.

The athletic theme of the wrestlers illustrated at Pompeii's so-called *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22) was one with a Hellenistic background, but the placement of the figures of two wrestlers in confrontation as a sort of advertisement in the *fauces* leading to a semi-public bath-establishment testifies to a completely new perception of how mosaics might be used (cf. the mosaics in public buildings at Ostia). Perhaps two more late-dated *fauces*-mosaics of the figurative sort may have served a similar function (the wounded bear in *Cd Orso*, VII 2,45, no. 14, and the *hippocampus*-chasing-dolphin motif in *Cd Centenario*, IX 8,3-6, no. 30). Through the wrestler-mosaic in *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22), it is evident that the

medium of the mosaic now could be used to announce the function of a public establishment, and not solely to enhance it decoratively.

In figurative compositions, many details were highlighted by the use of the colour red. In my view, it is probable that this colour was intended to serve a deliberate purpose: that of averting evil. It has often been believed, in the Mediterranean area and elsewhere, to possess an inherent protective force, so it would seem not unreasonable to detect this superstitious belief at work in the designing of *fauces*-mosaics at Pompeii.

As we saw in the section of tessellated inscriptions (chap. 2), the main communication was one of positive welcome, addressed to the visitor or to wealth in general. In a sense, this can be viewed as a form of protection: a greeting and evocation of good things to come together imply a hope and a prayer that evil may be averted. Two of the inscriptions that we find on *fauces*-mosaics appropriately contain the greetings *Have* and *Salve*. A third comes from a late-dated mosaic, where the warning, *Cave canem*, accompanying the depiction of a watchdog, can be interpreted as a humorous variation on the theme of protection. Overall, this mosaic illustrates well how *fauces*-décor could present paradoxes: the floor-decoration that visitors find beyond the tessellated watchdog is a traditional pattern composed of multi-lined rows of *tesserae*, which assures them that the entrance-corridor does indeed lead to the inside of the house if one manages to get past the dog.

The houses in the core-sample share a uniting component in the fact that they were extensively tessellated, with mosaics in many rooms. Such widespread tessellation, with precedent in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), is seen already in the 2nd style-period in a couple of houses, and in others it continues into the following style-periods. Conversely, only a handful of houses are included in the core-sample where there is mosaic-work in the *fauces*, but the *atrium*-floors, together with other rooms in the front part, are paved in mortar instead. The general chronological context of the floor-décor of these houses belongs to the 1st and 2nd style-periods.¹²⁸⁰

In one of her studies on Pompeian mosaics, de Vos discusses the Pompeian houses that really favoured, so to speak, a mosaic-“programme”; in many cases to such a degree that complete surfaces in the front area were tessellated in one and the same decoration-phase.¹²⁸¹ Such houses are, of course, included in the compilation-map of A.D. 79 of all the floor-types that paved the houses of Pompeii.¹²⁸² As mortar-paving was still the most common type in the last period, the houses that instead had mosaics laid over extensive areas stand out. Most of these houses also consist of those of the core-sample. In other words, *fauces*-mosaics communicated directly, to the outside world, the message that the rest of the house that contained them was widely tessellated.

¹²⁸⁰ *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), VI 13,13 (no. 8), *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26), and *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29). Information regarding *Cd Leone* (VI 17,25, no. 9) is lacking.

¹²⁸¹ De Vos 1979, pp. 172-173; 1991, p. 54.

¹²⁸² *Pompeii 1748-1980*, 1981.

Many of the *fauces*-mosaics are found in houses that share a topographical proximity to each other. Some are even found in one and the same *insula*, as is the case with the following houses. Along the western stretch, over the former city-wall, in the *Insula occidentalis*, we find *Cd Leone* (VI 17,25, no. 9) and *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11) together with *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I & II* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16/VII 16,15, no. 17). In the city-centre, we find *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13) together with *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14), and the *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26) together with *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27). Along the southern stretch, over the former city-wall, in *insula VIII 2*, we find seven houses: *Cd Championnet I & II* (VIII 2,1, no. 18/VIII 2,3, no. 19), *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20), *VIII 2,18* (no. 21), *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22), *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23) and *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24). To the north-east of the city-centre, we find the two remaining houses: *IX 5,6* (no. 28) and *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29).

The topographical pattern clearly shows how inspiration shared between neighbours resulted in the laying of *fauces*-mosaics, although sometimes in different time-periods. However, the motifs chosen for the mosaics do not correspond with any topographical pattern. In only a couple of cases do we find similar mosaic-types being chosen within one *insula* (first, the stone-inserted *fauces*-mosaics in *Cd Championnet I*, VIII 2,1, no. 18, and *Cd Severus*, VIII 2,29-30, no. 24, and second, the rows of *tesserae* in the *fauces*-mosaics of *Cd Championnet II*, VIII 2,3, no. 19, and *Cd Severus*, VIII 2,29-30, no. 24). To examine a case of emulation more closely, *insula VIII 2* was a city-block, which by A.D. 79 had come to contain both tessellated and mortar-paved *fauces*, which was an ordinary enough state of affairs, and yet the high incidence of *fauces*-mosaics within it makes it the most unusual city-block in Pompeii.¹²⁸³ The following survey moves from the south-west corner of the *insula* to the south-east.

¹²⁸³ The core-sample includes seven *fauces*-mosaics from this *insula*. However, there are two more potential *fauces*-mosaics, which due to unclear documentation (and non-preservation) have not been included (see chap. 1): a former mosaic in *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,30, i.e., the neighbouring *fauces* to the core-sample's *fauces* of VIII 2,29, no. 24), and one in *Cd L. Caecilius Phoebus* (VIII 2,36-37).

Table 13:

Fauces floor-types of *insula* VIII 2: mortar and mosaics

House	Floor-type in <i>fauces</i>
<i>Cd Championnet I</i> (VIII 2,1, no. 18)	mosaic-floor with larger polychrome marble-inserts on a black ground. Chronological group 2
<i>Cd Championnet II</i> (VIII 2,3, no. 19)	mosaic-floor with a black-and-white diagonal grid-pattern. Chronological group 2
VIII 2,13	mortar-floor (<i>cocciopesto</i>) with central, large six-petalled flower in white <i>tesserae</i> , framed by <i>peltae</i> . ¹²⁸⁴
<i>Cd Mosaici geometrici</i> (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20)	mortar-floor (<i>cocciopesto</i>) (= <i>fauces</i> in VIII 2,14). ¹²⁸⁵ mosaic-floor with black-and-white reticulate pattern (= <i>fauces</i> in VIII 2,16). Chronological group 2
VIII 2,18 (no. 21)	mosaic-floor, black with scattered white <i>tesserae</i> . Chronological group 2
<i>Palaestra</i> (VIII 2,23, no. 22)	mosaic-floor, white with two confronting wrestlers, rendered in black. Chronological group 3
<i>Cd Cinghiale II</i> (VIII 2,26, no. 23)	mosaic-floor with <i>emblema</i> of wild boar, black-and-white and polychrome, framed by a large meander. Chronological group 2
<i>Cd Ninfeo</i> (VIII 2,28)	mortar-floor with imbrication-pattern, framed by meander. ¹²⁸⁶
<i>Cd Severus</i> (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24)	mosaic-floor with large polychrome marble-inserts on a black ground (= <i>fauces</i> in VIII 2,29). Chronological group 3 mortar-floor (<i>cocciopesto</i>) with alternating meanders and squares. Middle threshold-panel with imbrication-pattern (= <i>fauces</i> in VIII 2,30). ¹²⁸⁷
<i>Cd Colombe a mosaico</i> (VIII 2,34)	mortar-floor (<i>cocciopesto</i>) with imbrication-pattern and a threshold-panel with meander. ¹²⁸⁸
<i>Cd L. Caecilius Phoebus</i> (VIII 2,36-37)	potential <i>fauces</i> -mosaic, <i>atrium</i> with mosaic (= <i>fauces</i> in VIII 2,37). ¹²⁸⁹
<i>Cd Giuseppe II</i> (VIII 2,39)	mortar-floor (unclear which type) with polychrome stones. ¹²⁹⁰

This overview of the *insula* can almost be regarded as presenting a microcosmic account of how Pompeian house-owners decorated their *fauces* from the Samnite period (e.g., *Cd Ninfeo*, VIII 2,28, attributed to the 1st style period) to the last days, except for the disproportionately high number of mosaics in comparison to the mortar-floors. The floor-designs that were chosen reflect in many ways the history of Pompeian *fauces*-floors. Many of the mortar-floors,

¹²⁸⁴ Pernice 1938, p. 102, pl. 46:4.

¹²⁸⁵ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, p. 153.

¹²⁸⁶ Pernice 1938, p. 72, pl. 30:6.

¹²⁸⁷ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 57, 61, 69; Pernice 1938, p. 73, pl. 31:4. See chap. 1 on a potential former *fauces*-mosaic in VIII 2,30.

¹²⁸⁸ Pernice 1938, pp. 74-75, pl. 31:2.

¹²⁸⁹ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 33, 36, 44; Pernice 1938, p. 116. See chap. 1 for a discussion of the *fauces* in VIII 2,37.

¹²⁹⁰ Noack & Lehmann-Hartleben 1936, pp. 20, 30 (the floor-type is simply labelled as “Estrich”); Pernice 1938, pp. 42-43, does not mention the *fauces*-floor but only the old mortar-floors of other rooms in this part. In *Pompei 1748-1980*, 1981, the *fauces*-floor is indicated as decorated with “scaglie colorate”.

in the red version of *cocciopesto*, present a similar design of imbrication and meander (and if not found on the *fauces*-floor, this composite design might decorate other rooms in the *atrium*-area, see e.g., *Cd Giuseppe II*, VIII 2,39). Thus, this composite design clearly testifies to house-owners who took immediate inspiration from each other, especially since the houses concerned are found in the easternmost section of the *insula*. The *fauces*-mosaics present in turn a variety of designs, although two in fact are close to each other in the technique used (polychrome marble-inserts), which makes them rare. Other mosaic-designs found here are of the plain-bichrome type, together with geometric patterns and figurative compositions (wrestlers and a wild boar). Floral design is represented by one of the mortar-paved *fauces*.

Table 14: *Fauces*-mosaic motifs classified according to proposed dates

This classification has been made in order to illustrate certain trends. The earliest tessellated *fauces* (chronological group 1) in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7), with the main floor in polychrome *opus sectile* and the tessellated threshold-panel with a mask-and-garland design, is not included.

Motif	Proposed date/chronological group	House/ <i>fauces</i>
Geometric	Late Republican: 2 nd style: group 2	<i>Cd Ancora</i> (VI 10,7, no. 6): one of two mosaics
Geometric	Late Republican: 2 nd style: group 2	<i>VI 13,13</i> (no. 8): one of two mosaics
Geometric	Late Republican: 2 nd style: group 2	<i>Cd Bracciale d'oro</i> (VI 17,44, no. 11)
Geometric	Late Republican: 2 nd style: group 2	<i>Cd Championnet II</i> (VIII 2,3, no. 19)
Geometric	Augustan: 2 nd /3 rd style: group 2	<i>Cd Mosaici geometrici</i> (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20)
Geometric	Late Republican: 2 nd style: group 2	<i>Officina offectoria di Ubonius</i> (IX 3,2, no. 26)
Geometric	Late Republican/Augustan: 2 nd -3 rd style: group 2	<i>Cd Vestali</i> (VI 1,7/25, no. 4)
Geometric	Augustan: 2 nd -3 rd style: group 2	<i>Cd Marinaio</i> (VII 15,1-2, no. 15)
Geometric	Late Republican: 2 nd style: group 2	<i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II</i> (VII 16,15, no. 17)
Geometric	Augustan: 3 rd style: group 2	<i>Cd Cinghiale II</i> (VIII 2,26, no. 23)
Geometric	Claudian: late 3 rd /early 4 th style: group 3	<i>Cd Severus</i> (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24)
Geometric	Post-Claudian: 4 th style: group 3	<i>Cd Poeta tragico</i> (VI 8,3/5, no. 5)
Geometric	(Post-)Claudian: late 3 rd /early 4 th styles: group 3	<i>Cd Orso</i> (VII 2,45, no. 14)
Geometric	(Post-)Claudian: 4 th style: group 3	<i>Cd Cinghiale I</i> (VIII 3,8, no. 25)
patterns w. stone-inlays	Late Republican: 2 nd style: group 2	<i>Cd Popidius Priscus</i> (VII 2,20, no. 13)
patterns w. stone-inlays	Late Republican: 2 nd style: group 2	<i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II</i> (VII 16,15, no. 17)
patterns w. stone-inlays	Augustan: 3 rd style: group 2	<i>Cd Championnet I</i> (VIII 2,1, no. 18)
patterns w. stone-inlays	Claudian: late 3 rd /early 4 th style: group 3	<i>Cd Severus</i> (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24)
Plain-bichrome	Late Republican/early Augustan: 2 nd style: group 2	<i>Praedia di Iulia Felix</i> (II 4,1-12, no. 2)
Plain-bichrome	Augustan: 3 rd style: group 2	<i>VIII 2,18</i> (no. 21)
Plain-bichrome	Post-Claudian: 4 th style: group 3	<i>Cd Marcus Lucretius</i> (IX 3,5/24, no. 27)
Plain-bichrome	Post-Claudian: 4 th style: group 3	<i>IX 5,6</i> (no. 28)

Floral	Late Republican: 2 nd style: group 2	<i>VI 13,13</i> (no. 8): one of two mosaics
Floral	Late Republican: 2 nd style: group 2	<i>Cd Bracciale d'oro</i> (VI 17,42, no. 10)
Floral	Late Republican: 2 nd style: group 2	<i>Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I</i> (VII 16,12-13, no. 16)
Floral	(Post-)Claudian: 4 th style: group 3	<i>Cd Cinghiale I</i> (VIII 3,8, no. 25)
Floral	-	<i>Cd Ristorante</i> (IX 5,14-16, no. 29)
Figurative: marine	Late Republican: 2 nd style: group 2	<i>Cd Ancora</i> (VI 10,7, no. 6): one of two mosaics
Figurative: marine	Late Republican: 2 nd style: group 2	<i>Cd M. Caesius Blandus</i> (VII 1,40, no. 12)
Figurative: marine	Augustan: 2 nd /3 rd style: group 2	<i>Cd Marinaio</i> (VII 15,1-2, no. 15)
Figurative: marine	Post-Claudian: 4 th style: group 3	<i>Cd Centenario</i> (IX 8,3-6, no. 30)
Figurative: wild animals	-	<i>Cd Leone</i> (VI 17,25, no. 9)
Figurative: wild animals	(Post-)Claudian: late 3 rd /early 4 th style: group 3	<i>Cd Orso</i> (VII 2,45, no. 14)
Figurative: wild animals	Augustan: 3 rd style: group 2	<i>Cd Cinghiale II</i> (VIII 2,26, no. 23)
Figurative: wild animals	(Post-)Claudian: 4 th style: group 3	<i>Cd Cinghiale I</i> (VIII 3,8, no. 25)
Figurative: canine	Late Republican: 2 nd style: group 2	<i>Cd Paquius Proculus</i> (I 7,1, no. 1)
Figurative: canine	Claudian: 3 rd style: group 3	<i>Cd Caecilius Lucundus</i> (V 1,23-26, no. 3)
Figurative: canine	Post-Claudian: 4 th style: group 3	<i>Cd Poeta tragico</i> (VI 8,3/5, no. 5)
Figurative: wrestlers	Claudian: late 3 rd /early 4 th style: group 3	<i>Palaestra</i> (VIII 2,23, no. 22)

7 Conclusions

The focus of this study has been on the entrances, *fauces*, to the *atrium*-houses in Pompeii that were decorated with mosaic-floors. Despite their intermediate position between the outside and the inside, the *fauces* have rarely been included as a subject worthy of serious consideration in scholarly assessments of *atrium*-houses. The decoration of the *fauces* has also been inadequately studied, and hence, uncritical conceptions have continued to repeat that the *fauces* were frequently adorned with mosaics that either depict animals or feature tessellated inscriptions. One aim of this dissertation, therefore, has been to revise this generalising perception, for in reality its “core-sample”, consisting of the collected *fauces*-mosaics of Pompeii, shows firstly how limited in number such mosaics actually were, featuring as they do in the interior decoration of only 29 houses of over four hundred, and it secondly shows how these mosaics conveyed a greater range of messages than salutations and protective warnings, important though these may be thought.

The point of departure for the present study has been the idea of communication. The presupposition underlying this is that mosaics, being the most conspicuous form of decoration for entrance-floors, embodied a wish on the part of the household to communicate with society. The aim has been to approach the Roman perception of the entrance through study of its décor over a period of time. Principal questions have centred on how such communication was conveyed by visual means and whether the houses concerned shared a similar status that could explain their uniting feature: possession of a tessellated entrance.

During the later Samnite period (from the late 3rd century B.C. to the Roman conquest in the 80s B.C.), Pompeii was a city much under the influence of Hellenistic culture. In the 2nd century B.C., a major boom in the construction of imposing *domus* around the city was the context of the tessellation of at least one specific house-entrance. The palatial house of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) features the oldest *fauces*-mosaic known to us, dated to around 100 B.C. For this reason, the house has been regarded and described, in chap. 3 of this study, as a model for other houses of later date. The very fact that its entrance was decorated in such a conspicuous way was seminal in its effect. In front of the distinguished portal of the house, the sidewalk was adorned with a tessellated inscription issuing the greeting *Have*, which immediately expressed a welcoming attitude towards the community. Henceforth, similar tessellated inscriptions would decorate many houses, especially the front parts, i.e., the sidewalk, the *fauces* and the *atrium*, testifying to a shared cultural language, which was found all over the Hellenistic world. The inscriptions voiced essentially positive attitudes through greetings to passers-by and visitors of the houses, expressions of pride in achievements or

wishes for prosperity and affluence. Of all the collected inscriptions (27 in number), looked at in chap. 2, only a handful convey protective or warning messages, the most evident (and famous) example being *Cave canem* (Beware of the dog) that accompanied the watchdog-mosaic in the *fauces* of *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), dated to a late stage in Roman Pompeii's history.

Interestingly, the designs of the two *fauces*-floors in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) would not be reprised in the succeeding series of *fauces*-mosaics, which would emerge in the 50s B.C. However, the polychrome rendering of the mosaic in the threshold-panel adjacent to the *atrium*, in addition to the very idea of demarcating spaces by means of a threshold-panel, would have counterparts among some of the late Republican tessellation schemes. The use of precious stones, too, in mosaics, as well as visual allusion to the Dionysian sphere would characterise some of the later *fauces*-mosaics, though in different formats from those seen in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7).

The most common type of flooring for *fauces* from the Samnite period down to A.D. 79, was, in fact, composed not of mosaics but of mortar, most often in the red *cocciopesto* version or the black *lavapesta*, as we saw in chaps. 3 and 6. Depending on how these floors were embellished, different attitudes could be conveyed, many of which would be replicated by *fauces*-mosaics of comparable design.

As a way of approaching the interpretation of *fauces*-mosaics and the messages they conveyed, a distinction has been drawn between three basic types of mortar-floors: 1). plain or monochrome/bichrome all-over flooring-schemes that might be continued in the *atrium*, 2). mortar-flooring with polychrome stone-inserts that offered a highly decorative and luxurious background (to daily life), and finally 3). a carpet-like style with inserted *tesserae* in geometric patterns, framed by borders, that might convey suggestions for movement and entering. Throughout the early period (the period of the 1st and 2nd styles), the flooring of houses might connect the sidewalk with the *fauces* and the *atrium*, while visibly marked out and decorative thresholds came to be included. Especially from the 2nd style-period onwards, many mortar-floors had panels at the border where the *fauces* met the *atria*, and these implicitly requested that the visitor pay attention to the transition. In the case of the *fauces*-mosaics, too, tessellated thresholds would be a characteristic liminal feature up until the last period (the early 4th style), when, instead, they tended to be downplayed or even omitted all together. In this respect, these late mosaic-designs resembled the early, mortar-paved *fauces* that had direct interconnection with the *atria* to which they led.

However, the media of mortar and mosaic differed on many levels. A first crucial difference is that the *fauces*-mosaics marked a distinct break with the world outside the house. Pompeian sidewalks could be decorated in mortar and with decorative stone-inlays, but hardly ever (if at all) in tessellation. Thus, there was never a transitional connection between *fauces*-mosaics and the outside world. This conclusion is further borne out by research findings about the different architectural design-solutions adopted in the building of Pompeian *fauces* and the number of door-sets within them, which have been discussed in chap. 3. All the *fauces*-mosaics were closed off and hidden by doors, at least during the night,

which further strengthened the perception of their belonging to the inside. This is particularly clear in the cases, within the core-sample, where the divided *fauces*-layout resulted in one outer and one inner section. While the inner, closed off, section was tessellated, the outer section, open (in most cases) to the outside, was never tessellated, but paved in mortar. This in turn suggests that mosaic-paving signalled a higher status than mortar, as it was not trampled upon in the same unconcerned manner as the sidewalk and the outer *fauces* naturally were.

Another difference between mortar- and mosaic-floors lay in colour-schemes and their impact. As has been discussed in chap. 3, the relatively dark colouring of *fauces*-décor in general, both wall-paintings and mortar-floors, resulted in a rather dimmed space. It is important to emphasise here, nonetheless, that the floor-surfaces were polished, and particularly when the mortar was decorated by inserted white and polychrome stones, some brightness could indeed be achieved. But in the case of tessellated *fauces*, the dark impression was relieved by bichrome contrasts, as the mosaics were mainly examples of the black-and-white technique, which was a departure from the old Greek tradition of polychrome mosaic-work. The most common colour-scheme for *fauces*-mosaics was white for the background and black for the decorative pattern. In some of the *fauces*-mosaics, added colours could further emphasise certain details, while in others, polychrome pieces of marble or limestone inserted into the black-and-white background added extra vividness to the general impression. In short, when mosaics were employed for *fauces*-floors, it was likely that the entrance-space would be perceived as lighter than those floored with mortar. This extra lightness would have made a significant impact, given that many *fauces* consisted of long and narrow corridors without good lighting.

A further difference were the new patterns that were employed for the *fauces*-mosaics. As we have seen from chap. 6, mosaic-paving offered greater scope than mortar for elaborate decoration. This is best illustrated by the floral and figurative compositions. In general, the mortar-floors of Pompeian *fauces* had not been noted for a rich figurative idiom, but when the second group of *fauces*-mosaics emerged around 50 B.C., more or less realistic representations of animals, objects and flowers became part of the new repertoire. A marine theme characterised some of these first mosaics, very much in line with a general trend seen elsewhere in the Hellenistic world (e.g., on Delos), which would fit a harbour-city like Pompeii. Alongside the floral and figurative expressions there were also plain and bichrome *fauces*-mosaics, stone-inserted *fauces*-mosaics (where the precious pieces of marble, replacing limestone, would bring to mind the Roman conquests overseas) and geometric patterns on *fauces*-mosaics, that all would remain in use until the end.

However, certain patterns on the mortar-floors that have been perceived as offering navigational aids came to be employed on the *fauces*-mosaics to a far lesser extent. Such patterns illustrate the kind of floor-décor that was traditionally regarded as appropriate for the entrance. With regard to the new designs, broadly outlined vogues can be identified as consisting of, initially, marine and floral themes (in the 2nd style-period), while watchdogs

and wild animals were in fashion mainly at a later stage (particularly in the 4th style-period but present already in the 2nd style-period).

In the case of the emerging floral patterns and figurative compositions, the mosaicists evidently had pattern-books or pre-existing models to work from, as similar versions of the same design are found elsewhere. Nevertheless, the tessellated outcomes are hardly ever exactly alike. It therefore seems plausible to assume that house-owners were actively involved in the selection of patterns, even if this was in collaboration with the mosaicists. Furthermore, the inspiration for the pattern-selection for a *fauces*-mosaic hardly ever came from another such mosaic belonging to the householder next door, even though the present study has shown how the houses featuring tessellated *fauces* were indeed found in spatial clusters around the city; some even in the same *insula*. Emulation mainly took the form of joining in the fashion for tessellation, not pattern-copying engaged in between neighbours.

The study, summarised in chap. 5, of the Pompeian houses containing mosaic-decorated *fauces*, presents, in the first place, a more or less uniform selection of very large houses, either double *atrium*-houses or terrace-houses that climb the former city-wall to the west or the south. These are almost all adorned with peristyle-gardens, two of which are the largest at Pompeii, and another two, unparalleled sunken gardens. In only a handful of cases are the houses smaller, which, for at least two of the examples, suggests aspirations on the part of their owners, in the last period, to share in the cultural idiom associated with the city's larger residences. One of these small houses even had a piped connection to the aqueduct, which was a relatively rare situation, shared by less than half of the houses concerned. Slightly more houses, almost half of the sample (13 houses out of 29), featured private bath-suites, even including some that were not connected to the aqueduct. In general, the interior decoration of the houses was of high quality, and the houses were generally adorned with many mosaics, something which makes them remarkable in the city on the whole. In nearly all of the houses, the *atrium* and *tablinum* were also tessellated, which meant that the visitor could more or less count on a highly tessellated interior when entering a house with a *fauces*-mosaic. In short, the study shows that the house-owners were conveying a message about shared status by means of their tessellated entrances.

In many of the cases, the laying of the *fauces*-mosaics went hand in hand with a major (re)construction- and/or decoration-phase, perhaps aimed at the enlargement of the house or its embellishment by, for example, a bath-suite. Such refurbishment of private residences was especially characteristic of the period between the late Republic and early Empire, when most of the *fauces* in the sample received their tessellation: 18 *fauces* out of 30 (between *c.* 50 B.C. to *c.* A.D. 20). This chronological group is termed the second, succeeding *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 12). Many of the mosaics have traditionally been assigned a date to the Augustan period, but the present study has shown, in chap. 4, that some re-evaluations of the datings are called for in the light of new archaeological investigations of the houses concerned. Consequently, some of the mosaics are now attributed to the late Republic instead of the early Empire. Moreover, in the history of *fauces*-tessellation, there seems to be a time-lacuna between the chronological group 2 and that of group 3. This spans from the “post-Augustan”

to the Claudian period (from *c.* A.D. 20-40/50). For the present study, this apparent gap in production is treated as artificial, as it seems unlikely that no *fauces*-mosaics were laid down during that generation. However, to be clear, no *fauces*-mosaic has been assigned a dating to this period. But to underline that this lacuna seems problematic, the intermediate years between these two emperors are here proposed to be considered as within the production-period of the third chronological group of mosaics. This period spans from around A.D. 40-50 to 79, during which nine *fauces* were tessellated.

Considerations of dating demonstrate that there was more of a tendency to keep an older mosaic-floor than there was to keep an old wall-painting, and this can be explained by the fact that mosaics were more durable if maintained correctly. It seems, too, that mosaic-designs could be acceptable for longer periods without going out of fashion. In short, mosaics were evidently esteemed highly enough for later owners to preserve them. The first group of *fauces*-mosaics to succeed *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) notably includes several clustered together in the terrace-houses to the west and the south, which indicates that, in the course of a period beginning in the late Republic and continuing into the early Empire, their owners had a taste for this particular means of distinctive self-presentation, when looking at the city on the whole. The investigation, in chap. 5, of the way in which tessellated *fauces* were clustered within the topography of the city, revealed a predominance of examples in busy side-streets, rather than major thoroughfares. It seems probable that their owners were inspired to decorative innovations by an exchange of ideas with other residents living close by. The reason, then, for the reversed scenario of few tessellated entrances along the principal thoroughfares of the city may find an explanation in a more old-fashioned taste of the house-owners here, and/or their belonging to long-established families who did not need to seek further prestige.

The investigation, in chap. 3, of the architectural designs of the *fauces* included in the core-sample has confirmed that Mau was right to query, long ago, the supposition that the architectural prescriptions of Vitruvius were followed exactly in Pompeian *atrium*-houses. In other words, as chap. 2 has illustrated, it is futile to search for large *vestibula* opening to the street, as described by ancient writers who had in mind the imposing *domus* of Rome. At Pompeii, the entrances were of varied architectural forms, they might be wide and short as well as long and narrow, either undivided or divided, although the long undivided corridor is the most common version. Despite the fact that the divided entrances could be designed with outer sections open to the street, the *fauces* of Pompeii cannot be regarded as, in essence, waiting-rooms or the like, as has previously been argued. One may furthermore query whether the ritual of *salutatio*, in which clients paid visits to their *patronus* in the early morning hours, was an institution as prevalent in Pompeii as it was in the capital. Today's research is inclined to downplay the importance of the custom in the context of Pompeii, while not ruling it out entirely.

If one hypothetically excludes an all-important *salutatio* from a house-owner's daily schedule, it becomes difficult, as I have argued, to classify specific types of visitors to a Pompeian *atrium*-house. For this reason, this study has been mainly focused on the issue of

the messages conveyed by *fauces*-mosaics and how they may have reflected the Roman perception of the entrance to a *domus*. Several attitudes may be discerned, which need to be considered in relation to the dichotomy about which modern scholars argue, according to which the Pompeian *atrium*-house was characterised either with an open or a closed-off stance towards the outside. It has become clear, as seen through the mosaics, that the general attitude conveyed by the *fauces* was one of welcome, directed primarily towards invited visitors to the house, but also to some degree to the passers-by in the street. However, as the study shows, the *fauces*-mosaics tended to be most visible to individuals who are already standing inside the *fauces*. When the outer doors were closed, the mosaics were all hidden from any gaze. However, if the outer door-set was left open, an inner door-set at the *atrium*-entrance could provide protective closure to the house while allowing a look at the *fauces*-mosaics. Thus, if this option were chosen, the house-owners could present the house in a somewhat paradoxical manner, encouraging people to view its interior, while still maintaining a safe distance. In many respects, the designs of the *fauces*-mosaics also reflect this attitude.

The Roman view of an entrance was very much one of reverence, arising from awareness that this liminal space marked a really important transition between the outside and the inside. Although superstitious and religious beliefs surrounded the entrance, divinities were rarely depicted on its walls and never represented in the decoration of its floor. A plausible reading is that a stepping upon such an image would have been regarded, at the very least, as inappropriate. Instead, the mosaics voiced attitudes that might centre more on mundane matters relating to the house-owners' interests and/or self-presentation. The function of the *fauces* as an entrance might be specifically underlined. In one *fauces*-mosaic from the last period, a depiction of wrestlers even acted as a signboard advertising the function of the particular building, which contained a semi-public bath-complex. This sort of mosaic-design was one that would become more common in the later Imperial period, as seen at Ostia.

To sum up: in the various messages and attitudes conveyed by the *fauces*-mosaics, and thus in the Pompeian perception of the entrance to a *domus*, the general tendency was to communicate a welcome to the outside world while drawing attention to the house itself and, at the same time, the status of its owner. Admittedly the welcome was offered in a cautious and sometimes also in a defensive way.

By means of certain floor-designs, the *fauces* could be linked with both the sidewalk and the *atrium*. On the other hand, through the employment of demarcated threshold-panels placed just before the *atrium*, a stop was instead requested, and the visitor was urged to pay attention to the entrance itself and its décor before moving on. In some of the tessellated *fauces* one might notice both the navigational advice offered by a pattern that drew a visitor towards the *atrium*, and a design conveying some deeper message. Such designs might consist of dolphins, watchdogs, wild animals, city-walls, military paraphernalia, floral imagery and tessellated inscriptions.

Mosaic-pavements of this figurative sort, though composed primarily of black and white *tesserae*, sometimes featured added colours, which seem to have had the primary purpose of

highlighting details and giving an animated appearance to the living animals and things depicted. It is also suggested in the present study that the particular use of the red colour, especially when seen in the eyes of the animals portrayed, reflected a superstitious Roman belief in the defensive, apotropaic, strength inherent in this colour. The addition of red to the colour-range of certain figurative *fauces*-mosaics was perhaps thought an appropriate sign of watch-keeping function of the animals (and things) represented.

One particular way in which the *fauces*-mosaics with figurative compositions differed from repetitive geometric patterns or floral motifs that were designed to be seen from any angle, was that the figures in them were normally turned towards the street, which underlined the important relation of the *fauces* with the outside world. As the majority of Pompeian mosaics with figurative compositions were located either in the *fauces* or in bath-suites, it seems reasonable to conclude that in both places such mosaics fulfilled the same purpose of greeting and impressing the visitors while simultaneously protecting the space in which they were situated. Furthermore, it would seem that a variety of parallel messages could be signalled in the mosaics, which might communicate with several groups at the same time while reflecting the several concerns and interests of the house-owner. The figure of a dog no doubt had reference to the protection of the house but could also indicate a specific breed for which the owner had particular fondness. Dolphins, anchors and ships' prows were natural symbols for a harbour-city like Pompeii but, within Roman art, might also convey political allusions. Marble-inserts, on the one hand, evoked the utmost luxury, while also having political connotations in view of the expansion of Roman power overseas.

Considered all together, the findings of the present study of *fauces*-mosaics highlight a paradoxical contradiction implicit within the attitude of certain Pompeian householders towards the decoration of their house-entrances. It seems, on the one hand, that out of a wish to present their house as favourably as possible, they aimed to draw attention to it, but that on the other hand, they thought it necessary to stop and remind anyone venturing inside it to enter with good intentions only. Sometimes humour is apparent in the cautious welcome. In other cases, the message conveyed was about enhanced status of the house and, consequently, of its owner.

In sum, the *fauces*-mosaics decorated a limited number of houses while many of the other imposing *domus* around the city retained mortar-floors in their *fauces*. Occasionally, mortar-paving, too, could be richly embellished, but with mosaic as a medium, positively startling visual effects were obtainable by householders with the ambition to impress their fellow-citizens. A *fauces*-mosaic could present, in contrasting black and white with touches of colours, manifold imaginative variations on traditional visual themes, so as to provide a most memorable focal point, both arresting and full of interest, for a visitor's attention.

8 Appendix: *fauces*-décor in three collections

Abbreviations:

C = *Cocciopesto* (red mortar-floor), G = Graffiti, L = *Lavapesta* (black mortar-floor)
M = Mosaic, P = *Programmata*

Collection 1: *Häuser in Pompeji*

House	<i>Fauces</i> -walls (dado; main zone; upper zone)	<i>Fauces</i> -floor	<i>Atrium</i> -floor	<i>Atrium</i> -walls (dado; main zone; upper zone)
<i>Cd Principe di Napoli</i> (VI 15,7/8) Strocka 1984: <i>Häuser in Pompeji</i> 1 (pp. 18-20, 35, 42)	4 th style: black; black; white isodomic blockwork (2 nd style). Ochre-coloured pilasters by <i>atrium</i> w. Priapus (?)	1 st style-period: L w. white <i>tesserae</i> -rows	2 nd style-period: L w. white <i>tesserae</i> -rows	4 th style: black; red (w. birds); white isodomic blockwork (2 nd style)
<i>Cd Orso</i> (VII 2,44 – 46) Ehrhardt 1988: <i>Häuser in Pompeji</i> 2 (pp. 16-25, 60)	4 th style: red dado; yellow/red w. small medallions and flying figures; white upper zone	4 th style-period: M (wounded bear, w. inscription <i>Have</i>), block-pattern	4 th style-period: M (white w. black squares/ honeycomb-pattern)	4 th style, few remains; similar to <i>fauces</i>
<i>Cd Ceii</i> (I 6,15) Michel 1990: <i>Häuser in Pompeji</i> 3 (pp. 18-26, 70-75)	3 rd style (late): purple-red; red; white (w. <i>pinakes</i> of still-life and living motifs: amphorae, kantharoi etc.). Painted ceiling, white w. plants	1 st style-period: L w. white <i>tesserae</i> -rows	1 st style-period: L w. white <i>tesserae</i> -rows	3 rd style (late): same colour-palette as <i>fauces</i>
<i>Cd Labirinto</i> (VI 11,8 – 10) Strocka 1991: <i>Häuser in Pompeji</i> 4 (pp. 18-30, 97-102, 111, 116, 127)	Nr. 9: 2 nd style: orthostats and isodomic blockwork in purple, yellow, green Nr. 10: 2 nd style: orthostats and isodomic blockwork: ochre dado w. green and purple; black w. red; Corinthian capitals by <i>atrium</i>	Nr. 9: 2 nd style-period: L w. white <i>tesserae</i> -rows; outer <i>fauces</i> w. mortar w. stone-inlays (1 st style-period) Nr. 10: 4 th style-period: C	Nr. 9: L w. white <i>tesserae</i> -rows Nr. 10: 4 th style-period: C	Nr. 9: 2 nd style: orthostats and isodomic blockwork in purple, yellow, black (main field), red Nr. 10: 1 st style: orthostats and isodomic blockwork: ochre dado w. red band, black orthostats in middle w. purple remains
<i>Cd Amorini dorati</i> (VI 16,7/38) Seiler 1992: <i>Häuser in Pompeji</i> 5 (pp. 20-25)	3 rd style: black marble-imitation; black w. thin ochre columns; white w. still-life	3 rd style-period (?): C w. scattered white <i>tesserae</i> , white and black stones (four different floor-layers)	C or L (? = <i>signinum</i>) w. white <i>tesserae</i> -rows or in a square-pattern; much destroyed	3 rd style: black; red; red w. landscape-views

<i>Cd Ara massima</i> (VI 16,15 – 17) Stemmer 1992: <i>Häuser in Pompeji</i> 6 (pp. 16-21)	4 th style: red dado; white G	4 th style-period: C	4 th style-period: C (three different floor-layers)	4 th style: yellow; red/white w. myth. motifs/large painted <i>lararium</i>
<i>Cd Granduca</i> (VII 4,56) Staub Gierow 1994: <i>Häuser in Pompeji</i> 7 (pp. 20-23)	Nothing preserved but terracotta reliefs on wall w. lotus/palmettes	C w. scattered white <i>tesserae</i>	L w. white <i>tesserae</i> , forming squares	3 rd /4 th style: black dado; red; painted <i>lararium</i> ; badly preserved
<i>Cd Capitelli figurati</i> (VII 4,57) Staub Gierow 1994: <i>Häuser in Pompeji</i> 7 (pp. 48-51)	Partially 1 st style but mainly 3 rd : dark-red/black; yellow w. floral motifs; purple	L w. white <i>tesserae</i> -rows, towards <i>atrium</i> a geometric pattern, incl. triangles	L w. marble stones in a rhomboid/reticulate pattern	Candelabra style, 2 nd /3 rd style w. traces of white, ochre, red, blue, green
<i>Cd Fontana piccola</i> (VI 8,23 – 24) Fröhlich 1996: <i>Häuser in Pompeji</i> 8 (pp. 16-20, 51-53, 68-69)	Nr. 23: 4 th style: black; red; white and green w. small motifs Nr. 24: 4 th style: purple-red w. plants; yellow/black w. still-life; isodomic blockwork	Nr. 23: 1 st style-period: L w. white <i>tesserae</i> -rows Nr. 24: 1 st style-period: L w. white scattered <i>tesserae</i>	Nr. 23: 1 st style-period: L w. white <i>tesserae</i> -rows Nr. 24: 1 st style-period: L w. white <i>tesserae</i> -rows	Nr. 23: 4 th style: red dado; red/yellow w. maenads/satyrs Nr. 24: red dado; red/yellow
<i>Cd Paquius Proculus</i> (I 7,1/15) Ehrhardt 1998: <i>Häuser in Pompeji</i> 9 (pp. 25-38)	4 th style: black dado; black middle zone, white panels above (w. yellow/red/green), candelabra; white upper zone w. garlands P on outer (western) <i>fauces</i> -wall	Outer <i>fauces</i> , L w. red pieces of tile, inner <i>fauces</i> w. M (watchdog), 2 nd style-period	2 nd style-period: M (lacunar all-over pattern w. figures: animals, human portraits, various objects)	4 th style: black dado; red/yellow; white w. green garlands, cf. <i>fauces</i>
<i>Cd Parete nera</i> (VII 4,58 – 60) Staub Gierow 2000: <i>Häuser in Pompeji</i> 10 (pp. 22-24)	Not much preserved: 3 rd style, red traits; protruding pilasters, violet	L w. white <i>tesserae</i> -pattern, e.g., meander	1 st style-period: L w. scattered polychrome stone-inlays	Few remains, 3 rd style: black dado w. plants; red panels
<i>Cd Forme di creta</i> (VII 4,61 – 63) Staub Gierow 2000: <i>Häuser in Pompeji</i> 10 (pp. 88-92)	No remains	C	L w. small pieces of travertine near the <i>impluvium</i>	No remains
<i>Cd Caccia antica</i> (VII 4,48) Allison & Sear 2002: <i>Häuser in Pompeji</i> 11 (pp. 16-20, 83-84)	4 th style (removed): black; dark-red/yellow/green w. figures like maenads, garlands, palmettes	C w. inlays of tiles, lava, tufa, limestone, badly preserved	C, badly preserved. Border around <i>impluvium</i> -floor, once with a M showing theatre masks	4 th style: dark-red dado w. sphinxes, swans and plants; main panels in red and yellow w. the seasons
<i>Cd Nozze d'argento</i> (V 2,i) Ehrhardt 2004: <i>Häuser in Pompeji</i> 12 (pp. 29-50)	Yellow; red w. flowers; white	2 nd style-period: C w. white reticulate pattern in <i>tesserae</i> . Black <i>tesserae</i> in intersection. Often erroneously described as having a M	1 st or 2 nd style-period: C w. white <i>tesserae</i> -rows	4 th style: black dado w. plants, landscapes etc. Main field with white orthostats framed in red, imitating the former 2 nd style. 2 nd style: upper field: isodomic blockwork in blue, purple, black, green, yellow

Collection 2: *The insula of the Menander*

House	Fauces-walls (dado; main zone; upper zone)	Fauces-floor	Atrium-floor	Atrium-walls (dado; main zone; upper zone)
I 10,3 Ling & Ling 2005 (pp. 163, 178-179)	white plaster; painted <i>lararium</i> -niche w. <i>Lares</i> -painting and inscription on east (left) wall, inscription: <i>CIL</i> IV 7339	mortar (unspecified)	mortar (C?)	Few plaster-remains, traces of a yellow surface
<i>Cd Menandro</i> (I 10,4) Ling & Ling 2005 (pp. 4, 41-45, 95-96, 179-189)	4 th style: black; black (w. swans, deer/goats); white (with bucrania, garlands, birds, dolphins)	2 nd style-period (?): L w. inlays: pieces of terracotta, red and white stones	2 nd style-period (?): L w. inlays: pieces of terracotta, red and white stones	4 th style: black w. medallions, palmettes; red w. yellow surrounds and central roundels with theatre masks and deities, fruits, animals, <i>aediculae</i> , <i>predella</i> ; black w. landscape panels; white upper zone w. <i>aediculae</i>
<i>Cd Fabbro</i> (I 10,7) Ling & Ling 2005 (pp. 132-133, 144, 256-257)	coarse undercoating; renovation?	Undecorated floor	L but <i>impluvium</i> in C w. white (?) <i>tesserae</i> -rows set in the rim: dated to 3 rd style-period (?)	Plain plaster, remains of earlier (dark red) plaster
I 10,8 Ling & Ling 2005 (pp. 148, 266-267)	dado (unspecified colour) w. outlined panels in red; white main zone. Remains of earlier (1 st style) paintings beneath	C	L (but w. older C beneath)	Fragments of earlier paintings (1 st style): yellow dado, surmounted by a red band
<i>Cd Amanti</i> (I 10,11) Ling & Ling 2005 (pp. 107-109, 114-115, 271-275)	2 nd style: purple-red; black orthostats, purple-red isodomic blockwork, marble veneer-imitation; yellow (scroll w. birds) G	4 th style-period (?): L w. white <i>tesserae</i> -rows and crosses in between	4 th style-period (?): L w. white <i>tesserae</i> -rows and crosses in between	4 th style: black w. vertical white lines, <i>aediculae</i> , plants, birds; red main zone w. black intervals, square picture panels: still-life of food. Architectural structures, candelabra, columns. Medallions w. sacro-idyllic landscapes; white upper zone w. panels w. sea-monsters, <i>aediculae</i>
I 10,18 Ling & Ling 2005 (pp. 158-159, 161-162, 297)	black dado w. white vertical stripes; white main zone (coarse)	C	C w. <i>impluvium</i> lined w. C with inserted pieces of polychrome marble (no longer preserved)	Badly preserved but possibly once a black dado; plain white main zone

Collection 3: *Insula V 1*

See each house at <http://www.pompejiprojektet.se/documentation.php>.

House	Fauces-walls (dado; main zone; upper zone)	Fauces-floor	Atrium-floor	Atrium-walls (dado; main zone; upper zone)
V 1,3	Few faded remains of plaster	Remains of L w. inserted stones of various kinds between the threshold and the street	C (badly preserved)	Few faded remains of red, yellow and black plaster
<i>Cd Torello</i> (V 1,7) See also Staub 2013 (pp. 19-33, 69-70, 111-123)	Few remains of plaster in both the 1 st and 3 rd styles. Remains of red colour. P on outer <i>fauces</i> -wall	Inner <i>fauces</i> : L covered w. lime-cement w. inserted black/ coloured limestone and marble-pieces; outer <i>fauces</i> paved w. larger stone-blocks. Date: c. 50 B.C. = 2 nd style-period	L covered w. lime-cement w. inserted black/ coloured limestone and marble-pieces Date: c. 50 B.C. = 2 nd style-period	2 nd style: once a high main zone framed w. red and green borders; yellow frieze w. garland; upper frieze depicting pygmies
V 1,14-16, bakery	Fragmentary remains of plaster	C w. black and white stone-inserts	C w. once star-shaped pattern of black and white <i>tesserae</i> . Mended several times w. layers of both C and L	4 th style: once red
<i>Cd Epigrammi greci</i> (V 1,18)	4 th style: red; black w. red lines (w. small figurative vignettes like vases); white isodomic blockwork G (the <i>Aeneid</i>)	C w. inlays: polychrome stones in black, yellow, red, green, and white <i>tesserae</i>	2 nd style-period: L (however, C according to Pernice 1938, p. 65, and <i>PPM</i> III, p. 539)	4 th style: pink marble-imitation in dado; red main zone w. candelabra and medallions of deities; upper black-framed isodomic blockwork in white
<i>Cd Caecilius Iucundus</i> (V 1,23-26)	Nr. 23: - Nr. 26: 3 rd style: black dado; black main zone w. yellow borders; upper red field	Nr. 23: L Nr. 26: 3 rd style-period: M in inner <i>fauces</i> (reclining black dog on white ground), C in outer <i>fauces</i> w. scattered white <i>tesserae</i>	Nr. 23: L Nr. 26: 3 rd style-period: M with white and polychrome marble inlays in rows, <i>impluvium</i> -border w. a geometric pattern	Nr. 23: P Nr. 26: 3 rd style: red (w. white and yellow dots); white predella w. alternating squares and rectangles; red (w. once theatrical scenes w. figures. Mythological figures once occurred as well)
<i>Cd Tofelanus Valens</i> (V 1,28)	4 th style: <i>Lararium</i> -niche on northern (left) wall; fragments found of plaster in red, black, white, yellow and orange	C	C	red dado; yellow main zone w. birds and plants

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10 Figures

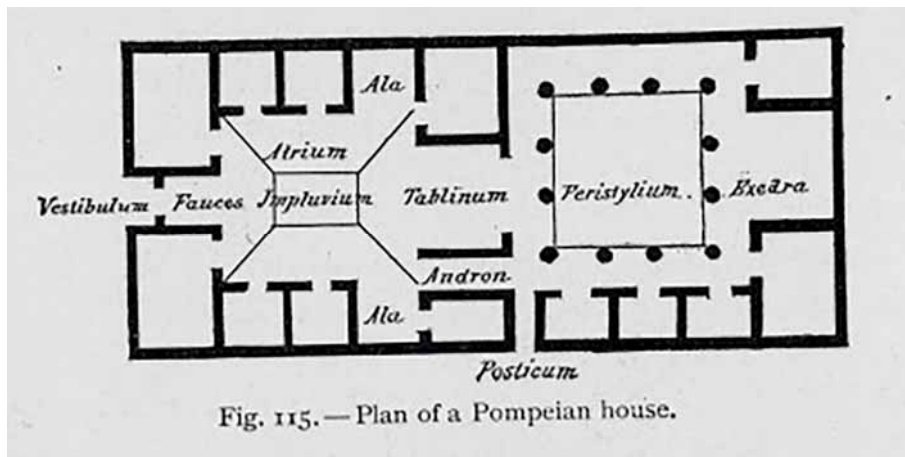


Fig. 1. Idealised plan of an *atrium*-house in Pompeii, after Mau-Kelsey 1902.

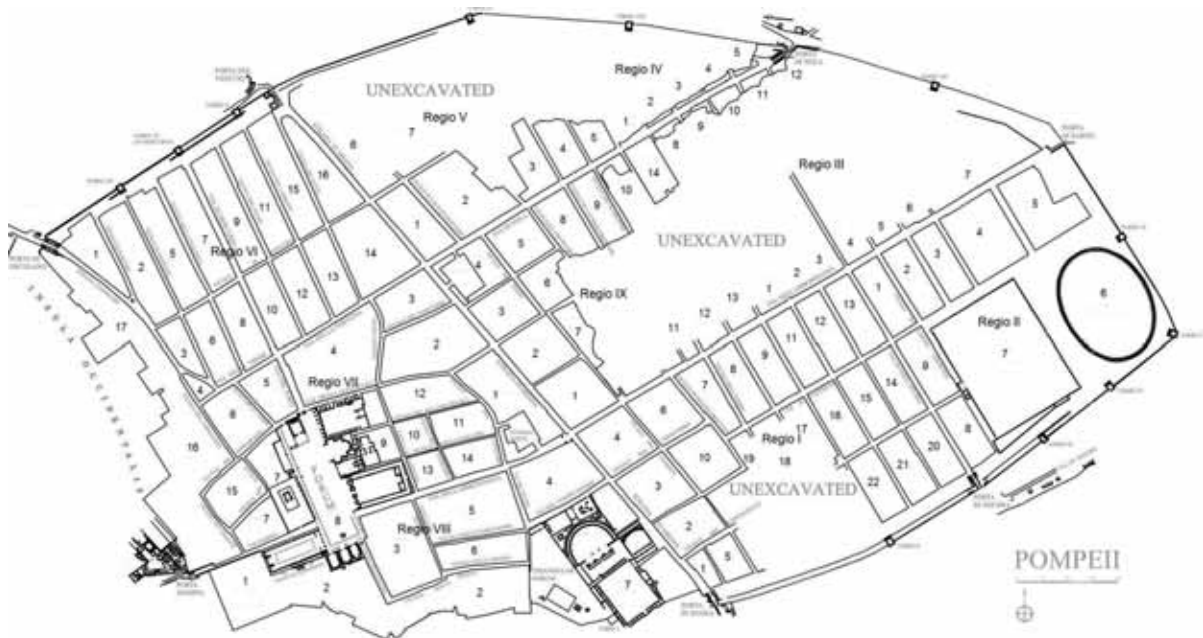


Fig. 2. Map of Pompeii.



Fig. 3. Priapus-painting in the *fauces* of *Cd Vettii* (VI 15,1), Pompeii.



Fig. 4. Entrance-mosaic in House of the Evil Eye, Antioch. 2nd century A.D.



Fig. 5. Entrance-mosaic to fish-shop, *Taberne dei Pescivendoli* (IV,V,1) in Ostia.



Fig. 6. House-portal to *Cd Octavius Quartio* (II 2,2) with benches along the façade and the outer *fauces*.



Fig. 7. The façade and portal of VI 13,13 (no. 8), providing a so-called *Durchblick*.



Fig. 8. Electoral *programmata* on the outer *fauces*-wall of *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1).



Fig. 9. Tessellated inscription *Have* in the sidewalk outside *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7).



Fig. 10. Tessellated inscription *Salve lucrū* in the *fauces* of *Cd Vadius Siricus* (VII 1,47/25)



Fig. 11. Mosaic with inscription, advertising the *garum*-business of the owner to *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17).



Fig. 12. Example of an “undivided” *fauces*: *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27).



Fig. 13. Example of a “divided” *fauces*: *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1).



Fig. 14. Example of an “L-shaped” threshold in *fauces*: *VI 13,13* (no. 8).



Fig. 15. *Fauces* with an internal step: *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3).



Fig. 16. Steps leading up to a house-portal: *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30).



Fig. 17. Plaster-cast of the door in the *fauces* of *Cd Efebo* (I 7,10).



Fig. 18. Façade of *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5), with two flanking *tabernae*.



Fig. 19. Façade of *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16), with a small recess in front of the door.



Fig. 20. Wall-painting in the *fauces* of *Cd Amanti* (I 10,11): isodomic blockwork.



Fig. 21. Ceiling- and wall-paintings in the *fauces* of *Cd Ceii* (I 6,15).



Fig. 22. Wall-painting in the *fauces* of *Cd Amorini dorati* (VI 16,7).



Fig. 23. *Fauces* in *Cd Dioscuri* (VI 9,6) with a painting (a copy): Castor or Pollux.



Fig. 24. *Atrium* and *fauces* (right) in *Cd Principe di Napoli* (VI 15,8).



Fig. 25. Wall-painting in the *fauces* of *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14). View from *atrium*.



Fig. 26. Blue walls in the *fauces* of *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27).

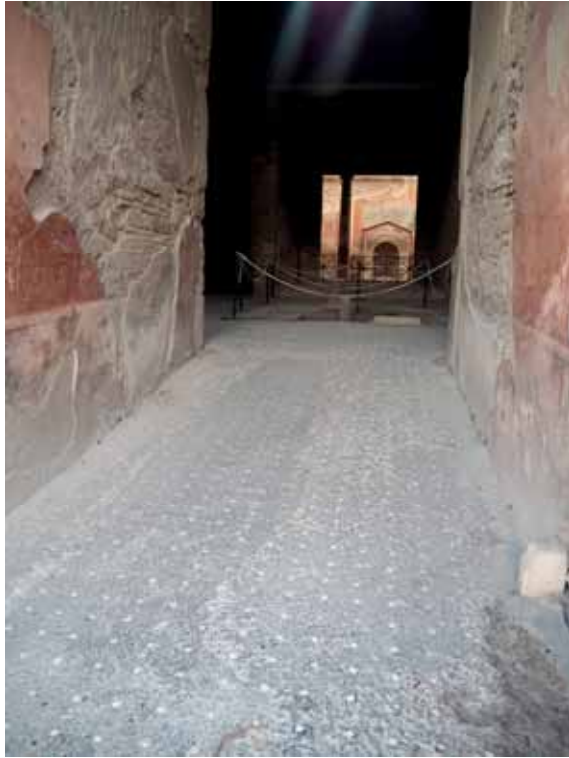


Fig. 27. Mortar-floor with rows of white *tesserae* in the *fauces* of *Cd Fontana piccola* (VI 8,23).



Fig. 28. Sidewalk-decoration between *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18) and *Cd Championnet II* (VIII 2,3, no. 19).



Fig. 29. All-white *fauces-décor* in *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2). View from *atrium*.

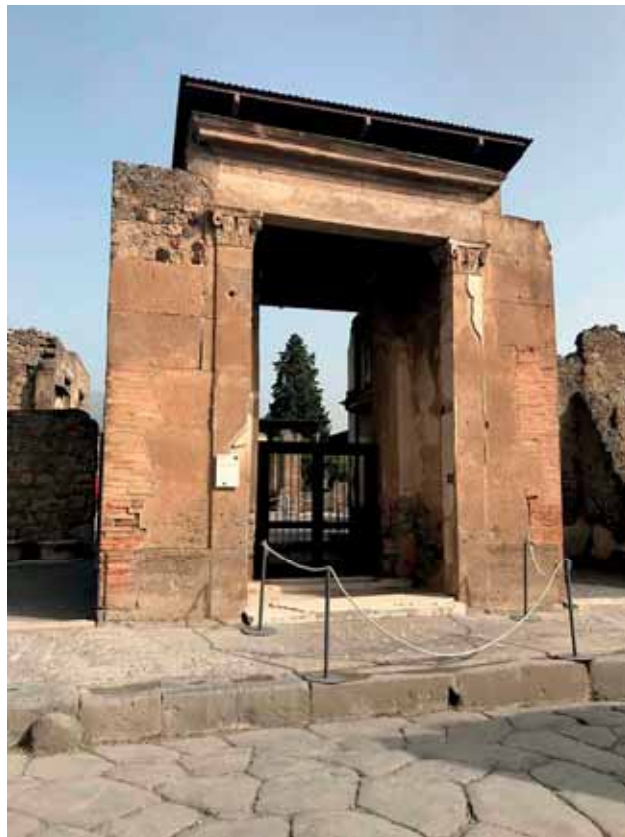


Fig. 30. The façade of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7).



Fig. 31. *Fauces*-wall in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) with a temple-like stucco-décor.



Fig. 32. *Fauces*-floor in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) in *opus sectile*-technique. View from *atrium*.



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Fig. 33. *Fauces-mosaic*: tessellated threshold-panel with theatrical masks and a garland, once adorning the *fauces*-end of *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7). Now on display at MANN.



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Fig. 34. Mosaic from *Villa di Stephanus* outside Pompeii. Now on display at MANN.



Fig. 35. *Tablinum*-mosaic in *Cd Fauno* (VI 12,2, no. 7) with a cube-design in perspective.



Fig. 36. Several geometric-designed mosaics in a row in *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13): view from the *tablinum* into the *atrium* and *fauces*.



Fig. 37. Mosaic with a figurative design in the *caldarium* of the bath-suite in *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4).



Fig. 38. A rare example of a figurative *atrium*-mosaic: *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1).



Fig. 39. Entrance to the semi-public bath-section of *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2).



Fig. 40. View of *atrium* in *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23) towards a portico (instead of a *tablinum*).



Fig. 41. View of the *fauces* in *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17): a terrace-house in the *Insula occidentalis* with a view over the western city-wall.



Fig. 42. Terrace-houses of *insula VIII 2*, climbing the former southern city-wall.

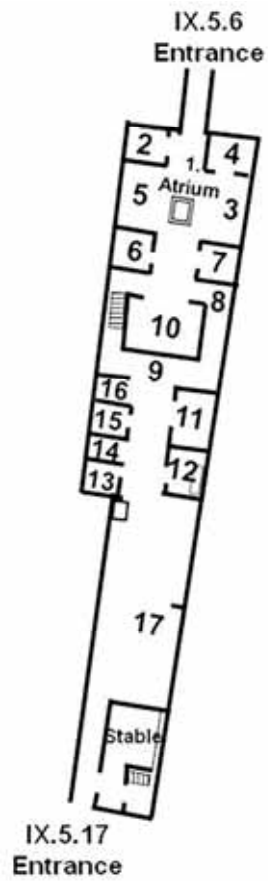


Fig. 43. House-plan of a small *atrium*-house: IX 5,6 (no. 28).

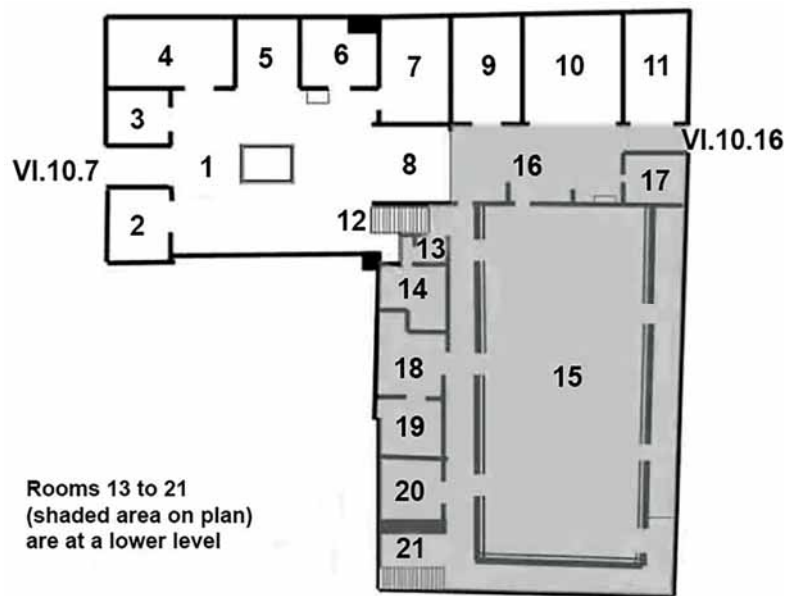


Fig. 44. House-plan of a large *atrium*-house: *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6).

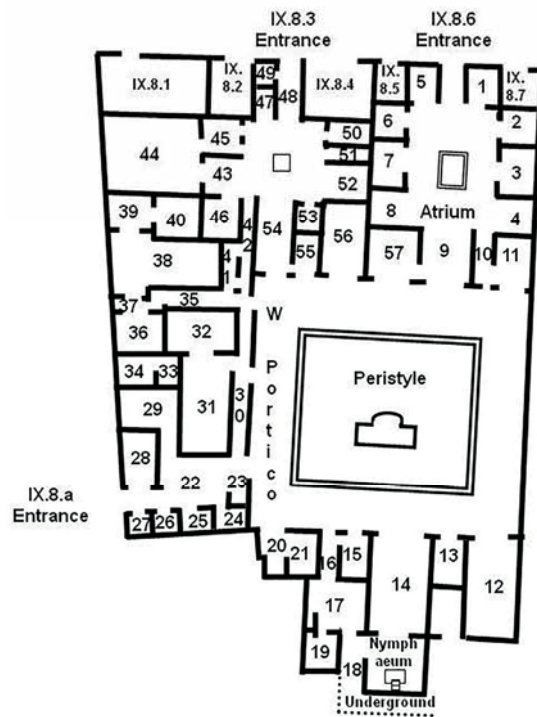


Fig. 45. House-plan of a truly large, double *atrium*-house: *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30).



Fig. 46. *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14): a small *atrium*-house with many mosaics.



Fig. 47. Peristyle with a full colonnade: *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25).



Fig. 48. A so-called “pseudo-peristyle” without a full colonnade: *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3).



Fig. 49. The sunken garden in *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6).



Fig. 50. *Viridarium* with *aedicula*-fountain in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) with a large animal-painting.



Fig. 51. Elevated garden in *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27) with a central fountain and marble-sculptures.



Fig. 52. Private bath-suite: *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12).



Fig. 53. View of the *tablinum* towards the *atrium* and *fauces* of *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3).



Fig. 54. Mosaic-*emblema* of a theatrical company, once adorning the *tablinum* in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5). Now on display at MANN.



Fig. 55. Mosaic with *emblema* composed of marble-pieces in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14).



Fig. 56. *Ala*-paintings in *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27).



Fig. 57. *Tablinum*-painting in IX 5,6 (no. 28).

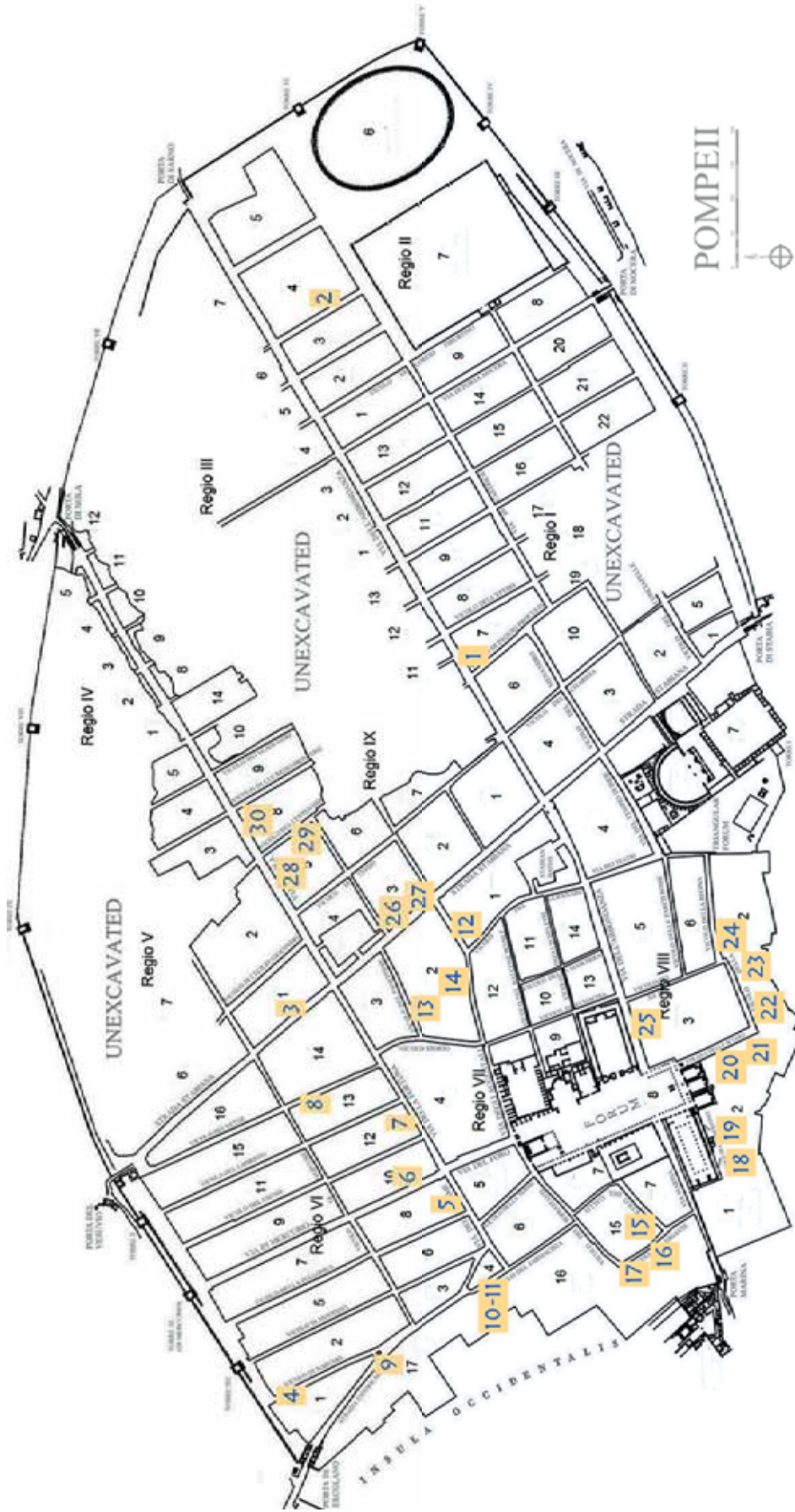


Fig. 58. Map of Pompeii: the distribution of *fauces*-mosaics.



Fig. 59. View along Via degli Augustali from the rear of *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13) towards *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) and *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12).



Fig. 60. View along Via delle Scuole, with *VIII 2,18* (no. 21) and *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20) to the left.



Fig. 61. View of fountain outside *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15) in Vicolo del Gallo.



Fig. 62. View along Vicolo di Narciso and towards *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4) in the far end, to the left.



Fig. 63. View of *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42-44, nos. 10-11), to the right (stairway), at the intersection between Via Consolare and Vicolo della Farmacista.



Fig. 64. Via di Mercurio, outside *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6).



Fig. 65. View along Via dell'Abbondanza, outside *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25).



Fig. 66. View along Via di Nola/Via della Fortuna. Intersection with Via del Vesuvio/Via di Stabia.



Fig. 68. White mortar-floor with rows of *tesserae* in the *fauces* of *Cd Frutteto* (I 9,5). View from *atrium*.



Fig. 69. Mortar-floor with oblong, polychrome pieces of stone in the *fauces* of *Cd Danzatrici* (VI 2,22).



Fig. 70. Mortar-floor with imbrication-pattern and meander-border in the *fauces* of *Cd Ninfeo* (VIII 2,28). View from *atrium*.



Fig. 71. Mortar-floor with a reticulate pattern in the *fauces* of *Cd Octavius Quartio* (II 2,2).



Fig. 72. Mortar-floor with an imbrication-pattern and a meander-threshold in the *fauces* of *Cd Colombe a mosaico* (VIII 2,34). View from *atrium*.



Fig. 73. Mortar-floor with scattered inserts in the *fauces* and *atrium* of *Cd Obellius Firmus* (IX 14,4).



Fig. 74. Mortar-floor with an imbrication- and meander-pattern in the *fauces* of *Cd Oppius Gratus* (IX 6,5).

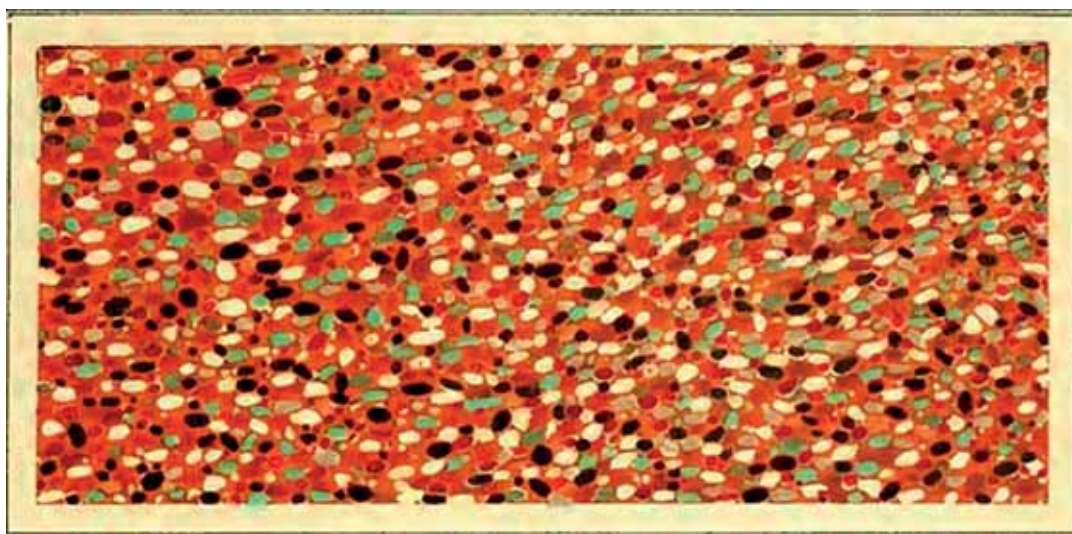


Fig. 75. Mortar-floor with inserted polychrome stones in the *fauces* of *Cd Epigrammi greci* (V 1,18).



Fig. 76. *Fauces*-mosaic with imbrication-pattern on upper level in *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6).



Fig. 77. *Fauces*-mosaic with hourglass-pattern in main section of the entrance in *VI 13,13* (no. 8).
View from *atrium*.



Fig. 78. *Faues*-mosaic with circle, composed of hexagons and swastikas, in stairway-entrance to *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,44, no. 11).



Fig. 79. *Faues*-mosaic with a diagonal grid-pattern in *Cd Championnet II* (VIII 2,3, no. 19).



Fig. 80. *Fauces*-mosaic with a reticulate pattern in *Cd Mosaici geometrici* (VIII 2,14-16, no. 20).



Fig. 81. *Fauces*-mosaic with imbrication-pattern in *Officina offectoria di Ubonius* (IX 3,2, no. 26).



Fig. 82. *Fauces*-mosaic: tessellated threshold-panel with an inscription in a *tabula ansata*, once adorning the *fauces* in *Cd Vestali* (VI 1,7/25, no. 4).

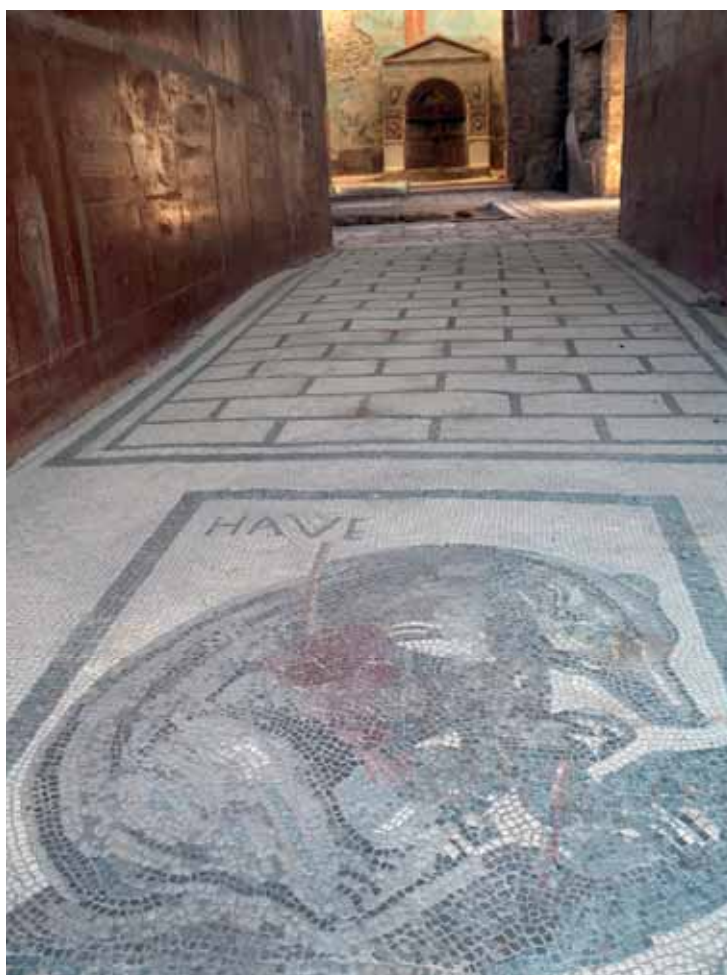


Fig. 83. *Fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14) with a block-pattern (and a figurative *emblema* with an inscription).



Fig. 84. *Fauces-mosaic* in *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15), once with a main meander-section (and a threshold-panel with a figurative scene).



Fig. 85. *Fauces-mosaic* with a meander-border, and once inserted polychrome stones in the main body, in *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus II* (VII 16,15, no. 17).



Fig. 86. *Fauces*-mosaic in the upper level with a meander-border framing a figurative scene, and a mortar-floor with a meander-pattern in the lower level in *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23).



Fig. 87. *Fauces*-mosaic with a grid-pattern (and a figurative scene) in *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25).



Fig. 88. *Fauces*-mosaic in *Cd Atrio a mosaico* (IV 2), Herculaneum, with a grid-pattern.



Fig. 89. Mosaic with a *tabula ansata*-panel with inscription in *Foro delle Corporazioni* (II,VII,4) Ostia.



Fig. 90. *Fauces*-mosaic in the so-called *Casa di Livia*, Palatine, with rows of *tesserae* and an hourglass-pattern.



Fig. 91. *Atrium*-mosaic with polychrome stone-inserts in *Cd Popidius Priscus* (VII 2,20, no. 13: similar to the *fauces*-mosaic).



Fig. 92. *Fauces*-mosaic with polychrome marble-inserts in *Cd Championnet I* (VIII 2,1, no. 18).



Fig. 93. *Fauces*-mosaic with large polychrome marble-inserts in *Cd Severus* (VIII 2,29-30, no. 24).

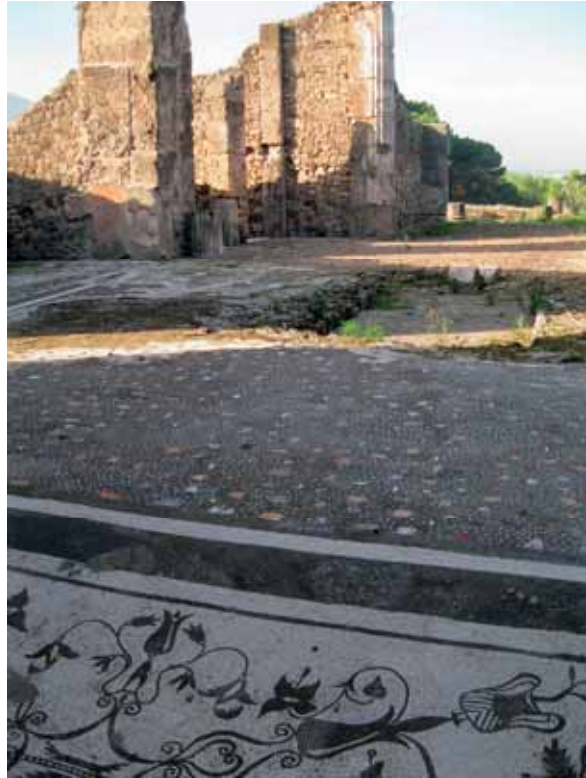


Fig. 94. View from *fauces* of *atrium*-mosaic with polychrome stone-inserts in *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16).



Fig. 95. *Atrium*-mosaic with polychrome stone-inserts in the bath-suite of *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4).



Fig. 96. *Fauces*-mosaic with polychrome stone-inserts in rows in *Cd Cervi* (IV 21), Herculaneum.



Fig. 97. *Fauces*-mosaic in basket-weave technique in *Praedia di Iulia Felix* (II 4,1-12, no. 2).



Fig. 98. *Fauces*-mosaic (few remains) in VIII 2,18 (no. 21).



Fig. 99. *Fauces*-mosaic with borders that continue into the *atrium* of *Cd Marcus Lucretius* (IX 3,5/24, no. 27).



Fig. 100. *Fauces*-mosaic with borders that continue into the *atrium* of IX 5,6 (no. 28).



Fig. 101. *Fauces*-mosaic, plain with a floral design in threshold-panel, in *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29).



Fig. 102. Mosaic in basket-weave technique with polychrome stone-inserts in *Villa dei Misteri*, outside Pompeii.



Fig. 103. *Fauces*-mosaic with a floral design, once as a threshold-panel in *VI 13,13* (no. 8).



Fig. 104. *Fauces*-mosaic with a volute design in *Cd Bracciale d'oro* (VI 17,42, no. 10).



Fig. 105. *Fauces*-mosaic with a floral design in *Cd Aulus Umbricius Scaurus I* (VII 16,12-13, no. 16). View from *atrium*.

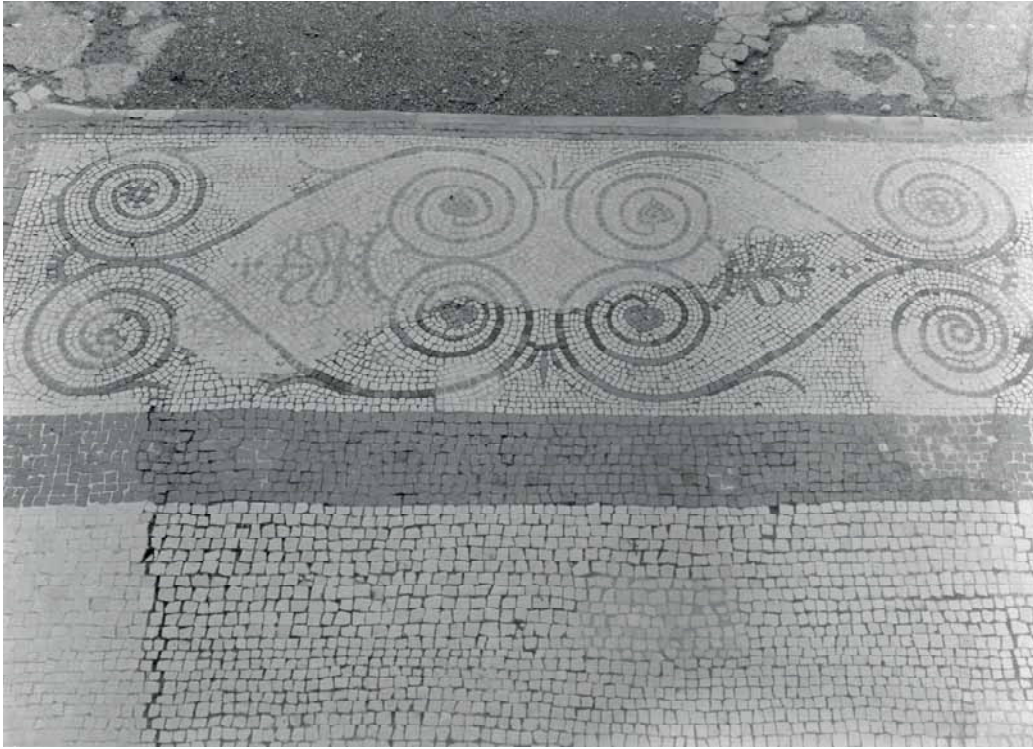


Fig. 106. Zoom of *fauces*-mosaic with a floral threshold-panel in *Cd Ristorante* (IX 5,14-16, no. 29).



Fig. 107. Mortar-floor with a central flower, framed by a pelta-pattern, in the *fauces* of house VIII 2,13.



Fig. 108. Stucco with a volute-design in the *Tempio di Iside* (VIII 7,28).



Fig. 109. *Atrium*-mosaic with a floral design in the bath-suite of *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4).



Fig. 110. The Augustan altar *Ara pacis*, Rome.



Fig. 111. *Tablinum*-mosaic with a so-called Hellenistic rosette in *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15). View towards the sunken garden.



Fig. 112. *Fauces*-mosaics in *Cd Ancora* (VI 10,7, no. 6): lower level with anchor, upper level with imbrication-pattern.



Fig. 113. *Fauces*-mosaic with a marine motif in *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12).



Fig. 114. *Fauces*-mosaic with a marine motif once adorning *Cd Marinaio* (VII 15,1-2, no. 15).



Fig. 115. *Fauces*-mosaic with a marine motif in *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30).



Fig. 116. Wall-painting with a marine motif in *Cd Principe di Napoli* (VI 15,8).



Fig. 117. Wall-painting of a boathouse with ships' prows (from *Cd Diana I*, VI 17,10). Today at MANN.



Fig. 118. *Impluvium*-mosaic with marine motifs in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1).



Fig. 119. *Atrium*-mosaic with a marine motif in the bath-suite of *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4).



Fig. 120. *Atrium*-mosaic with a marine motif in the bath-suite of *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4).



Fig. 121. *Atrium*-mosaic with a city-wall motif in the bath-suite of *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4).



Fig. 122. *Atrium*-mosaic with a city-wall border in *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25).



Fig. 123. Façade-painting of Venus Pompeiana with a rudder, *Taberna delle quattro divinità* (IX 7,1).



Fig. 124. Zoom of *fauces*-mosaic with a bear and inscription, *Have*, in *Cd Orso* (VII 2,45, no. 14).



Fig. 125. Zoom of *fauces*-mosaic with a wild boar in *Cd Cinghiale II* (VIII 2,26, no. 23).



Fig. 126. Zoom of *fauces*-mosaic with a wild boar-hunt in *Cd Cinghiale I* (VIII 3,8, no. 25).



Fig. 127. *Nymphaeum* with a *paradeisos*-painting in *Cd Centenario* (IX 8,3-6, no. 30).



Fig. 128. "Festus cum Torquato"-mosaic from the peristyle-area in *Cd Fiori* (VI 5,19/10).



Fig. 129. *Atrium*-mosaic with a wild boar-hunt in the bath-suite of *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4).



Fig. 130. Wall-painting in the *tablinum* of a wild boar-hunt in *Cd Caccia antica* (VII 4,48).



Fig. 131. Peristyle-painting of a wild boar-hunt in the *Caserma dei gladiatori* (V 5,3).



Fig. 132. Garden-sculpture of a wild boar-hunt in *Cd Citarista* (I 4,5).



Fig. 133. *Paradeisos*-painting with a bear in *Cd Marcus Lucretius Fronto* (V 4,a).



Fig. 134. *Atrium*-mosaic with a lion in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1).



Fig. 135. *Fauces*-mosaic with a watchdog in *Cd Paquius Proculus* (I 7,1, no. 1).



Fig. 136. *Fauces*-mosaic with a watchdog in *Cd Caecilius Iucundus* (V 1,23-26, no. 3).



Fig. 137. *Fauces*-mosaic with a watchdog and inscription, *Cave canem*, in *Cd Poeta tragico* (VI 8,3/5, no. 5).



Fig. 138. Mosaic of a watchdog from *Cd Orfeo* (VI 14,20).



Fig. 139. Wall-painting of a watchdog inside *Caupona di Sotericus* (I 12,3).



Fig. 140. View of *tablinum*-mosaic (and of *atrium*) with threshold-panel depicting military motifs in *Cd M. Caesius Blandus* (VII 1,40, no. 12).



Fig. 141. Plaster-cast of a real watchdog once chained in the *fauces* of *Cd Orfeo* (VI 14,20).



Fig. 142. Mosaic of a red-lined evil eye, from Basilica Hilariana, Rome. 2nd century A.D.



Fig. 143. *Fauces*-mosaic of wrestlers in *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22).



Fig. 144. Wall-paintings of athletes in “*atrium*” of *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22).



Fig. 145. Mosaic of named athletes, Alexander and Helix, in *Caupona di Alexander e Helix* (IV,VII,4), Ostia.



Fig. 146. Window between the adjacent *taberna* and the *fauces* of *Palaestra* (VIII 2,23, no. 22).



Fig. 147. Mosaic of a bath-servant in the bath-suite of *Cd Menandro* (I 10,4).



Fig. 148. View of the tessellated commercial piazza, *Foro delle Corporazioni* (II,VII,4), at Ostia.



Greeting the visitor

One of the most famous mosaics from Pompeii is the so-called *Cave canem*-mosaic, depicting a ready-to-attack watchdog that greets the visitor upon arrival to the house. Together with a couple of more similar mosaics, the watchdog-motif has to a large extent been regarded as expressing a common décor for Roman house-entrances, *fauces*, to *atrium*-houses. However, the corpus of *fauces*-mosaics that was left behind after the destruction of Pompeii in the Vesuvian eruption in A.D. 79 was yet of a more varied nature. Not only could other figurative depictions adorn these mosaics, such as wrestlers, anchors or wild boars, but also abundant flower designs, rows of stones leading inwards, intricate meander-patterns and precious marble of foreign provenance. The present study puts focus on all these Pompeian *fauces*-mosaics. The aim is to approach how the Romans themselves viewed the house-entrance as a liminal space between the inside and outside world, and how the décor could serve as a communication tool. The study is conducted in several contextualising steps, among them a chronological, topographical and iconographical, which centre around questions such as: Did the mosaics' subject-matter reflect any personal stand-point of the owner? Were the patterns specifically made for the space of the *fauces* proper? Were there certain motifs in vogue during certain periods? And why were no deities or mythological heroes depicted on the mosaics?

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