Egypt beyond representation : materials and materiality of Aegyptiaca Romana

Müskens, S.W.G.

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Voor mijn ouders

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List of Abbreviations

CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* (Berlin 1862–)
ÉPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain (Leiden 1962-1990)
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin 1873–)
LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden 1972-1992)
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologicae Classicae* 1-8 (Zürich 1981–)
NSc	*Notizie degli Scavi* (Roma 1877–)
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World (Leiden 1992–)
RICIS	L. Bricault, *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques* I–III, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 31 (Paris 2005)

Note on Nomenclature

A note on the nomenclature of the stones mentioned in the text is necessary. Many stones are known by different names, which have been created at various times and according to different criteria. Ancient names and those invented by the *scalpellini* of Renaissance Italy usually describe the materials in terms of their origin, visual appearance or sites where they were found, irrespective of their geological classification. In this book the most common names are used, except when relevant for a particular discussion. Granites and white marbles are usually referred to by their origins; for instance, Aswan granite and Pentelic marble. This is more complicated for other types of – mostly coloured – stones and so the Italian names by which these materials are best known are used. To avoid possible confusion, ancient names and those created by the *scalpellini* are given in italics. In addition, a short glossary of the most frequently cited stone types is provided below.

Italian name	***Latin/Greek name***	**Geological classification**	**Source**
Africano	*Marmor luculleum*	Metabreccia	Sigacik, Turkey
Bigio antico / morato	e.g., *Marmor lesbium*	(Grey) marble	Various sources
Breccia di Settebasi	*Marmor scyrium*	Metabreccia	Skyros, Greece
Cipollino (verde)	*Marmor carystium / styrium*	Impure (chlorite-rich) marble	SE-Euboea, Greece
Giallo antico	*Marmor numidicum*	Limestone & breccia	Chemtou, Tunisia
Granito dell'Elba	--	Granodiorite	Elba Island, Italy
Granito nero (antico)	*Lapis syenites / thebaicus / aethiopicus*	Granodiorite	Aswan, Egypt
Granito rosso (antico)	*Lapis syenites / thebaicus / aethiopicus / pyrrhopoecilos*	Granite	Aswan, Egypt
Granito sardo	--	Granite	Sardinia, Italy
Nero antico	--	(Black) limestone	Various sources
Pavonazzetto	*Marmor docimium / synnadicum / phrygium*	Brecciated marble	Íscehisar, Turkey
Porfido rosso antico	*Lapis porphyrites / leptopsephos*	Andesite-dacite porphyry ('Imperial porphyry')	Mons Porphyrites, Egypt
Portasanta	*Marmor chium / carium*	Breccia	Chios, Greece
Rosso antico	*Marmor taenarium*	(Hematite-rich) marble	Mani Peninsula, Greece
Serpentino	*Marmor lacedaemonium / krokeatis lithos*	Porphyritic andesite	Krokees, Laconia, Greece

Part I

Introduction

This study investigates the materials and materiality of the objects that we call Aegyptiaca in the Roman world between approximately the late 1st century BC and the late 4th century AD. Starting from the observation that current approaches to so-called Egyptian and Egyptianising artefacts are essentially informed by modern notions of what Egypt entails – which are associated with various assumptions about style, subject matter, and (supposed) provenance – this research sets out, first, to evaluate these premises. Subsequently, it proposes a new line of inquiry that, for the first time, emphasises material properties when studying so-called Aegyptiaca from the Roman world, thereby working towards a more inclusive approach to assess specifically Roman understandings of these objects.

In order to elucidate this study's background, this introduction first presents an outline of the relative scholarship of ancient Egypt so far, with a particular focus on the development of the study of Egypt in the Roman world. This overview reveals that, although interpretations of the relations between Rome and Egypt have significantly changed over time, the material basis on which these understandings largely rely – the corpus of so-called Egyptian and Egyptianising artefacts – is only rarely scrutinised. To this end, the second section explores the category of Aegyptiaca in greater detail, focusing particularly on the conceptual grounds on which Egyptian and Egyptian-looking objects are defined, as well as the (often implicit) assumptions that the classification of these artefacts entails. The set-up and aims of this research follow from this discussion.

1. The study of ancient Egypt: historiography and present *status quaestionis*

"The crowning attainment of historical study is a historical sense – an intuitive sense of how things do not happen (how they did happen is a matter of specific knowledge)"

Namier (1952) 4

1.1 PRELUDE: THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

The interest in ancient Egypt has been long, strong, and diverse. In many ways, the 16th and 17th centuries can be considered as an essential formative period of scholarly interest in ancient Egypt.[1] The rapid rise of Western interest in ancient Egypt in the 16th century is closely associated with the increased availability of new source material from Rome and Egypt itself. As a result of the 'Renovatio Romae', the large-scale urbanisation process that would transform Rome into a Papal state, countless artefacts were brought to light, including Egyptian statues and obelisks that were soon to be re-integrated in the city's urban fabric. Moreover, Egypt became more accessible to the Western world than ever before during this period. Through the publication of travellers' accounts, new information about the country and its antiquities became available to a wider audience.[2] This first-hand knowledge of Egyptian antiquities increased further with the actual transportation of artefacts from Egypt to the Western world, which occurred especially from the late 16th century onwards.[3]

Incited by this increased availability of new source material, Western interest in ancient Egypt began to shift from the Renaissance Hermetic tradition to a more critical, scientific approach in the late 16th and 17th centuries.[4] The revived interest for ancient Egypt and the hieroglyphic script, in particular among European scholars of that time, culminated in the work of Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680). As a Jesuit scholar, Kircher made considerable progress with his (largely successful) translation of the Coptic language early in his career, and he subsequently addressed the hieroglyphic script. Its full decipherment was announced in 1654 under the title *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, an allusion to the author's (false) claim to have solved the riddle of the Egyptian sphinx, namely, the decipherment of the hieroglyphic script. This multivolume publication, which included a catalogue of nearly all Egyptian artefacts known at that time accompanied by 'translations' of their hieroglyphs, is often considered as "the climax of the Egyptian Renaissance".[5] Although the Egyptian Oedipus hardly appears to be a scientific work from a 21st century perspective, in many ways it is exemplary for the *status quaestionis* of the study of ancient Egypt in the mid-17th century. The work was not the breakthrough in the decipherment of hieroglyphics that it claimed to be, but its scale and ambition nevertheless show that the study of Egypt and Egyptian history had acquired a

1. The following discussion is selective. Curran (2007) provides an excellent and in-depth analysis of the reception of ancient Egypt (in Italy) between ca. 1400-1600 and includes extensive notes as well as a thematic bibliography for further reading.
2. Several examples of travellers' accounts that pay attention to Egyptian antiquities are mentioned in Whitehouse (1992); cf. Curran (2007) 282-283.
3. The first Egyptian objects that were brought to Europe were typically small, readily transportable items obtained from areas in Egypt that were easily accessible to Western visitors, notably the necropoleis at Saqqara: see Whitehouse (1989) esp. 188-189 and (1992) 66-67 with several examples; cf. Curran (2007) 283.
4. In short, the Renaissance Hermetic tradition postulated that Egypt, and in particular the religious and philosophical writings attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, constituted the source of all primordial knowledge, wisdom, and skill. This notion prompted the early intellectual effort that was expended on the decipherment of hieroglyphs, which were believed to conceal this mysterious Egyptian knowledge, and in a broader sense gave an important impetus to the study of Egyptian objects in this period. The Hermetic tradition, its debt to the figure of Hermes Trismegistus, its influence on Renaissance Humanism, and its consequences for the study of Egyptian artefacts are discussed at greater length in Curl (2005) *passim* with further bibliography.
5. Excerpt taken from Curran (2007) 286; for Athanasius Kircher, the *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, and his other Egyptological studies, see Rowland (2000) and (2008).

prominent position in the nascent scientific climate of the 17th century.[6]

1.2 THE AGE OF REASON AND THE STUDY OF ANCIENT EGYPT

The development towards a more scientific approach to ancient Egypt that was incited during the 17th century accelerated in the 18th century. This process should be regarded against the backdrop of the Enlightenment that permeated the Western world during this period. In short, this ideology deliberately moved away from the political, religious, and moral ideas and beliefs that had been grounded in tradition and faith for centuries. In contrast, the Enlightenment movement propagated human reason over faith and promoted the advance of knowledge through the scientific method that was based on empirical observations.[7] The development of this new scientific rationalism had considerable implications for the study and understanding of ancient Egypt. Scepticism prevailed over the Renaissance Hermetic tradition. Previous understandings of Egypt as the source of primordial knowledge and wisdom were increasingly perceived as speculative and rapidly made way for a shared interest in the 'real' Egyptian present and past: "in the early 18th century, Egypt finally emerged from the world of the imagination".[8] As a result, the publication of the first description of Egypt in 1735 was soon followed by accurately illustrated reports of European expeditions undertaken to map the country and its antiquities.[9]

This new scientific approach also changed the main objective of studies of Egyptian antiquities. Artefacts were no longer adduced to prompt speculation about the mysterious knowledge that they, or the hieroglyphs that were inscribed in them, might reveal. Instead, ancient Egyptian material culture was studied to reconstruct Egypt's history and, as such, became 'just' a historical source.[10] Empirical observations concerning the visual and stylistic properties of antiquities would soon become the established method to write histories of the past. The latter half of the 18th century marks the emergence of grand art historical narratives and thereby incited the establishment of the modern academic discipline of art history. Comte de Caylus' *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines* included one of the first attempts to write a general history of the arts of ancient Egypt on the basis of a systematic comparison of the available source material.[11] However, this publication was soon overshadowed by the success of one of Caylus' contemporaries, Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768). His most important work, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*, was originally published in 1764 and posthumously received a second expanded edition in 1776.[12] It established a new

6. From 1651 onwards, the Collegio Romano, where Kircher had resided since 1634, housed the *Musaeum Kircherianum*. This museum brought together all curiosities collected by the Jesuit Father, including a fair number of Egyptian antiquities that were discussed in his Egyptological publications. A large part of the Egyptian objects came from Rome, more specifically from the same location where the museum was situated. The Collegio Romano was built in 1582 on top of the ruins of the Iseum Campense, on the grounds that, for centuries, had yielded Egyptian antiquities, which had once belonged to that sanctuary. In 1642, some years before the official installation of the museum, a number of Egyptian objects were unearthed during renovations of the Dominican monastery situated nearby. Many of these objects ended up in Kircher's *Musaeum* and formed the core of his Egyptian collection. Incidentally, the discoveries from 1642 gave rise to the first ever scientific discussion and reconstruction of the Iseum Campense, published by Kircher: see Lembke (1994) 16 and pl. 1.1. A (first) catalogue of the *Musaeum Kircherianum* was published as De Sepi (1678). For Egyptian objects in the museum, see esp. Leospo (1989); cf. Findlen (2003), Mayer-Deutsch (2010).
7. For a general introduction to the Enlightenment and syntheses of previous scholarship see Outram (1995) and Porter (2001).
8. Mastroianni (2008) 197; Curl (2005), esp. 140-170, discusses this period at length.
9. Until the 18th century, few European travellers to Egypt ventured further south than Cairo, the necropoleis at Saqqara usually being the southernmost site. The first modern account that described the entire country was published by Le Mascrier (1735) on the basis of notes by B. de Maillet, the French consul in Cairo from 1692 to 1707. Besides sections on such topics as the country's natural history and costumes, the publication included important sections on Egyptian antiquities. Other publications primarily devoted to Egypt's main archaeological sites include Pococke (1743) and Norden (1755).
10. This approach is foreshadowed in De Montfaucon's *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*, which was published in 15 volumes between 1719 and 1724 (De Montfaucon 1719-1724). This comprehensive study discussed Egyptian and other antiquities in order to address such topics as (relative) chronology and typology. It did so by systematically grouping careful empirical observations on the formal aspects of objects; cf. Décultot (2011) 191, Curl (2005) 141-142.
11. Caylus (1752-1767), published in seven volumes.
12. This section is based largely on Pott's account (2003) of Winckelmann's work; further references to both primary and secondary literature are found on p. 132-133.

paradigm for defining the history of art and artistic traditions, and hence Winckelmann has often been praised as the founder of modern art history. Today it is best known for its account of the historical evolution of the classical artistic tradition, which proclaimed Greek artistic supremacy over derivative and therefore inherently inferior Roman art.[13] However, it also provided an important historical narrative of Egyptian art, and the pervasive distinction between Egyptian and Egyptianising antiquities first began to take hold with Winckelmann.[14] This perspective came to have important implications for the scholarly discourse on Aegyptiaca Romana in the long term and remains deeply embedded in modern approaches. Section I.2.1 returns to this point.

1.3 THE 19TH CENTURY: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MODERN DISCIPLINE OF EGYPTOLOGY

Whereas scientific rationalism, and the work of Winckelmann in particular, may be considered as the most important contribution of the 18th century to the future development of the study of ancient Egypt, the main importance of the 19th century in this respect is marked by the decipherment of the hieroglyphic script and the subsequent establishment of the modern discipline of Egyptology. Napoleon Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition (1798-1801) played a substantial role in these events. It yielded a wealth of scientifically accurate data about the antiquities of Egypt, including the Rosetta Stone, which provided the final key to the decipherment of hieroglyphs by Jean-François Champollion in 1822-1824.[15] As a result of these events, the practical opportunities for the study of ancient Egypt had greatly increased during a few decades only. The creation of large collections of Egyptian antiquities in museums across Europe in the first half of the 19th century contributed further to this.[16] These new conditions created an unprecedented heyday of scientific interest in ancient Egypt that would finally result in the installation of an academic discipline devoted to its study, Egyptology.[17]

13. This aesthetic distinction between authentic Greek originals and later Roman imitations or copies prompted the methodology known as *Kopienkritik* that would largely shape the scholarly discourse on Greek and Roman sculpture from the mid-19th century on. For the influence of Winckelmann on *Kopienkritik*, a brief historiography of *Kopienkritik*, and more recent approaches to Greek and Roman sculpture, see, e.g., Gazda (2002).
14. Winckelmann's narrative of Egyptian art is rarely cited in Egyptian archaeological literature. An important exception is *Winckelmann und Ägypten* (2005). This volume, which accompanied an international exhibition held between 2004 and 2006, collects a number of essays on the relationship between Winckelmann and the re-discovery of ancient Egypt in the 18th century. Its central aim is to emphasise the key role of Winckelmann in the development of the art history of ancient Egypt. This explicitly emerges from several individual contributions: "[…] die Kunstgeschichte Ägyptens, welche die Winckelmannschen ikonographischen, stilistischen und chronologischen Kriterien basierend auf dem seit Winckelmanns Zeit immensen Materialzuwachs zwar verfeinert hat, in der grundsätzlichen Behandlung von Denkmälern jedoch bis heute nicht über Winckelmann hinausgekommen ist, vielleicht auch nicht hinauskommen kann […]" (Grimm 2005a, 89). Besides Winckelmann's general importance for the art history of Egypt, the relevance of his methodology is specifically emphasised: the "neue künstlerische Sehweise begründete eine methodisch überzeugende erste Geschichte zur ägyptischen Kunst" (Kunze 2005, 123); for Winkelmann's (lasting) impact on perceptions of Egyptian art see also Bartman (2011) 176-177.
15. Napoleon's military troops were accompanied by 167 prominent *savants* who systematically recorded Egypt and its antiquities. This undertaking, which clearly echoes the Enlightenment ideal of knowledge acquisition, laid the foundations for two important studies that would further stimulate the interest in ancient Egypt: Denon (1802) and the monumental *Description de l'Égypte* (1809-1829), published in 29 volumes. For the influence of the Napoleon's Egyptian expedition on the study of ancient Egypt see, in general, Schneider (1998); Strathern (2007) gives an extensive account of the expedition.
16. Renowned collections of Egyptian antiquities mainly formed in the early 19th century include those of the Musée du Louvre in Paris, the British Museum in London, the Egyptian Museum in Turin, and the National Antiquities Museum in Leiden.
17. This increased scientific interest in the Egyptian past is part of a wider European preoccupation with Egyptian culture and visual language, which is often denoted as Egyptomania. European engagements with and fascination for Egyptian culture and visual language certainly were not new to the early 19th century. However, Napoleon's expedition seems to have been an important catalyst that set the intensified interest in Egypt in motion during the 19th and 20th centuries; for Egyptomania, see,

It is important to note that the establishment of Egyptology as an autonomous discipline contributed to a growing scholarly dichotomy. Whereas Winckelmann had explored the histories of Egyptian art and Greek and Roman art in his *Geschichte der Kunst* in a comparative and integrated way, the installation of Egyptology turned the study of ancient Egypt the exclusive domain of Egyptologists, while the study of Greek and Roman artefacts was claimed by Classical Archaeologists. This academic compartmentalisation of the later 18th and 19th centuries resulted in an overall increase of scholarly insularity.[18] This becomes apparent especially when we review the character of these two disciplines' research traditions in the late 19th century. Egyptology quickly developed its own disciplinary jargon, had its own geographically and culturally defined content, and was mainly preoccupied with the decipherment of its literary record and the archaeology of the dynastic period. Egyptological studies appeared in specialised publications and institutions like the Egypt Exploration Fund, established in 1882, were created specifically to support the study of ancient Egypt. Classical Archaeology largely developed along similar lines during this period. This discipline was also mainly focused on its historically recorded periods and the archaeology of its most renowned cultural centres, especially Athens and Rome. This focus was furthermore promoted by the installation of research institutes in these cities, like the British Schools in Athens and Rome in 1886 and 1901, respectively.[19]

In the course of the 19th century, these developments resulted in different specialisms, each with their own research agenda and priorities. Naturally, this implies that certain research areas remained largely unexplored – in particular areas at the boundaries of these newly established academic disciplines. The study of Egypt and Egyptian material culture in the Roman world explicitly suffered from this dichotomy, as it was literally situated in between two monolithic research fields.[20] Nineteenth century Egyptology generated such landmark studies as Jean-François Champollion's *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* (1835-1845), soon followed by Karl Richard Lepsius' *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (1849-1859), and Classical Archaeology intensively explored specific sites, like Athens, Delphi, Rome and Pompeii. In contrast, the first synthesis on Egyptian cultural influences in the Greek and Roman worlds did not appear until the end of the 19th century.

In 1884, Georges Lafaye published *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie. Sérapis, Isis, Harpocrate et Anubis hors de l'Égypte* and thereby founded the study of '*L'Égypte hors de l'Égypte*'.[21] For the first time, this book collected all known material and textual sources for the dissemination of the Egyptian gods in

e.g., *Egyptomania* (1994), Curl (2005); cf. Versluys (2002) 399-401 and the bibliography in n. 556.

18. The problem of insularity, the metaphorical ivory tower that results from academic isolation, has been recognised in Egyptology for decades: see already Redford (1979). The author speaks in this respect of the "old Egyptological arrogance" (quotation taken from p. 12). More recently, a series of eight books addressed this problem in an attempt to "[…] move the study of Ancient Egypt into the mainstream of recent advances in archaeological and anthropological practice and interpretation" (P. Ucko, foreword to *Encounters with Ancient Egypt* 2003, iii); see Peck (2005) for a review of this series. In general, the current emphasis within academia on multidisciplinary research that reflects a desire to move beyond traditional disciplinary boundaries undoubtedly needs to be regarded against the backdrop of a growing historical awareness of the (effects of) compartmentalisation.
19. For the academic fragmentation in the later 19th century, with a particular focus on Egyptology, see, e.g., Champion (2003), esp. 178-181. The history of the collection of antiquities of the British Museum in London clearly reflects the fragmentation that came with the growth of disciplinary specialisms. In 1861, the Departments of Coins and Medals and Greek and Roman Antiquities were the first specialist areas to be separated from the original Department of Antiquities, founded in 1807. Further subdivisions included the establishment of separate Departments of Egyptian and Oriental Antiquities in 1866, and many new departments have been founded since.
20. Cf. Malaise (1972b) 1: "L'analyse des cultes isiaques a […] durant de longues années suscité peu d'enthousiasme: les égyptologues négligent généralement ces problèmes rélégues en marge de l'égyptologie traditionelle et considèrent que c'est là matière de recherche pour des historiens de l'antiquité gréco-romaine, lesquels, à leur tour, ne sont guère attirés par ces questions peu «classiques»". This scholarly dichotomy, in particular the respective point of departure (either Egyptological or Classical Archaeological), would have significant implications for the interpretation of Egypt in the Roman world in the course of the 20th and early 21st centuries, as we will see below.
21. Lafaye (1884). The full title of the book is *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie. Sérapis, Isis, Harpocrate et Anubis hors de l'Égypte depuis les origines jusqu'a la naissance de l'école néo-platonicienne*, which was included as volume 33 in the series of the Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. It is interesting to note that Georges Lafaye was a Classicist/Latinist by training, and therefore had neither an Egyptological nor a Classical Archaeological background.

the Greek and Roman world.[22] The title clearly echoes the book's dominant emphasis on religious aspects. Lafaye's interpretations are based on the fundamental and seemingly self-evident premise that that the available sources are indicative of the cults of the Egyptian gods. As a result, this 'evidence' is used to underpin and thereby reinforce the predefined historical narrative.[23] This *modus operandi* becomes evident in the discussion on 'Alexandrian temples in Rome'. This chapter presents an inventory of Aegyptiaca from Rome that is systematically categorised in topographical order according to the classical division of Rome into twelve regions.[24] The list that follows basically collects all available sources that somehow relate to Isis or other originally Egyptian gods. Rather than critically investigating the validity of the basic presumption, the predefined equation between Egyptian concepts and Egyptian meanings determines the interpretation of this source material as automatically signalling the presence of Egyptian gods and their cults in Rome. Furthermore, its regional organisation gave the impression of more or less geographically confined clusters of evidence, which in turn resulted in the reconstruction of so-called Alexandrian temples in ancient Rome. This inductive approach, and the image of Egyptian religious contexts dispersed throughout ancient Rome that resulted from it, in many ways prepared the way for the emergence of scholarly understandings of Egypt in the Roman world during the 20th century.

1.4 INTO THE 20TH CENTURY: 'L'ÉGYPTE HORS L'ÉGYPTE' AND THE 'CULTES ISIAQUES'

"Face à chaque document égyptien ou égyptisant découvert en Occident se pose la même question: est-ce la trace d'un simple curiosité d'exotisme ou au contraire d'une adhésion ferme à des croyances isiaques?"

Leclant (1968) 95

The aprioristic religious understanding of things Egyptian was further strengthened in the early 20th century by the publication of Cumont's *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* and the convincing synthesis of the transformation of religious life in the Roman Empire that it presented.[25] This book coined the

22. The fact that little work had been done on the subject is illustrated by the literature cited by the author. Although a significant part of the source material had been published – for instance, in the recently founded corpuses of Latin and Greek inscriptions, *CIL* and *IG*, founded in 1862 and 1873, respectively, and in various (museum) catalogues and dispersed across various journals – there is a striking absence of interpretive literature on the subject. Besides a doctoral thesis that dealt with the subject but conspicuously omitted textual and archaeological sources (Reichel 1849, cf. Malaise 1972b, 2), there were only a few lemmas on such general topics as Isis in Pauly's *Real Encyclopädie*. These references furthermore illustrate the emphasis on Isis and underline the observation that Egypt at that time was mainly considered to be related with cults and religion. For the dominant role of Isis and the Isis cult in the European imagination see Versluys (2002) 17-22.

23. The fact that this premise unfortunately remains unexplained in Lafaye's book would suggest that it is obvious to equate things Egyptian with Egyptian religion. Because of the persistence of this equation especially during the 20th century and the criticism of it that has been raised in the early 21st century, it would be interesting to see how this premise came into being and to assess the influence of 19th century (German) conceptions of the Orient on this religious premise. The scholarly and artistic Western interest in the ancient Orient of that time seems to have largely redefined previously existing European ideas about its own cultural past. Oriental cultures were assigned greater importance in Western world-historical conceptions than before, and ancient Oriental religions were at the centre of this new interest. It is not inconceivable that a causal link may exist between the central role in the Western world of the Orient and Oriental religion at that time and the aprioristic religious conception of things Egyptian.

24. Lafaye (1884) 200-234. Several finds included in this section are mentioned again, with additional objects both from the city of Rome and elsewhere, in the concomitant 'catalogue méthodique' (p. 265-335) at the end of the publication. For the division of Rome into twelve regions, which dates from the Augustan period, see Versluys (2002) 336 and n. 455 with literature.

25. Cumont (1929). The important work of the historian of religions Franz Cumont (1868-1947) is not discussed in detail here, but reference can be made to a growing bibliography that discusses the persistent influence of Cumont's category of Oriental Religions at length. In recent years, serious criticism has been raised to this concept, which has largely resulted in the deconstruction of Oriental Religions. It seems, however, that scholars are currently struggling to 'come to terms' with religious transformation in the Roman world, which refers to the title of a recent review essay by Richard Gordon, one of the protagonists in the deconstruction of Cumont's category, wherein he provides a state-of-the-art overview of the discussion: see Gordon (2014). A large research project was recently set up by the Institut historique belge de Rome and the Academia Belgica to reassess the relevance of Cumont's work for current scholarship; the output of this project notably includes a new edition of Cumont's *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, with a historiographical introduction by Corinne Bonnet and Françoise van Haeperen (published as *Les religions orientales* 2006), *Religions orientales – culti misterici* (2006), *Religioni*

influential concept of Oriental Religions and, with the Egyptian cults of Isis and related gods subsumed under that heading, reinforced the formal equation between Egypt and religion.

Cumont's thesis generated a profound interest in the *religions orientales*, which resulted in the establishment of the ÉPRO-series in 1962. Initiated by Vermaseren, this series' central aim was to ground the concept of Oriental Religions in empirical evidence.[26] A survey of the ÉPRO-volumes' titles is illustrative of the significant growth of interest in Egypt in the Roman world during the second half of the 20th century. Between 1962 and 1990, 32 titles (published in 41 volumes) were entirely devoted to subjects related to Egypt in the Roman world, while several other titles dealt with Egypt among other Oriental Cults.[27] While these publications significantly enlarged the available source material for the study of Isis and other deities, their common point of departure implied that Aegyptiaca were essentially placed in a predetermined religious framework.[28]

Against the backdrop of this self-reinforcing argument, the fundamental premise of the research field increasingly shifted to the background, and so did the need for critical assessments. That is why the opening sentences of one of the ÉPRO-volumes dealing with Egyptian material culture, Anne Roullet's *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing monuments of Imperial Rome*, states that "the importance of the Alexandrian cults in the Roman Empire has been emphasized by many scholars, and a quick glance at any of the catalogues of the Roman museums is enough to confirm the significance of archaeological sites that have survived from various Roman sites dedicated to the Egyptian gods. But no attempt has been made to bring together systematically all the Egyptian and Egyptianizing monuments of Imperial Rome. I have tried to fill this gap, and to present a catalogue raisonné of these monuments".[29] However, this initial statement would in fact be equally

in contatto nel Mediterraneo Antico (2008), and *Les religions orientales dans le monde grec et romain* (2009). See also the contributions in *Panthée* (2013), in particular the article by Versluys (2013a), which explicitly explores new understandings of the deconstructed Cumontian category, and the recent volume *Romanising Oriental Gods?* (2015). All cited works provide extensive and recent bibliographic references.

26. In full, *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain* (Leiden 1962-1990). A total of 113 volumes were published in this series, the majority of which provided inventories of the available evidence for the so-called Eastern religions in the Roman Empire. For the ÉPRO-series, its debt to Cumont, and its intellectual legacy, see Gordon (2014) 664-665 and Versluys (2013a) 237-239.

27. The titles entirely devoted to Egypt are ÉPRO 1 (Wessetzky 1961), 12 (Grimm 1969), 15 (Salditt-Trappmann 1970), 20 (Roullet 1972), 21 (Malaise 1972a), 22 (Malaise 1972b), 25 (Stambaugh 1972), 26 (Dunand 1973, 3 vols.), 32 (Hornbostel 1973), 36 (Kater-Sibbes 1973), 37 (Tran Tam Tinh 1973), 39 (Gwyn Griffiths 1975), 44 (Engelmann 1975), 45 (Bruneau 1975), 48 (Kater-Sibbes 1975-1977, 3 vols.), 49 (Grandjean 1975), 51 (Heyob 1975), 57 (Grenier 1977), 61 (Budischovsky 1977), 62 (Hölbl 1979, 2 vols.), 65 (Padró i Parcerisa 1980-1985, 3 vols.), 70 (Leospo 1978), 71 (Grenier 1978), 73 (Hölbl 1978), 76 (Dunand 1979), 84 (De Vos 1980), 87 (Wild 1981), 94 (Tran Tam Tinh 1983), 101 (Van der Horst 1984), 105 (Curto 1985), 102 (Hölbl 1986a, 2 vols.), and 113 (Mora 1990, 2 vols.). Due to the quick expansion of scholarly literature on the Egyptian gods since 1972, a bibliographic inventory has been maintained that collects all references with brief critical notes. The *IBIS* (*Inventaire bibliographique des Isiaca*) was published in the ÉPRO-series between 1972 and 1991 in four volumes and lists references from 1940-1969 (ÉPRO 18: Leclant – Clerc 1972-1991). Previously overlooked references from that period and references from 1970-1999 were published online at http://w3.etudes-isiaques.univ-tlse2.fr/ under the direction of Laurent Bricault; relevant references after 2000 are published in printed form again under the name *Chronique bibliographique* in the *Bibliotheca Isiaca*-series under the direction of Laurent Bricault and Richard Veymiers. Note that the above list of publications only includes titles that were published in the ÉPRO-series. It would be substantially longer if relevant publications were included from outside the series, and if the publications on Egypt in the Roman world that appeared after ÉPRO was renamed RGRW (*Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*) in 1992 were likewise taken into account. The change of name is indicative of the emerging objection to Cumont's concept of Oriental Religions at that time, which was literally present in the old series title, and the more theoretical direction that the series would take under its new title. However, despite the growing criticism of the aprioristic religious paradigm, clearly advocated in Versluys (2002) and published as volume 144 in the RGRW-series, several titles that dealt with Egypt and Egyptian material culture in the Roman world still remained, to a greater or lesser extent, informed by the aprioristic religious paradigm.

28. The predominance of religious interpretations may have been further strengthened by the fact that the study of Egypt in the Roman world in the 20th century was largely undertaken by trained Egyptologists and by the important role of religion in that particular research tradition, as was already noted by Versluys (2002, 21-22). The work of Jean Leclant (1920-2011), one of the most prominent protagonists of the *cultes isiaques* of the second half of the 20th century, illustrates this. Leclant was an Egyptologist whose work was firmly rooted in the ÉPRO-tradition and Cumont's concept of Oriental Religions. From the 1950s onwards, he collected and made available all Aegyptiaca from the Roman world through annually updated lists in the journal *Orientalia*, and he edited the four volumes of the bibliographic inventory *IBIS*, cf. *supra*, n. 27.

29. Roullet (1972) xv.

suitable to conclude the book, since what follows after the introduction does not offer a critical evaluation of the powerful statement in the above-cited first sentence, but an accumulation of a loosely gathered body of 'evidence' in support of it. Moreover, this evidence is essentially based on the author's individual conception of Egypt and Egyptian religion.[30]

This example illustrates the dangers of what may be termed the inductive religious paradigm. This fundamental premise was clouded by a body of seemingly confirming evidence to such an extent that it became the generally accepted paradigm, which automatically determined the understanding of new source material.[31] Aegyptiaca had thus become normative signals for the presence of Egyptian religious contexts in the Roman world.[32] Prepared by Winckelmann and first clearly advocated as a coherent concept in Lafaye's study, the inductive religious approach dominated 20th century scholarship on Egyptian material culture in the Roman world, and its persistence seems to have overshadowed the occasional contemporary critical voice.[33]

30. Symptomatic for the inductivist religious approach, the criteria for the inclusion/exclusion of objects are not always clear. Therefore, rather than an archaeologically reliable corpus, the inventory is essentially a collection of Aegyptiaca that may or may not have a link to (religious contexts in) Imperial Rome: see also Lembke (1994, 13), who notes that "[…] A. Roullets Zuweisungen zum Iseum Campense [sind] in einige Fällen falsch". Furthermore, unlike the title of the book suggests, the inventory does not include the majority of artefacts that other authors commonly classify as Egyptianising (often carved from marble), which seems mainly influenced by different personal conceptions of Egyptian material culture and therefore clearly illustrates the subjectivity of the category of Aegyptiaca. For related criticism on Roullet's book see also Versluys (2002) 332-333. However, it is interesting to note that, although nowhere explicitly stated, the 1972 publication appears to be a reworking of the author's doctoral dissertation that was submitted to the Faculty of Oriental Studies at the University of Oxford in 1969 under the title "*The survival and rediscovery of Egyptian antiquities in western Europe from late antiquity until the close of the sixteenth century*" (manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; *non vidi*). This observation may help explain the somewhat remarkable position of the publication in the discourse on Aegyptiaca Romana. While published in the ÉPRO-series that, as its title suggests, mainly focuses on the so-called Oriental religions in the Roman Empire, the title of the dissertation instead indicates that the original focus and main strength of Roullet's study was in the post-antique rather than Roman life histories of Aegyptiaca Romana, and it is indeed in this respect that the 1972 monograph stands out.
31. However, it should be noted that the religious interpretive framework proved to be too narrow to explain the presence in the Roman world of all objects that were deemed to bring to mind an association with Egypt. Artefacts that obviously did not fit into the religious interpretive framework were most often dismissed as signals of Roman exoticism and commonly perceived in a negative way. Therefore, besides the religious interpretation, the concept of Egyptomania, which was originally developed to explain the resurgence of Western fascination with Pharaonic Egypt in the 18th and 19th centuries (cf. *supra*, n. 17), has increasingly become a mainstream interpretational framework to explain the so-called Roman predilection of things Egyptian as signs of Roman exoticism or fashion statements that followed the annexation of Egypt in 30 BC: see, e.g., De Vos (1980) and *Egittomania* (2006).
32. It is important to briefly consider the work of Michel Malaise here, which has been used as reference in many subsequent studies on Egyptian artefacts in the Roman world. In 1972, Malaise published two important volumes in the ÉPRO-series on the diffusion of the Egyptian cults in Italy (Malaise 1972a, 1972b). Following the ÉPRO-tradition to provide a material basis for the Cumontian category, the synthesis of the diffusion of Egyptian cults in Italy was accompanied by an inventory of relevant factual evidence. However, it is evident from the introduction to the catalogue that Malaise is well aware that not all Aegyptiaca necessarily have a religious meaning: "il faut distinguer le cultuel du culturel" (1972a, xii). Yet, as the thesis mainly focuses on Egyptian *cults*, the inventory of objects does not include artefacts that would be "de simples témoins de l'égyptomanie", like some of the city's obelisks (ibid., xii). Because of this filtering, the work essentially subscribed to the religious interpretation of Aegyptiaca. The topographical organisation of the material evidence that followed Lafaye's study further strengthened this, as it reinforced its seemingly geographical coherence and subsequently the idea that these 'clusters' of Aegyptiaca were testimonies of specifically Egyptian cult places. This conception of seemingly coherent assemblages of material and written evidence underlies the compilation of distribution maps that show the dissemination of Egyptian cults throughout the Roman world, which were mainly compiled during the latter part of the 20th century. See, for instance, the map of Rome's oriental sanctuaries (including those dedicated to the Egyptian gods) in Le Glay (1987) fig. 1, the extensive section in *Iside* (1997) dedicated to the diffusion of the Isis cults in Italy (Sist 1997, with fig. p. 300 for Egyptian religious contexts in Rome), and Bricault (2001), a topographical atlas of the Hellenistic and Roman world that brings together all the empirical evidence for the *cultes isiaques* that had been largely published in the ÉPRO-series over the previous forty years. For recent criticism on the topographical distribution of Aegyptiaca focusing on a particular context in Rome see Müskens (2014a).
33. For instance, as early as 1952, Kurt Schefold noted in his study on Pompeian wallpaintings with Egyptian elements that "Gewiss können nicht alle Bewohner der Häuser mit Isissymbolen Anhänger dieser Religion gewesen sein […] Diese Symbole meinen nicht eine bestimmte Lehre, sondern allgemeiner Weihe, Unsterblichkeit" (Schefold 1952, 58); quotation taken from Mol (2015a) 32.

The research field noticeably began to open up in the final decades of the 20th century.[34] Besides Egyptologists, scholars from disciplines like Classics and Classical Archaeology in particular got involved. This development had important consequences for the understanding of Egyptian material culture in the Roman world, which became less one-sided as a result. Hence, although the religious inductive paradigm remained the fundamental interpretive framework for many studies, the debate on Egypt and Egyptian material culture in the Roman world increasingly widened. A fundamentally different understanding, for instance, was put forward in Takács' book on the integration of the cults of Isis and Sarapis into the Roman pantheon. The author took a critical position towards previous, essentially religious understandings and instead emphasised other interpretational frameworks, like contemporary Roman politics.[35] In a paper published some years earlier, Alfano critically questioned the reconstruction of Egyptian cult places in Rome by drawing attention to the fragmentary nature of the available evidence. However, the essential analytical framework, namely, the premise that all evidence would be indicative of Egyptian temples, remained unchallenged.[36]

1.5 'NICHT MEHR ÄGYPTEN, SONDERN ROM': TOWARDS A CONTEXTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF AEGYPTIACA ROMANA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

This situation changed with the publication of Versluys' study on what he called the Roman views of Egypt in 2002.[37] His main aim was to test the aprioristic religious understanding of Aegyptiaca in the Roman world. Based on the analysis of so-called Nilotic scenes from different archaeological contexts throughout the Roman world, the book demonstrates that depictions belonging to that genre were more often than not unrelated to aspects of Egyptian religion. Therefore, rather than subscribing to aprioristic religious interpretations, it instead argued for flexible and, most importantly, contextually dependent understandings of Nilotic scenes and Aegyptiaca in general. This book's approach thus fundamentally differed from most previous studies, in that it took the concept of context seriously for one of the first times and, on the basis of that, considered Aegyptiaca as part of different, essentially Roman interpretive frameworks.[38]

The analytical framework laid out in Versluys' book quickly left its mark on subsequent studies. More than a decade after this contextual approach was first effectively advocated, it seems justified to argue that the aprioristic religious paradigm has been effectively deconstructed.[39]

34. I restrict myself here to outlining some general tendencies that characterise the development of the scholarly field and therefore refer to a selection of the available literature only. Some additional recent publications include (in chronological order): Ensoli Vittozzi (1993), Lembke (1994), *Le antichità egiziane* (1995), Meyboom (1995), Spinola (2001), Kleibl (2009), Capriotti Vittozzi (2013), Swetnam-Burland (2015); relevant museum catalogues: Grenier (1993) (Musei Vaticani), Sist (1996) (Museo Barracco), Manera – Mazza (2001) (Museo Nazionale Romano), *Musei Capitolini* (2010), *Palazzo Altemps* (2011), *Museo Palatino* (2014); exhibition catalogues including Aegyptiaca Romana: *Iside* (1997); *Aurea Roma* (2000), *Cleopatra of Egypt* (2001), *Ägypten Griechenland Rom* (2005), *Egittomania* (2006), *The She-Wolf and the Sphinx* (2008); new material (esp. from Rome): Alfano (1998), Insalaco (2002), and Capriotti Vittozzi (2005).
35. Takács (1995). In an article published a few years later, Söldner interpreted Egyptian motifs in Augustan Rome in a comparable way: Söldner (1999). These authors were trained in Classics and Classical Archaeology respectively, and, seemingly as a result of their respective educational backgrounds, worked towards principally Roman understandings of Egyptian influences in the Roman world.
36. Alfano (1992); the author conveniently sums up the most essential problems in one of the first sentences of the paper (p. 41): "Ciò è causato [i.e., the uncertainties about the precise location and appearance of Egyptian temples and sanctuaries in Rome] dallo stato frammentario di tali materiali, dalla loro dispersione su vastissime aree, dall'impossibilità nel risalire alle provenienze di molti pezzi, dalla mancanza pressoché totale di resti architettonici demoliti nel passato o ormai sepolti sotto il tessuto urbano modern, dalla difficoltà e spesso dall'impossibilità ad intraprendere scavi sotto luoghi, piazze ed edifici di valore storico, artistico o politico".
37. Versluys (2002).
38. Also in 2002, Swetnam-Burland submitted her PhD thesis at the University of Michigan on Aegyptiaca from Pompeii, which likewise propagated the importance of contextual understandings of Aegyptiaca: Swetnam-Burland (2002). Like Versluys, she had an educational background in the fields of Classics and Classical Archaeology rather than Egyptology, which may have contributed to the emphasis on contextual understandings that dominate these works. A summary of this unpublished thesis was published as Swetnam-Burland (2007); while finishing this manuscript, Swetnam-Burland published her much-anticipated monography on the subject: Swetnam-Burland (2015). Unfortunately, due to temporal restrictions, this book could not be fully taken into account here.
39. This does not mean, however, that the notion has disappeared altogether from recent literature. Wallace-Hadrill's book on Rome's cultural revolution is a good case in point. Egyptian material culture hardly plays any role in this book, and when it

This is clearly illustrated by the changing approaches to and focus of the international Isis Conferences that have been organised since 1999. The reference to Isis in the title of these symposiums evidently reflects the emphasis on religious understandings, which indeed remained an essential interpretive framework for the majority of the contributions to the first two volumes of proceedings.[40] An increasing awareness of the importance of contextual understandings of Aegyptiaca, however, becomes noticeable in the third volume and subsequently a general shift from a predominantly Egyptian to a quintessentially Roman interpretive perspective can be observed.[41] The respective points of focus of the fourth to sixth Isis Conferences – Egypt as a cultural concept in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, the use of concepts of Egypt as symbols for Roman Imperial power, and the agency and agents of Egypt and Egyptian cults[42] – demonstrate that, in recent years, Aegyptiaca are no longer necessarily understood as religious expressions or as signs of Egyptomania, but that the focus has instead shifted towards different ways in which Aegyptiaca and Egyptian elements could integrate their (new) Roman contexts. "Nicht mehr Ägypten, sondern Rom", as Schneider aptly noted.[43]

Yet, paradoxically, while such approaches have indeed successfully deconstructed the religious isolation of Egyptian material culture by emphasising its '*Romanness*', some have argued that these approaches have basically effected the replacement of one monolithic and non-specific interpretation of Egyptian material culture by another: namely, the interpretation that Aegyptiaca Romana were not so much Egyptian as primarily Roman. For this reason, rather than adopting either religious or (Roman) contextual isolation, neither of which provide satisfactory answers to the important questions *why* Egyptian material culture integrated and *what* it specifically meant in a particular context, recent studies advocate contextual diversification and specification instead.[44]

The research history makes clear that, while the *interpretations of* Aegyptiaca in the Roman world have changed over time, the category *itself* and the premises on which it is based are only rarely scrutinised.[45] Therefore, regardless of the interpretive perspective, Aegyptiaca are most often still studied as if they constitute an isolated and coherent group of material culture.[46] This implies that, even though recent studies have convincingly shown that the objects that we call Aegyptiaca were an integral part of the Roman world, nobody has asked whether or not it is still valid to speak of 'Egyptian material culture' in the first place. If it is valid, then what do Egyptian – or other (cultural) labels, such as Roman or Greek – specifically mean in a particular context? Before we can tackle these important questions, it is therefore necessary to deal with the category of Aegyptiaca first. On which

does, it is considered as a "purely aesthetic phenomenon with religious underpinnings" (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 357-358); cf. Osborne and Vout (2010), esp. 238-242, and Van Aerde (2015) 26-29, and 284-291.

40. Published as *De Memphis à Rome* (2000) and *Isis en Occident* (2004), respectively. The article by Versluys and Meyboom in the first volume of the proceedings is a notable exception, as it clearly insists on the importance of context: see Versluys & Meyboom (2000).
41. Published as *Nile into Tiber* (2007); see also the introduction to that volume: Versluys (2007). A good example is Parker's paper in this volume on Egyptian obelisks in Rome, which clearly summarises the new, Roman perspective (2010, 210): "Let us restate as the overarching question: what did obelisks mean to Romans of the Empire? This broad question clearly invites several possible answers, urging us to consider such varied aspects as their transportation; the measuring of obelisks and the use of them to provide measurements; the habit of adding inscriptions to them; problems involved in describing them; and finally imitations and representations. In all these respects one may examine Roman responses to and interactions with obelisks. By contrast, Egyptian ideas and practices are obviously relevant in a broader sense, without being central".
42. The proceedings of the fourth and fifth Isis Conferences were published as *Isis on the Nile* (2010) and *Power, Politics, and the Cults of Isis* (2014), respectively; the proceedings of the sixth conference, held in two parts in Erfurt and Liège in 2013, are currently in press.
43. The excerpt refers to the title of an article on Egyptian obelisks in Rome, in which these monuments are studied in their Roman contexts and accordingly made part of Roman interpretive frameworks: Schneider (2004).
44. Hence, after discussing the paradigm shift from Oriental and exotic to Roman and unspecific understandings of the so-called Oriental Religions, Versluys (2013a, 242) says: "One should therefore not conclude by saying that something is "Roman" without further elaboration – especially not if we want to understand (cultural) choices – one should explain how something functions in society, what role it plays in the "Roman" system and what "Roman" then exactly means in a particular context". For a similar focus on specification (of archaeological context in particular) see Müskens (2014a), esp. 99-100.
45. See, however, the remarks in Müskens (2014a) and Mol (2015a).
46. Note that conceptual categories, such as Aegyptiaca, reinforce the seemingly coherence of all artefacts that are grouped under its heading, and therefore inherently contribute to isolation.

conceptual grounds do we define objects as Aegyptiaca? What are the underlying assumptions of that definition? Why is there a scholarly distinction between Egyptian and Egyptianising, and what does it imply? The next section addresses these issues.

2. The category and classification of Aegyptiaca

In the absence of an ancient terminology to describe the totality or specific classes of 'Egyptian' and 'Egyptian-looking' material culture from the Roman world, scholars have created a modern vocabulary for its classification.[47] Some have suggested the adoption of specific definitions to describe the different manifestations of Egypt in the Roman world as precise as possible, while others essentially refrain from applying specific terminologies or use various terms without properly defining them. This study adopts the term Aegyptiaca to cover the totality of Egyptian and Egyptianising artefacts, that is, all objects that originate from Egypt or that evoke an association with Egypt in terms of style, subject matter, or by means of another Roman association.[48] This definition, coined by Versluys, was repeated some years later in an article by Swetnam-Burland, who intended to indicate all "things or matters related to Egypt" regardless of provenance.[49] However, this understanding of the concept of Aegyptiaca was subsequently rejected by Malaise. Acknowledging that objects subsumed under the heading of Aegyptiaca as defined by Versluys served widely different, contextually dependent functions, he argued that "il n'est pas souhaitable de regrouper sous un même vocable des réalités aussi diverses dans leurs intentions".[50] Considering the supposed importance of the cults of Isis in the Roman world in particular,[51] he instead proposed a more precise terminology that distinguishes between Aegyptiaca (all Egyptian and Egyptianising artefacts that do not relate to the Isis cults, regardless of chronology), Pharaonica (all artefacts related to the Egyptian cults of Isis and related gods, regardless of chronology and Egyptian or Italian manufacture), Nilotica (all artefacts related to the Nile flood), and products of Egyptomania (recreations and adaptations of Egyptian artefacts, in particular reflecting Roman fascinations of Egypt).[52]

It is evident that most definitions entail notions of chronology, provenance, manufacture, style, and particular subject matters. These concepts are also reflected in the problematic terms Egyptian and Egyptianising, which are often used to subdivide Egyptian material culture in the Roman world regardless of the adhered definitions. The following discussion explores the foundations and implications of the Egyptian – Egyptianising dichotomy in more detail in order to elucidate the premises that underlie modern approaches to and engagements with artefacts that we associate with Egypt.

47. On (the nearly complete absence of) relevant terminology in ancient sources, see Swetnam-Burland (2007) 119 with references.
48. Versluys (2002) 305; cf. Versluys & Meyboom (2000) 110 n. 1, and Malaise (2005) 201-204 for an overview of different applications of the concept of Aegyptiaca in scholarly literature. It should be emphasised that the term Aegyptiaca will be used as an etic concept in this study, for which see *infra*, section I.3.
49. Swetnam-Burland (2007) 119 (both quotations), and 110-119 in general.
50. Malaise (2005) 19.
51. The sources that attest to the so-called diffusion between the 4th century BC and the 4th century AD of the Isis cults outside of Egypt are sometimes called Isiaca, in order to set them apart from Aegyptiaca (which is then meant to refer to all Egyptian and Egyptianising artefacts distributed outside Egypt prior to the 4th century BC, i.e. before the supposed dissemination of the Isis cults and Isiaca began): see Bricault (2000), esp. 91-92, ibid. (2001) xi. These sources (epigraphic and material) would mainly relate to a certain circle of originally Egyptian deities, the so-called *gens isiaque*, consisting of Anubis/Hermanubis, Apis, Bubastis, Harpocrates, Horus, Hydreios, Isis, Neilos, Nephthys, Osiris, and Sarapis: see Malaise (2007) 21-31, cf. ibid. (2005) 33-78 for an extensive discussion of the different members, and 79-117 for the companions of the Isiac family (including Bes, Ammon, Thoth, Sobek, and Antinous). Another rarely used term refers to all source material relating to the god Sarapis alone: Sarapiaca. According to Bricault (2000, 92 n. 4) this term should be avoided altogether, while its use for studies focusing on this deity only is accepted by Malaise (2005, 30-31).
52. Malaise (2005) 201-220, ibid. (2007) 34-38; Malaise's definitions of Aegyptiaca, Pharaonica, and Nilotica were recently repeated by Capriotti Vittozzi (2013, 33-34).

2.1 WINCKELMANN'S SYNTHESIS ON EGYPTIAN ART HISTORY: THE FOUNDATIONS

"The categories Winckelmann first distinguished remain deeply embedded in modern approaches towards objects of antiquity – in a sense, the stages Winckelmann defined still today are most often canonical in art historical and classical archaeological studies, implicit or explicit"

Preziosi (1998) 21

"Eine einfache Erwägung zeigt, daß alle Klassifikationen, die der Mensch jemals gemacht hat, willkürlich, künstlich und falsch sind. Aber eine ebenso einfache Erwägung zeigt, daß diese Klassifikationen nützlich und unentbehrlich und vor allem unvermeidlich sind, weil sie einer eingeboren Tendenz unseres Denkens entspringen. Denn im Menschen lebt ein tiefer Wille zur Einteilung, er hat einen heftigen, ja leidenschaftlichen Hang, die Dinge abzugrenzen, einzufrieden, zu etikettieren"

Friedell (1947) 59

The exact origins of the distinction between Egyptian and Egyptianising remain unclear. I have been unable to determine when exactly the term Egyptianising was first used to describe objects related to but not quite like Egyptian objects. However, the intellectual legacy from which it has been inherited can be traced back to the work of Winckelmann. "Winckelmann est le premier", Lafaye wrote in 1884, "qui ait enseigné à reconnaître le style d'imitation dans les ouvrages qu'avant lui on qualifiait en bloc d'égyptiens; cette distinction est devenue classique".[53] When, how, and why this distinction became the prevailing, even classic interpretation are interesting questions that cannot be easily answered,[54] but it is evident that Lafaye's words are still very relevant today, as we shall see below. The essential merit of Winckelmann's historical synthesis was the historical dimension that it added to the understanding of ancient art.[55] Consequently, artefacts were no longer timeless remnants of an undifferentiated past but could be systematically and,

53. Lafaye (1884) 243-244.

54. This remark has gone unnoticed in later literature, despite the important role of Lafaye's book in the scholarship on Aegyptiaca Romana. Apart from a loose remark in a footnote of an otherwise unrelated article on the history of Egyptology (Whitehouse 1992, 66 n. 12), I have not found any other reference that explicitly mentions a relationship between Winckelmann and the classification of Egyptian material culture. Rather, scholars writing about Aegyptiaca in the Roman world usually use the distinction between categories of Egyptian and Egyptianising artefacts without paying any attention to its origins and definitions. In retrospect, this seems to have substantially contributed to the seemingly straightforward (and therefore typically implicit) nature of the classification of Egyptian material culture. However, considering its importance for our understanding of and engagements with Aegyptiaca in the Roman world, it would be interesting to explore when, how, and why this classification system had come into existence and how its persistence can be explained. Judging from Lafaye's words, written in 1884, the distinction must have been canonised sometime between the late 18th century (that is, after the initial publication of Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* in 1764 and its second edition in 1776, respectively) and the late 19th century. The key to understanding Lafaye's remark must therefore lie in 19th century scholarship on ancient Egypt and its material culture. As we have seen above, this period was indeed a formative period for the institutionalisation of academic disciplines, and it was essential in many respects for the directions in which these disciplines and their generated knowledge have subsequently developed (cf. *supra*, 7-9). Despite early criticism, the reception of Winckelmann's writings on the history of ancient art, as postulated most prominently in his *Geschichte der Kunst*, has essentially been a classic success story that earned Winckelmann general praise as founding father of the modern disciplines of art history and Classical archaeology.

55. *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* was originally published in Dresden in 1764, but Winckelmann began to make plans for a second edition already one year later. "Sobald ich Luft bekomme", Winckelmann wrote in a letter in 1765, "werde ich eine vollständigere Ausgabe der Geschichte der Kunst besorgen. Wir sind heute klüger als wir gestern war" (quotation from Winckelmann 2002, vii). Before the publication of a second edition, however, a critical supplement was published, entitled *Anmerkungen über die Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (Dresden 1767), which contained comments on and corrections of the first edition. The second significantly expanded edition would not be published (posthumously) until 1776 in Vienna (Winckelmann was murdered in 1768). A historical discussion on the various editions of *Geschichte der Kunst* and related writings can be found in the prelude to the 2002-edition of Winckelmann's texts (edited by A.H. Borbein, T.W. Gaethgens, J. Irmscher, M. Kunze) = Winckelmann (2002) vii-xi. I have consulted this edition throughout my research. Subsequent references will refer to this edition; page numbers will be given as found in this edition. Following the 2002-edition, I will use *GK1* to refer to the first edition (Dresden 1764); *GK2* will be used to refer to the second edition (Vienna 1776). For *Anmerkungen*, originally published in Dresden, 1767, I have consulted the 2008-edition by A.H. Borbein and M. Kunze = Winckelmann (2008). Subsequent references will refer to this edition; page numbers will be given as found in this edition.

above all, chronologically classified. "The classical artistic tradition", Alex Potts writes, "no longer simply presented itself as a timeless ideal, but took on the character of a historical phenomenon, caught up in a cycle of development manifest in changes of style from the crudely archaic through successive refinements to a phase of classical perfection in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, and from there to imitation and eventual decline. It is with Winckelmann that the modern distinction between an earlier, purer Greek tradition, and a later, imitative, and inherently inferior Greco-Roman one, first began to take hold".[56] Key to the understanding and application of Winckelmann's evolutionary model was the belief that sculpture would reflect the characteristic social and cultural circumstances of a particular environment and period that shaped its creation in a direct and, above all, fixed way. These circumstances would be manifest in changes of what Winckelmann called style.[57]

The supposed static relationship between style and chronology implied that random artefacts could now be chronologically organised on the basis of a careful empirical analysis of their (stylistic) characteristics. Hence, Greek sculpture was divided into four style-periods, or *Stilepochen*, that would have developed from "[…] archaic crudeness and simplicity (*der ältere Stil*) […] through successive refinements to an early classical austere phase (*der hohe Stil*) […], then to a later classical graceful and beautiful phase (*der schöne Stil*) […], and on from there to imitation, over-elaboration, and decline (*der Stil der Nachahmer*)".[58] In similar vein, Winckelmann distinguished three subsequent style-periods in Egyptian history: *der ältere* (or *wahre Aegyptische*) *Stil* that would have lasted from the earliest times of Egyptian history until the invasion of Cambyses; *der spätere Stil* covering the period between the Persian and Ptolemaic periods; and finally the *Nachahmungen Aegyptischer Werke unter dem Kaiser Hadrian*.[59] The latter category was further subdivided into objects that closely imitated Egyptian originals and those that combined Egyptian and Greek art forms. Presumptions about the sculptures' place of manufacture and the ethnicity of the sculptors were inherent to these different style-periods. Objects of the first and second groups were considered to be made in Egypt by Egyptian craftsmen. Roman imitations, on the other hand, were regarded as neither made in Egypt nor by Egyptian craftsmen.[60] The criteria for

56. Potts (2003) 130. This distinction would largely shape future scholarship on Greek and Roman sculptures known as *Kopienkritik*, for which see also *supra*, n. 13.

57. Note that rather than style only, which is understood here as the making of something in a particular way, Winckelmann's (and later authors') classification of sculpture indeed heavily depends on stylistic analysis, yet also includes (e)valuations of formal, iconographic, and, at least to some extent, material properties.

58. Potts (2006) 3. The understanding of history as cyclic patterns of rise and decline implied that some *Stilepochen* were understood as superior or inferior to others, just as some cultures and their artistic productions were considered to be inferior or superior to other cultures. For Winckelmann, Classical Greek sculpture represented the beau idéal; consequently, sculpture that preceded or succeeded Greek productions from the 5th and 4th centuries BC would be irrevocably inferior. Winckelmann's evolutionary conceptualisation of historical developments is firmly rooted in Enlightenment thinking. Instigated by a widespread concern about contemporary Baroque culture – which was conceived as a period of decline – the then current self-conscious attitude informed several historical studies, which treated history in comparable terms of birth, maturity, and decline. This evolutionary approach is clearly echoed, for instance, in the title of Edward Gibbon's seminal *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (first published between 1776-1788, some years after Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst* first appeared). Cf. Preziosi (1998) 26, Ritner (1992a).

59. See Appendix A for an excerpt from a letter dating to 1761, in which Winckelmann first postulated his thesis on Egyptian art history that he would further elaborate upon in the first edition of his *Geschichte der Kunst* (1764). As can be inferred from several quotations in Winckelmann's text, objects from the latter group are clearly to be understood as imitations and therefore essentially as not quite the real thing, like objects from the other two *Stilepochen*. The figures of the sculptures of this category, "[…] welche den alten Aegyptischen Figuren ähnlicher, als jene, kommen, und weder in Aegypten, noch von Künstlern dieses Landes, gearbeitet worden, sondern Nachahmungen Aegyptischer Werke sind, welche Kaiser Hadrian machen lassen und, so viel mir wissend ist, sind dieselben alle in dessen Villa zu Tivoli gefunden. An einigen ließ er die ältesten Aegyptischen Figuren genau nachahmen; an andern vereinigte er die Aegyptische Kunst mit der Griechischen […] Das ganze", Winckelmann continues, "hat eine Aegyptische Gestalt, aber die Theile haben nicht die Aegyptische Form". The particular traits would rather be similar to Greek forms. Winckelmann writes: "Die größte Verschiedenheit aber lieget in dem Gesichte: welches weder auf Aegyptische Art gearbeitet, noch sonst ihren Köpfen ähnlich ist. Die Augen […] sind nach dem Systema der Griechischen Kunst tief gesenket [...] Die Form des Gesichts ist vielmehr Griechisch [...]". A little later, Winckelmann adds with regard to the dress of the objects from this category: "In der Bekleidung der Figuren, welche Nachahmungen der ältesten Aegyptischen sind, verhält es sich allgemein, wie mit der Zeichnung und der Form derselben". All quotations from Winckelmann (2002) 86-88 (*GK1*).

60. "Zu den Statuen [of the third group] können die Sphinxe gerechnet werden, und es sind vier derselben von schwarzem Granit in der Villa Albani, deren Köpfe eine Bildung haben, die

classifying a certain sculpture would be formal design (*Bildung/Form*), artistic rendering (*Zeichnung*), and dress (*Bekleidung*). It is evident from these criteria that, rather than style alone, formal and iconographical features were also considered to be characteristic for particular timeframes.[61]

Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst* not merely offered a new synthesis of the history of Egyptian art; more than anything, it provided a tangible *method* for the periodisation of Egyptian sculptures where his contemporaries, such as Comte de Caylus, had failed to do so. Although Winckelmann's historical synthesis was substantially revised by later scholars,[62] the method of *Stilgeschichte*, with its emphasis on visual (stylistic) analysis as well as its underlying presumptions, would remain fundamental for future engagements with Egyptian material culture.[63] Indeed, as the following sections will make clear, most scholars that subsequently wrote about Aegyptiaca Romana did so in what was essentially a Winckelmannian tradition, although usually implicitly (and probably unconsciously). The best example of this practice is Anne Roullet's book, which will therefore be discussed first in greater detail.

2.2 ROULLET'S THE EGYPTIAN AND EGYPTIANIZING MONUMENTS FROM IMPERIAL ROME (1972)

Although the terms Egyptian and Egyptianising feature prominently in the title of the book, it does not explicitly define them. A better insight into the author's understanding of Egyptian material culture can be gained from one of the introductory chapters, entitled 'Type and style of the Egyptian and Egyptianizing monuments of

mutmaßlich in Ägypten nicht kann entworfen und gearbeitet sein": Winckelmann (2002) 88 (*GK1*).

61. It is interesting to note that, despite the emphasis on style and subject matter, Winckelmann seems to have become increasingly aware of the importance of materials. In *GK1*, the materials used for Egyptian sculpture are only briefly discussed (original page numbers 63-67). When his *Anmerkungen* were published three years later, Winckelmann's thoughts on the development of the Egyptian visual arts had not changed to the extent that a complete revision had become necessary. "Von der Kunst der Aegypter finde ich nichts besonders, was die Zeichnung, als das Wesen derselben, betrifft, hier von neuen zu bemerken […]", Winckelmann opens his commentary on *GK1*'s section on Egyptian art (Winckelmann 2008, 35). The subsequent pages of commentary are devoted to minor adjustments and additions, without changing the essence of his theory. The most significant additions are made, however, to the section on the materials used; in contrast to *GK1*, Winckelmann here elaborates on the use of white marble and Imperial porphyry for (Pharaonic) Egyptian sculpture (Winckelmann 2008, 39-41). The increasing importance of materials used also emanates from the relevant section in *GK2*, which had been substantially enlarged in comparison to the brief discussion in *GK1* (original page numbers 101-115). Winckelmann seems to have been particularly concerned with the geological source of the materials used. This emerges, for instance, from his correspondence with the French geologist Nicolas Desmarest between 1766 and 1767; in one of these letters, Winckelmann essentially argues for the importance of a collaboration between the social and natural sciences to gain a better understanding of antiquity (!): "Il seroit nécessaire […] de faire voyager ensemble des Antiquaires et des Naturalistes avec un ou deux Dessinateurs […] J'insiste encore sur un point important: je voudrais que tous les Voyageurs se préparassent à ce beau travail par un séjour au moins d'un an à Rome". Any such thorough preparation, Winckelmann continues, is necessary to improve the quality of the observations made by travellers. "Ah! quand est-ce que pourra se réaliser ce beau projet?" (Winckelmann 1956, 309-311 no. 900: letter from Winckelmann to Desmarest, dated to 5 September 1767). While these plans were not realised due to Winckelmann's untimely death in 1768, and although the reason for this specific interest is not explicitly mentioned and therefore cannot be easily proven here, it seems not unlikely that Winckelmann envisioned using material choice as supporting criterion for his classification system. The importance of materials in Winckelmann's classification system is briefly mentioned by Grimm (2005b) 167.

62. In particular, the decipherment of the hieroglyphic script in the early 1820s enabled Champollion and his successors to assess the character of Egyptian art in a way that had not been possible before. The dialogue between the work of Winckelmann and his early successors, who wrote about the understanding and periodisation of Egyptian art, in particular Champollion, is the topic of Buhe (2014). This contribution contains several interesting observations that may serve as starting point for a better understanding of the character of the nascent discipline of Egyptology and the canonisation of the understanding of Egyptian art in the 19th century. I thank Prof. van Eck for the reference to this article.

63. This is what Elsner (2003, 99-101, and 103-104) calls "style art history", which, as he shows on the basis of a brief discussion of the Arch of Constantine in Rome, already existed in the 16th century. The lasting importance of Winckelmann's writings for the academic disciplines of art history and Classical archaeology has been widely recognised in modern scholarship; see, e.g., Haskell (1994) 70: "Es ist für uns sehr schwer, von der Vorstellung Abschied zu nehmen, daß die künstlerische Schönheit ein Wertesystem wiederspiegelt […]"; cf. Preziosi (1998) and the *Metzler Lexikon Kunstwissenschaft* (2003) 337-338. As mentioned above, the influence of Winckelmann's synthesis of Egyptian art history on modern Egyptology was emphasised in the international exhibition held between 2004 and 2006 and in the accompanying exhibition catalogue, most clearly so in Grimm (2005a); cf. *supra*, 6-7 and n. 14.

Imperial Rome'.[64] This chapter is divided into two parts and it seems that its respective parts largely correspond to the relevant classes. Hence, 'Egyptian' objects are 'monuments exported from Egypt to Imperial Rome', whereas 'Egyptianizing' objects are broadly understood as 'monuments created at Rome'.[65]

'Egyptian' artefacts originate from Egypt and therefore they are considered to be genuine. Their authenticity is deemed to emanate from two closely related aspects. First, there is a temporal dimension. Authentic Egyptian objects are considered to have been made before the Imperial Roman period. A majority of them would date to the Late Period (664-332 BC) and are therefore seen as relatively contemporary productions. Regardless of the accuracy of these proposed datings and their implications for the classification of the listed objects, a survey of Roullet's 'Egyptian' objects demonstrates that a pre-Roman date of manufacture is not always strictly maintained as defining criterion.[66] Some of the objects in the appendix would be of 'Ptolemaic or Roman' date, but are nevertheless listed among the monuments exported from Egypt to Rome, while two figures of Osiris Canopus are said to be of Imperial Roman date but presumably of Alexandrian, i.e., Egyptian, workmanship.[67] This seems to suggest that the authenticity of Egyptian objects needs not necessarily be determined by a pre-Roman dating alone. Artefacts manufactured in Egypt under Roman rule may also classify as 'genuine Egyptian' objects. This leads to the second and seemingly closely related aspect of the authenticity of Egyptian objects: they are considered to have been manufactured in Egypt proper and, although not explicitly mentioned in the book, supposedly by skilled Egyptian craftsmen. For Roullet, therefore, the classification of Egyptian sculpture also has ethnic-geographic connotations.

Her understanding of 'Egyptianizing' objects is quite different. This classification evidently has a geographical dimension that sets the artefacts in this group apart from 'Egyptian' objects. In the book's introduction, Roullet argues: "[…] though it is risky to suppose that a Roman Egyptianizing copy or creation, of which the actual origin is unknown, must come from Rome, this, in fact, is most likely", and somewhat later she states that "the copies must have been executed in Italy. It is virtually certain that the duplicates were made in Rome to fulfil the needs of the layout of a temple, palace or villa. The Egyptian craftsmen, authors of such pieces, settled in Italy in the 1st century A.D. to satisfy an already significant demand".[68] Even though these statements are not substantiated, they provide important clues for understanding Roullet's ideas about 'Egyptianizing' objects and to elucidate the broader context in which the assertion about place of manufacture has to be understood. It can be inferred that the term Egyptianising embodies aspects of time, copying and duplicating, and ethnicity. Egyptianising artefacts would have been manufactured

64. Roullet (1972) 13-22.
65. Ibid., 14 and 18, respectively.
66. Ibid., 153-156: Appendix III. The numerous question marks in the appendix readily demonstrate the incomplete information about the listed objects and are illustrative of some of the main problems that surround the dating of Egyptian sculpture. A proper identification is often only possible on the basis of hieroglyphic inscriptions and when objects are sufficiently well preserved. Especially when royal cartouches of a pharaoh's name are present, an object can be more or less securely attributed to a specific reign and the (approximate) historical timeframe that is known from other sources (not taking into account the common practice of usurpation). Alternatively, when names of private individuals are mentioned in inscriptions, an approximate dating can often be reconstructed on the basis of prosopographic analysis. In certain cases, other types of written information may contribute to the correct identification of Egyptian sculpture, such as the mentioning of specific historical events, provenances, or palaeography. However, because of archaeological preservation, on the one hand, and a general decline of the practice of inscribing Egyptian sculpture from the Late Period onwards, on the other, the dating of many (fragments of) sculptures is not without its problems. In the absence of solid points of reference, close stylistic and typological analyses remain the main heuristic devices for investigation (Hartwig 2015, esp. 41-45; this practice is also called connoisseurship: see Josephson 2015). These methods certainly have their merits, although it is now generally accepted that detailed chronologies based on stylistic (and typological) developments are, at best, problematic. This is clearly shown in Roullet's Appendix III. A specific dating is only given when the name of the relevant pharaoh, obtained from preserved cartouches, is known. In the absence of these points of reference, and when the dating of relevant objects consequently comes to depend on stylistic and typological analyses, there is room for speculation and doubt. The sharp increase of question marks concerning the attribution to a specific pharaoh, which can be readily explained by the aforementioned absence of cartouches (and the perceived non-individuality of Egyptian sculpture), is accompanied by a general increase of uncertainty in the attribution of objects to a specific dynasty, which, in turn, reflects the limitations of chronologies based on style and typology.
67. Objects no. 170, 174, 268-270 and 301a-b (all Ptolemaic or Roman), and 144b and 147 (Osiris Canopus), respectively.
68. Quotations taken from Roullet (1972) xiv and 19, respectively.

in Imperial Roman times, they would have been inspired by or "dans le style" of genuine Egyptian art, and copies and duplicates would furthermore have been carved by Egyptian sculptors. In order to fully reconstruct Roullet's understanding of Aegyptiaca, we must consider these three aspects separately.

The temporal division is not always strictly maintained and, moreover, the dating of many so-called Egyptianising objects is not always clear. For instance, the statue of the Apis-bull, the so-called Apis Brancaccio, is listed among the objects created in Rome, although the proposed datings are not clearly indicative of a Roman Imperial date of manufacture.[69] Furthermore, Egyptianising objects are considered to be inspired by authentic Egyptian objects and therefore essentially regarded as *not* authentic. A survey of Roullet's catalogue descriptions of these Egyptianising artefacts indicates that this group can be further divided into four sub-groups. The majority of these are described as either Roman creations in Egyptianising style or Roman imitations. Besides these two sub-groups, other Egyptianising objects are specified as Roman copies and Roman creations with Egyptianising motifs or décor.[70] Although not explicitly stated, it appears that these four sub-groups represent the relative degrees to which authentic Egyptian sculptures are (understood to be) reproduced, as if according to a scale of perceived *Egyptianness*. In decreasing order of resemblance, the implicit order runs from Roman copies, to Roman imitations, to Roman creations in Egyptianising style, to Roman creations with Egyptianising motifs or decor.[71]

We have already seen that, according to Roullet, the most faithful reproductions of Egyptian artefacts, copies and duplicates, were supposedly made by Egyptians. More specifically, she argues that "the working of hard stone, the respect for Egyptian proportions and way of representation were severe demands on a Roman sculptor trained to express classical figures in marble or limestone. A good copy could only be done properly by an Egyptian. Strong doubts must be felt about accepting the thesis that these copies were executed at Alexandria, in second-rate workshops. Why should the Roman emperors and aristocracy have ordered a relatively mediocre production and taken the trouble to have it brought back to Italy, when they could have found excellent genuine pieces only a few miles away?"[72] This clearly suggests that the supposed ethnicity of the sculptors of copies and duplicates would be based on a presumed relationship between material and stylistic properties of objects, on the one hand, and the technical capability of artists from a certain (ethnic) background, on the other. The (in)competence of sculptors, in other words, is measured against a modern and imaginary ideal of how Egyptian style and iconography should look (and subsequently is made assessable through visual analysis). The underlying idea, it seems, is that Romans would be the creators of sculptures made from marble and limestone in what we usually call a Classical style,

69. Roullet (1972) 129-130 no. 267. The 'monuments created at Rome' are listed in Roullet's Appendix IV, p. 157-158. A survey of the catalogue descriptions on the basis of the objects cited in this appendix demonstrates that the dating of many artefacts is uncertain; cf. *supra*, n. 66.

70. Roman creations in Egyptianising style (n = 63); Roman imitations (n = 65); Roman copies (n = 8); Roman creations with Egyptianising motifs or décor (n = 3). Note that only objects that provide useful information about the sub-classification of this class of artefacts were taken into account. For that reason, descriptions that specify that a certain object would be 'Roman', or a 'Roman creation', have not been included – although in these cases the question remains what 'Roman' specifically means: chronological, geographical, ethnical, …?

71. This relative order can be reconstructed from several remarks by the author. With regard to Roman copies and imitations, Roullet says (1972, 18; my italics): "A careful distinction should be made between duplicates (nos. 277, 181) created to balance an isolated genuine monument, and *mere* imitations created after a genuine piece, but used independently of it". The two duplicates, no. 277 and 281, are described in Roullet's Appendix IV as Roman copies, which are furthermore said to be faithful reproductions of authentic Egyptian objects that were probably made by Egyptian craftsmen in the respective catalogue entries. Imitations, on the other hand, are said to be created *after* genuine objects, and therefore considered as less faithful and, consequently, less authentic; these are, in other words, less 'truly Egyptian'. In similar vein, it may be argued that Roman creations in Egyptianising style would be a step further away still from genuine Egyptian objects, since these would not have been created after authentic objects at all, but merely allude to authentic Egyptian objects through their stylistic properties. Finally, Roullet considers Roman creations with Egyptianising motifs or décor as representing objects that are neither made after genuine Egyptian objects, nor understood to recall Egyptian artistic traditions by means of stylistic properties. According to her, they would merely incorporate Egyptian-looking elements in their (otherwise non-Egyptian looking) compositions. Therefore, these objects would evidently rank lowest on the scale of *Egyptianness*. For a similar notion see Lafaye (1884, 244), where objects in a 'style d'imitation' are said to display "[…] une infinité de nuances; il y a des degrés dans la soumission dont les artistes font preuve à l'égard de leurs modèles égyptiens […]").

72. Roullet (1972) 18-19.

while Egyptians (and Egyptians only!) had the skill and knowledge to (re-)produce sculptures from hard stones in a so-called Egyptian style. This presumes, in other words, a direct and linear relationship between peoples and objects or, more specifically, between ethnicity, style, and material.

The above quotation also illustrates the perceived relationship between Egyptianising and Egyptian objects. Roullet considers Egyptianising productions to be "relatively mediocre", as opposed to Egyptian or "excellent genuine pieces".[73] Clearly, the classification of Egyptian material culture, and the Egyptian – Egyptianising dichotomy in particular, also involves value judgement. The specific judgement of a certain object, it seems, relates to that object's (perceived) proximity to (what is considered as) an Egyptian ideal or, in other words, its *Egyptianness*. Authentic Egyptian objects are considered to be excellent and beautiful, whereas the farther down an object would rank on the scale of *Egyptianness*, the less excellent, beautiful, etc. that particular object would be.[74]

Chronology appears to be a determining factor in this valuation process.[75] Roullet asserts that "It is interesting to note that the second generation of Egyptian workers in Italy had already lost the skill and style of their fathers (a phenomenon also noticeable in Egypt at the same time, but to a lesser extent). If Domitian's production could still be classed as Egyptian, Hadrian's creations were often only Egyptianizing […]". Shortly after she adds that "the late Roman Empire was to Egyptian art what the 19th century was to mediaeval art, and Hadrian's revivals could match Viollet-le-Duc's".[76] This powerful equation is explained in very absolute terms in the closing section of her paragraph on Egyptianising objects. Because it is particularly illustrative of Roullet's understanding of Egyptian material culture altogether, it is useful to quote it here in full: "As an illustration of the deep misunderstanding of Egyptian representation by the Romans, two Roman restorations made of genuine Egyptian pieces may be cited. Hadrian had, presumably among his collections, the body of a Ptolemaic Isis, a full figure covered with the narrow pleated tunic knotted between the heavy breasts; only its head was missing. But it was thought easy to repair, for the restorer found a new head among other Egyptian fragments, that of a priest with a short wig (?XXXth Dynasty-Ptolemaic) […] The Romans not only failed to distinguish two different styles, they could not even tell the sexes apart. Another restoration which constitutes a vandalism, was executed on a beautiful but damaged Ptolemaic Isis […] The restorer here erased a good deal of the sensuous curves of the body and clumsily managed to cut into the hard stone a new Hellenistic drapery with diagonal pleats".[77]

Now that the underlying premises have been clarified, we will discuss two examples that illustrate how the classification of Egyptian sculpture actually works in scholarly practice. Roullet's catalogue includes two sculptures of the originally Egyptian dwarf-god Bes in Imperial porphyry, catalogue numbers 105 and 109, respectively. "The Romans were the first to use the Egyptian red porphyry", Roullet notes in one of the introductory chapters, and therefore concludes that both statues can only be dated to the Imperial Roman period.[78]

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73. Roullet (1972) 19.
74. It is therefore perhaps no coincidence that Malaise uses the adjective "beau" to describe what he calls an "Alexandrine" relief, a marble relief depicting, among other things, an enthroned figure of Sarapis. In Malaise's opinion, the relief would have been made in Alexandria around the 2nd century BC: Malaise (1972a) 229-230 no. 420; cf. *infra*, 126 no. 044.
75. Egyptianising objects are understood to be derivative of older (Egyptian) artefacts, in the same way as the word 'Egyptianising' is derived from the term 'Egyptian'. Simply put, the older the artefact, the more authentically Egyptian and hence superior to later productions it would be. From that perspective, the start of the Imperial Roman period would be the decisive chronological watershed.
76. Quotations from Roullet (1972) 20. Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) was a French architect and architectural theorist, best known for his (over-)restorations of medieval buildings, such as the Notre Dame de Paris and the city of Carcassonne in southern France. His restoration works were part of a broader 19th-century European movement that sought to restore medieval buildings to how they might have looked in their original state (in England known as Victorian restorations). Viollet-le-Duc's interventions brought profound changes to the original character of the buildings. Rather than restoring the buildings in their original and historically correct state, he altered them to fit his personal, ideal vision of the Middle Ages. See L. Sorensen, "Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc", *Dictionary of Art Historians* (available online at https://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/violletleduce.htm; accessed January 15, 2015).
77. Roullet (1972) 21-22. Note (a) that the Ptolemaic Isis (genuine) is specified as beautiful, and the Roman (non-authentic) restoration a clumsy vandalism, and (b) that the cited examples serve to illustrate the deep misunderstanding of Egyptian material culture by Romans.
78. Quotation from ibid., 19.

This also implies, on the basis of her analysis, that they would be essentially not authentic and therefore classify as Egyptianising rather than as Egyptian objects.[79] More specifically, object no. 105 is said to probably have been the work of Egyptian craftsmen (and therefore a copy, although this is not explicitly mentioned), while object no. 109 is considered to be a Roman imitation. What caused this different perception, given the fact that both statues portray a similar subject matter and are carved from the same hard stone, Egyptian Imperial porphyry?

The answer to this question lies in the respective sculptures' perceived proximity to genuine Egyptian examples, and more specifically in their respective iconographical models and particular details. Object no. 109 is a squatting figure of Bes (Fig. 1.2.1). Several iconographical features can be distinguished that allow for a secure identification of the subject matter as the dwarf-god (e.g., a corpulent, squat body, form of ears, nose, and beard). Other features that can be recognised from the photograph of the sculpture reproduced in Roullet are the squared base on which the figure rests and the lower part of a back-pillar. Neither of these specific features nor a general description are presented in the relevant catalogue entry. Besides the material used, it only mentions that the sculpture would be a "Roman imitation". The rationale for this (supposedly straightforward) classification cannot be inferred from the summary description, and the question why this object was perceived as a Roman imitation therefore remains open.

Let us first consider the other Bes sculpture (no. 105), which presents the dwarf-god with a frontal depiction of the goddess' Hathor head on top (Fig. 1.2.2). The description of the objects reads as follows: "The form of the pedestal is an adaptation of a motif used for sistrum handles and, sometimes, other minor objects […] A back pillar runs along the whole height of the pedestal". Although brief, the description is important in two respects. First, the statue is described in Egyptological terms, contrary to the other Bes sculpture. In other words, the particular iconographical model of this sculpture can be related to objects known from ancient Egypt proper. This is demonstrated by the cited Egyptological literature in the catalogue entry of Bes no. 105 that refers to "the same motif on Egyptian objects".[80] Moreover, it is mentioned explicitly that the back-pillar of the statue runs along the entire height of the pedestal. This is important because this particular feature is often considered to be characteristic of (genuine) Egyptian sculpture. In contrast, the absence of a back-pillar or formal adaptations and different heights of this feature are usually considered as one of the characteristics typical of Roman Imperial times and therefore of non-authentic productions.[81]

Because formal, stylistic and iconographic features are considered to relate to aspects of time, authenticity, and ethnicity in a direct and fixed way, empirical observations of the particularities of material culture can be used as an (inductive) method for classification. This typically Winckelmannian *modus operandi* can be observed throughout Roullet's book and provides the key to understanding her different classifications of the Bes sculptures. Since the two statues are carved from Imperial porphyry that was only quarried in Roman times, both objects date from the Roman Imperial period and therefore classify as Egyptianising rather than Egyptian artefacts.[82] The following sub-

79. And they are indeed listed as such in Appendix IV.

80. The motif is indeed known from several Egyptian examples. It occurred most prominently on the rattles that were used in the cult for the Egyptian goddess Hathor and served, among others things, an apotropaic purpose that refers back to Egyptian religion and mythology; cf. Müskens (2014a) with references.

81. Hence, Roullet (1972, 20) writes about sculptures dating from the Roman period that "Back pillars were either forgotten or replaced by a little obelisk […], a tree trunk […], or even a heavy coat falling straight from the shoulders down to the feet".

82. It would be interesting to find out what Roullet's classification of object no. 105 would have been if it had not been carved from Imperial porphyry but, for instance, from another Egyptian stone material that was also used for sculptural purposes in Egypt before Roman Imperial times. The sculpture must have struck the author as altogether 'quite Egyptian', otherwise she certainly would not have argued that it presumably was the work of an Egyptian craftsman (who, in her opinion, would have been the only one capable of making a good copy). In this case, however, the material that was used acts as a give-away for the dating of the sculpture, which, in turn, must have ruled out the possibility of the sculpture being authentic Egyptian. The material was indeed rarely used before Roman Imperial times and for small objects only. The Romans were the first to actively quarry this material, which was used for both sculptural and architectonic purposes (cf. Müskens 2010). But what would have happened if this particular sculpture was carved from the characteristic pink granite from Aswan, one of the most prominent materials for Egyptian sculpture that had already known a long tradition before the Roman period? Of course we cannot know for sure, but it is interesting to contemplate, as it relates more generally to

Fig. 1.2.1. Sculpture of Bes in Imperial porphyry, Roullet's cat. no. 109 (after Roullet 1972, pl. 93, fig. 126).

classification of one object as a Roman copy and the other as Roman imitation can be explained by their respective degrees of perceived *Egyptianness*. The particular iconographical model, or typology, and the representation of the back-pillar of object no. 105 must have struck Roullet as more 'genuinely Egyptian' than the typology and 'un-Egyptian' form of the back-pillar of object no. 109. The former, Bes no. 105, must have appeared to her as the next best thing after a genuine Egyptian object, and therefore a Roman copy executed by Egyptian craftsmen. In contrast, object no. 109 could only be lower on the scale of perceived *Egyptianness*. Since it does not concern an altogether new creation executed in an Egyptian-looking style that could only have been made in Imperial Roman times (and by a

the question which role materials used play in the classification of Egyptian sculpture.

Fig. 1.2.2. Sculpture of Bes in Imperial porphyry, Roullet's cat. no. 105 (after Roullet 1972, pl. 91, fig. 122).

Roman?), Roullet considered it not as a Roman creation in Egyptianising style, but as a Roman imitation that was made after a genuine object.

2.3 MALAISE'S INVENTAIRE PRÉLIMINAIRE (1972)

Malaise's inventory of Aegyptiaca from Italy remains fundamental to the present day.[83] However, the book provides no theoretical background to explain the terms that are used to determine and classify the objects under discussion.[84] Therefore, in order to reconstruct the grounds on which Malaise classifies Egyptian material culture, I made a survey of the attestations of the terms 'Egyptian' and 'Egyptianising' as well as other related classificatory terms. The results are collected in Table 1.2.1 below.[85] The findings indicate

83. Malaise (1972a); cf. *supra*, n. 32.
84. Consequently, 'Egyptian' and 'Egyptianising' are used as descriptive adjectives without explanation, as illustrated by the following quotations: "ce qui est égyptien ou égyptisant", "les œuvres égyptiennes ou égyptisantes", "sculptures égyptiennes ou égyptisantes" (Malaise 1972a, xii, xiii, and 188, respectively).
85. The overview is based on the archaeological evidence from Rome: Malaise (1972a) 167-237. Coins are excluded since the terminology central to this discussion is not applied to these objects. Numbers in the table refer to Malaise's catalogue numbers. Besides attestations of the terms 'Egyptian' and

Table 1.2.1. Survey of classificatory terminology of Aegyptiaca in Malaise (1972a).

Cat. no.	**"Egyptian"**
319	"Partie supérieure d'une statuette égyptienne de basalte (XVIIIe dynastie?)"
341	"Une seule sculpture égyptienne provient du Capitole […] Il s'agit d'un fragment d'une statuette en serpentine d'un personnage agenouillé portant un *naos*. Ce travail d'époque romaine […]"
383	"Fragment de clepsydre égyptienne"
407	"Fragment d'une statuette égyptienne d'époque saïte (XXVIe dynastie)"
419a	"Un fragment de frise égyptienne, en basalte noir, de Nectanébo Ier (XXXe dynastie)"
425	"Une clepsydre égyptienne du IIIe s. avant J.-C."
	"Egyptianising"
317	"Relief en marbre de style égyptisant […] Ces fragments […] datent, au plus tard, de la première moitié du IIe s. (peut-être bien de l'époque d'Adrien)"
362	"Sphinx royal en granit rose avec *nemes* et uraeus. Travail de style égyptisant, d'époque ptolémaïque ou romaine"
399	"Fragment d'une tête féminine égyptisante en marbre […] Il doit s'agir de la copie d'une Isis ptolémaïque"
405	"Fragment acéphale d'une statuette féminine égyptisante en terre cuite"
414	"Deux statuettes en marbre blanc […] figurant deux offrants nus agenouillés sur les talons et présentant une table d'offrande égyptienne […] Œuvre sortie d'un atelier romain, mais de facture égyptisante"
424	"Statue royale en basalte. Cette sculpture égyptisante, probablement une œuvre de l'époque d'Adrien"
	Other references
307	"Une statue de prêtresse égyptienne en marbre salin […] Style égyptien d'imitation"
309	"Base de colonne sculptée de fleurs de lotus. Style d'imitation"
323	"Statue de Sérapis assis […] Il s'agit d'une copie romaine du IIe siècle du type bryaxidien"
337	"Fragment d'une statuette en basalte vert foncé d'un naophore. Œuvre ptolémaïque ou d'imitation romaine"
339	"Chapiteau ionique taillé dans un bloc de marbre de remploi. Ce bloc était orné d'une figure égyptienne d'imitation"
356	"Chapiteau campaniforme en marbre et […] partie inférieure de la colonne […] Cette colonne est une imitation romaine des colonnes égyptiennes campaniformes"
363 (352/368 /386)	"Colonne de granit de style égypto-romain […] Le fût […] imite sommairement les colonnes égyptiennes […] Ces reliefs rappellent les scènes égyptiennes et offrent le même manque de perspective; mais il convient de relever des nouveautés romaines […] Ces reliefs, sans doute exécutés en Italie […]"
381	"Le style de ces motifs [i.e., of motifs on a marble entablature] est égypto-romain"
384bis	"Grosse dalle fragmentaire de granit ornée de reliefs […] Œuvre importée d'Égypte"
392	"Fragment de marbre répresentant Isis en haut relief […] Ce relief semble une copie romaine exécutée, vers le milieu du IIe siècle, à partir d'un original hellénistique du IIe s. avant notre ère"
394	"Un fragment de statuette égypto-romaine"
396	"Fragment de relief en marbre [w. seated divinities wearing *nemes*-headdresses and holding *was*-scepters] Copie romaine d'un original d'époque tardive"
397	"Fragment d'un relief en marbre [w. various Egyptian crowns] Copie romaine"
398	"Fragment de relief en marbre […] En-dessous, un Apis est couché sur une enseigne. Le style de l'animal n'a rien d'égyptien. Copie romaine"
400	"Chapiteau hathorique en marbre […] Copie romaine"
404	"Fragment de plaque de terre cuite ornée de la tête d'Ammon […] Copie d'un original ptolémaïque"

several overlaps between Malaise and Roullet with regard to their understanding of Aegyptiaca and their underlying principles of classification. The term Egyptian is most often used as adjective in combination with a pre-Roman Imperial date of manufacture, although, like in Roullet's book, this temporal division is not always strictly maintained.[86] Moreover, Malaise's connotations of Egyptianising are comparable to those in Roullet's work, reflecting aspects of time,[87] copying and imitating,[88] and geography (as well as ethnicity?).[89] Perceived *Egyptianness* appears to be the main heuristic device to determine the specific classification.

2.4 LEMBKE'S DIE FORMALE SYSTEMATIK DER AEGYPTIACA IM ISEUM CAMPENSE (1994)

The most explicit explanation of the classification of Aegyptiaca in the Roman world is found in Katja Lembke's book on the Iseum Campense in Rome.[90] She makes a distinction between Egyptian and Egyptianising objects, and breaks the latter category down into Egyptian-Roman and Roman-Egyptian classes. The latter subdivision is subsequently divided into copies, imitations, and objects with Egyptian motifs. This model is largely comparable to the above-discussed classification systems, and to a large extent this is also true for its underlying presumptions. Hence, according to Lembke, Egyptian objects would have been made in Egypt by Egyptian craftsmen before the Roman annexation of Egypt in 30 BC. Aegyptiaca made after this chronological watershed are considered to be Egyptianising, and this group would contain both objects "die in Ägypten oder von Ägyptern hergestellt wurden" – namely, the so-called Egyptian-Roman works – and "Arbeiten römischer Bildhauer in Italien", or Roman-Egyptian works.[91] Again, *perceived Egyptianness* emerges as main heuristic device: in decreasing order of resemblance to 'genuine' Egyptian objects, the order first runs from Egyptian via Egyptian-Roman to Roman-Egyptian artefacts, and subsequently, within the latter group, from copies, imitations, to objects with Egyptian motifs.[92]

However, more than in any of the previously discussed works, the materials used are considered as an important criterion for classification. Lembke presents a hierarchy of materials that would express the different degrees to which materials of genuine Egyptian sculpture were reproduced. In doing so, she uses the geological provenance of materials as argument

'Egyptianising' proper, the table includes other references that elucidate Malaise's classification and understanding of Egyptian material culture.

86. Naophoros statuette no. 341 is said to be an Egyptian sculpture dating from the Roman period.

87. In general, the term Egyptianising is used to denote objects of Roman Imperial age, even though, as is the case with Roullet, it may also be applied to refer to objects dating from older periods: a royal sphinx from granite (no. 362) is said to be a "travail de style égyptisant, d'époque ptolémaïque ou romaine". A similar notion is present in Lafaye's work, who argues that it is probable that the "style d'imitation [i.e., Egyptianising objects] était répandu à Alexandrie bien avant qu'Isis et Sérapis ne fussent connus à Rome": Lafaye (1884) 244.

88. In the case of a fragmentarily preserved Egyptianising female head "il doit s'agir de la copie d'une Isis ptolémaïque" (no. 399). The imitation of so-called Egyptian styles is closely related to the Roman Imperial period (no. 323: "copie romaine du IIe siècle du type bryaxidien [i.e., early Ptolemaic]"; 337: "Œuvre ptolémaïque ou d'imitation romaine; 392: "copie romaine exécutée, vers le milieu du IIe siècle, à partir d'un original hellénistique du IIe s. avant notre ère; 396: "Copie romaine d'un original d'époque tardive"; 404: "Copie d'un original ptolémaïque") and it would have resulted in an Egyptian-Roman or Egyptian imitation style: no. 363, 381, 394 (Egyptian-Roman); 307, 309, and 339 (Egyptian imitations); 356, 397, 398, and 400 (Roman copies).

89. The practice of summarily imitating Egyptian columns is associated with an Italian place of manufacture (no. 363), and two marble statuettes with Egyptian offering plateaus are said to be "Œuvre[s] sortie[s] d'un atelier romain, mais de facture égyptisante" (no. 414). The latter description is directly copied from one of the works Malaise cites in the relevant catalogue entry, namely, Bosticco (1952, 32), where the statuettes are said to be made by an inexperienced imitator of Egyptian sculpture: "Le statuette sono uscite dalla bottega di un modesto imitatore di età romana il quale rivela la sua imperizia nella pesantezza del modellato e in quel senso di abbandono che giunge sino alla deformazione del piede, poggiato sullo zoccolo con cui fa corpo: le mani sono appena abbozzate". For the marble statuettes, see *infra*, 99-100 no. 017-018.

90. This topic is treated in the section entitled Die formale Systematik der Aegyptiaca im Iseum Campense: Lembke (1994) 33-50, which essentially is an adaptation of a previous categorisation of Egyptian sculptures from the Villa Torlonia in Rome: Curto (1967); cf. Lembke (1994) 34 n. 82.

91. Lembke (1994) 36 and 41, respectively.

92. "Die drei Gruppen der Kopien, Umbildungen und motivischen Übernahmen sind linear in dem Sinn zu verstehen, als sie sich hinsichtlich des Materials und der Berücksichtigung ägyptischer Kunstprinzipien jeweils weiter von den Vorbildern [i.e., genuine Egyptian objects] entfernen": ibid., 49.

to determine the place of manufacture of Aegyptiaca (*Herkunft*). Hence, according to her interpretation, the categories of Egyptian and Egyptian-Roman Egyptianising objects, the two categories that can be considered to be most authentically Egyptian because they are made in Egypt by Egyptians, are entirely made from Egyptian stone materials.[93] Going farther down the scale of *Egyptianness*, we go from copies that are made from *Hartgesteinen*, like Egyptian and Egyptian-Roman Aegyptiaca, but that no longer stem from Egyptian sources, to imitations where "im Vergleich zu den bisher betrachteten Gruppen […] erstmals das Material Marmor [erscheint]", to objects with Egyptian motifs whereby "die Materialien ägyptischer Kunst fremd [sind], denn es gibt keine Anzeichen für die Verwendung von Marmor […] in pharaonischer Zeit".[94]

As we have seen, the above-mentioned scholars approached formal, stylistic and iconographic features of material culture as related to aspects of time, authenticity, and ethnicity in direct and predetermined ways.[95] In addition, Lembke's work suggests that materials also relate to these aspects, and to the ethnicity of sculptors in particular. Namely, she explains the differences between Egyptianising copies (in coloured stones of non-Egyptian origin) and Egyptian originals based on the difficulties that Roman sculptors (the presumed authors of copies) would have had in working hard stones. Instead, she adds a little later, Roman sculptors "[waren] es gewohnt, mit Marmor zu arbeiten, [und] zeigen dabei eine größere Fähigkeit als bei dem Umgang mit Hartgesteinen".[96]

2.5 CONCLUSION: AEGYPTIACA AND THE FOCUS ON REPRESENTATION

This section has shown that, probably initiated by Winckelmann, the paradigm that has so far dominated the study of Aegyptiaca in the Roman world has resulted in a research tradition that strongly relies on representation. *What* is represented determines whether or not we define objects as Aegyptiaca in the first place, and these objects are further subdivided into either Egyptian or Egyptianising classes based on *how* certain themes are represented. Subject matter and style, in other words, are generally treated as the main heuristic devices to understand the broad variety of artefacts that we associate with Egypt. Crucial to this is the implicit assumption that perceived style and iconography relate to place of manufacture and ethnicity in a fixed and direct way. *Where* Aegyptiaca were made and *who* made them are therefore two key questions in the current approaches to these objects.

The above discussion also demonstrates that the distinction between Egyptian and Egyptianising objects is essentially a modern construction and not one of Romans. In other words, terms like Egyptian and Egyptianising say more about modern understandings of Egyptian material culture than about Roman ones. This has important methodological implications for previous approaches to Aegyptiaca. Defining an object as either Egyptian or Egyptianising seriously complicates a bottom-up assessment of its Roman understandings, since that classification in fact already determines its interpretation. Terms like Egyptian and Egyptianising by definition imply that the (perceived) *Egyptianness* of these artefacts, which is principally defined on the basis of modern understandings of subject matter and style, chiefly determined their meaning in Roman contexts. By projecting our interpretations of Aegyptiaca as cultural representations of Egypt onto the Roman world, we not only presume that our understandings of *Egyptianness* – which may vary considerably between different scholars, as the above discussion has shown – are the same as Roman understandings of *Egyptianness*, we also exclude the possibility that these objects could have functioned in the Roman world for other reasons than what they represent according to our opinions, namely, Egyptian subject matters executed in Egyptian styles.

93. Lembke (1994) 34 and 36, respectively. In this respect, see also Lembke's explanation of Egyptian-Roman Aegyptiaca: "Grundlage für diese Einordnung sind erstens die Materialien, die ägyptischen Werken entsprechen, zweitens die Ikonographie, die in ägyptischer Tradition steht, und drittens die künstlerische Gestaltung, die ebenfalls ägyptisch geprägt ist. Gewandelt hat sich nur der Stil der Skulpturen bzw. Der Inschrift auf dem Obelisken" (quotation from p. 36).
94. Quotations taken from ibid., 42 and 48, respectively; on the use of white marble in Pharaonic Egypt, cf. *infra*, 73 with n. 304.
95. On this matter see now also Swetnam-Burland (2015) 41f.
96. Lembke (1994) 41, quotation from p. 42. For a similar idea about the relationship between certain materials and the ethnicity of sculptors, see the quotation from Anne Roullet's book above (*supra*, 20).

Recognising these issues, Molly Swetnam-Burland has recently proposed to move beyond modern classifications like Egyptian and Egyptianising by redirecting attention towards quintessentially Roman receptions of so-called Aegyptiaca.[97] She thus has shifted the line of inquiry from top-down projections of what Egypt means (to her), to more flexible, bottom-up engagements that allow for an assessment of how objects that we call Egyptian functioned in their Roman contexts and of the characteristics that determined their use and perception. Rather than place of origin, she argues that the efficacy of Aegyptiaca for the Roman viewer would have primarily resulted from their subject matter, style, and theme.[98] While this assertion is not unproblematic in itself, as an object's place of origin could be an important asset in the way it was used and perceived in its (new) context,[99] this approach is nevertheless a methodical step forward since it no longer uncritically subscribes to established approaches to Aegyptiaca and related terminologies, and instead looks for more flexible interpretations.

Again, however, the focus is first and foremost on subject matter and stylistic execution. What Swetnam-Burland and most other scholars to date have not sufficiently recognised are the importance of the materials of Aegyptiaca and the social values that may be related to certain materials. Although the use of materials seems to play an important role in current classifications of Aegyptiaca, albeit mostly implicitly,[100] previous studies are characterised by a general neglect of the materials used, which are typically dismissed with a single word that merely indicates whether an object is made, for example, of granite or marble.[101] Not only are these characterisations often found to be incorrect, as will become clear in Part III of this study, the material data are also only rarely involved in discussions of how these objects functioned and

97. "Their employment [i.e., of the terms Egyptian and Egyptianising] often masks problematic assumptions about both the production and reception": Swetnam-Burland (2007) 114. The author briefly draws attention to the relative valuation inherent in "the pejorative *-izing* designation" (p. 116), and mentions several problematic notions, including perceived authenticity, inferiority and superiority, (mis)understanding, ethnicity of sculptors, and (modern) perception of style.

98. Swetnam-Burland (2007), esp. 120; see also ibid. (2015) 19 for a similar view.

99. As Mol (2013, esp. 123) demonstrates.

100. It appears that objects whose classification as Aegyptiaca or either Egyptian/Egyptianising artefacts is most heavily disputed are frequently carved from white marble, while objects that have invariably been classified as Aegyptiaca are often made from coloured stone materials. Hence, while all scholars have classified objects like monumental obelisks or the zoomorphic sculptures of Thoth in the Capitoline Museum – inscribed with hieroglyphs, with Egyptian stylistic characteristics, and made from coloured hardstones (see *infra*, 152-155 no. 070-071) – as Egyptian artefacts, the understanding of other objects as Aegyptiaca is contested and indeed may differ between authors. Representations of Sarapis in white marble are a good case in point. Although they form a substantial part of the material evidence from Rome in Malaise's work (1972a), they are altogether lacking in Roullet's inventory of Aegyptiaca from that city (Roullet 1972). The identification of the famous white marble statue of the Esquiline Venus is even more heavily debated and therefore particularly illustrative of the problematic definition of Aegyptiaca. Venus is one of the suggested identifications, as well as Cleopatra VII, Isis-Aphrodite, and even Drusilla-Isis-Aphrodite. None of these views is generally accepted, however, and as a result the statue has irregularly appeared in overviews of Aegyptiaca from Rome (see *infra*, 110 no. 028). Such examples make clear that, although there is some kind of common understanding of what is (deemed) Egyptian and what is not, there is also a grey area in between where individual opinions abound – and where the materials used seem to play an important role. While the specific role of material choice in considerations and strategies of object classification remains to be elucidated, this observation nevertheless suggests that the material constituent of Aegyptiaca in some way influences our understanding of objects as having something to do with Egypt or not. The previously mentioned different levels of perceived *Egyptianness* may help explain what is at stake here: coloured stones possibly represent a stronger mental association with Egypt than white marbles, at least for us modern observers. The interesting question then becomes whether a similar observation holds true from a Roman perspective or, in other words, what role materials played in Roman perceptions of objects we call Aegyptiaca.

101. The lack of attention for the materials of Aegyptiaca is perhaps surprising given the recent developments in both Italian/Roman and Egyptian archaeology, where material characterisation studies are currently booming. This is attested, for instance, by the numerous contributions to the proceedings of the Association for the Study of Marbles and Other Stones in Antiquity (henceforth: ASMOSIA) by scholars like L. Lazzarini, S. Walker, M. Waelkens, Y. Maniatis, N. Herz, P. Pensabene, R. Tykot, D. Attanasio, M. Bruno, J.J. Herrmann Jr., P. Blanc, and J. Harrell. The few Aegyptiaca of which the materials have been characterised by petrographic analyses include the *columnae caelatae* from the Iseum Campense in Rome, which were shown to be carved from *granito dell'Elba* (Bongrani 1992, esp. 67 with n. 1; cf. *infra*, 238-245 no. 113-116), and a sphinx in private possession, made from 'green porphyry', following an analysis by the Department of Mineralogy of the British Museum – although it remains unclear what kind of green porphyry is concerned (Lembke 1994, 252, no. E45). See now also Müskens *et al*. (2017) for non-destructive analyses of the stones used for Aegyptiaca.

were perceived. That this is an important omission in current scholarship is demonstrated by recent analyses of Aegyptiaca from Pompeii. For instance, Eva Mol has convincingly shown that the particular efficacy of an 'Egyptian'-style Horus statuette in travertine from the Casa degli Amorini Dorati likely resided in its stylistic and atypical material properties and the social values related to these characteristics, rather than primarily having to do with the fact that it represents the Egyptian falcon-headed deity Horus.[102] Such examples demonstrate the necessity of a more integrated approach to so-called Aegyptiaca from the Roman world and elucidate that stylistic and iconographic analysis alone cannot provide complete answers to questions about the motivations for the import, contextualisation, and copying of so-called Aegyptiaca – all of which remain heavily debated and poorly understood.

102. Mol (2013), esp. 124-125, and (2015a) 332-391.

3. Set-up and aims

The above sections show that the concept of Aegyptiaca has always been at the heart of studies into Egypt in the Roman world. It can be observed that whereas understandings of the presence of Egyptian manifestations in the Roman world have changed over time, conceptualisations of the category of Aegyptiaca have essentially remained unchanged and unchallenged since the days of Winckelmann. This implies that subject matter and perceived style are still used as main heuristic devices to understand artefacts as Aegyptiaca, and to classify them as either Egyptian or Egyptianising objects. This dichotomy, meant to distinguish between authentic Egyptian artefacts and Roman-made imitations of Egyptian objects, draws on several assumptions about the (supposed) provenance of these objects, in which place of manufacture and ethnicity of craftsmen play crucial roles. However, while these terms are generally used, no attempt has been made so far to structurally test the underlying premises. Moreover, since the distinction between Egyptian and Egyptianising objects is essentially a modern construction, these terms do not warrant an assessment of Roman perceptions of these artefacts right away. Indeed, the used terminology seriously complicates a bottom-up assessment of Roman understandings of material culture that we associate with Egypt, because, first, they imply a direct equation between modern and Roman understandings of what Egypt entails and, second, because they presume from the onset that it was this *Egyptianness* that determined how these objects were used and perceived. Also, the current focus on representation implies that other object parameters, like materials used and the social values related to materials, have only rarely been involved in analyses of how these objects functioned and were perceived by Romans.

In response to the observations outlined above, this study sets out to develop a different perspective to study the objects that we call Aegyptiaca, which could be characterised as an approach that aims to move 'beyond representation'. Starting from the observed focus on representation and the primacy of subject matter and style over materials used and the social values attached to certain materials, 'beyond representation' is meant to indicate, first, the novel emphasis in this study on the material aspects of so-called Aegyptiaca. As such, this study sets out to make the materials and materiality of Aegyptiaca part of the discourse on these objects.[103] This will be done by an initial focus on these objects' material aspects and subsequent integration of these data with other object parameters, including style and subject matter, in order to arrive at a more inclusive understanding of the objects we call Aegyptiaca. Second, 'beyond representation' refers to the archaeological perspective that tries to break away from static interpretations of material culture as mere passive expressions, or representations, of fixed cultural meanings.[104] By redirecting questions of what objects

103. Materiality is understood here as the agency and social meaning of the material itself (after Van Eck *et al*. 2015, 5), in which the agency of materials is understood as the way in which certain materials are able to evoke particular associations and effects, or, as Ingold (2007a, 12) has it, as materials' "capacity to stand forth from the things made from them". In other words, materiality, in the sense that it is used here, is all about the conjunction of the material and the social, or the social significance of materials, which results from the relations between materials and their properties on the one hand, and people on the other: it is through people's engagements with materials that certain materials with particular properties become significant and are able to affect human conduct (cf. Tilley 2007, 17-19; Knappett 2007). For an overview of the concept of materiality and other definitions, see Miller (2005), Ingold (2013) 27-28, and Ingold (2007a) plus the responses to this article (Tilley 2007, Knappett 2007, Miller 2007, Nilsson 2007, and Ingold 2007b).

104. For theoretical background see, e.g., *Materialising Roman histories* (2017), Van Eck *et al*. (2015) 13-15, Versluys (2014) 14-19, all with relevant literature. As such, this study situates itself in the context of the so-called Material Turn in the Humanities and Social sciences (see Hicks 2010 for a historiography from an anthropological and archaeological perspective). This 'turn' essentially shifts away from traditional views of material culture that reduced things to meanings, as if an object is as a text, as something that represents something else, and which is there to be deciphered and interpreted (this is the so-called textual analogy, part of a broader, multidisciplinary interest in language and symbolism in the 20th century that is known as

mean, to questions of how objects were used, and which characteristics determined how they functioned, this perspective provides an alternative to problematic top-down projections of what objects mean to us (etic), and instead enables a bottom-up assessment of Roman (emic) understandings of objects we call Aegyptiaca.[105]

In order to do so, the wider framework of this study's approach will be outlined in Part II, *Understanding stone in the Roman world*. Two subsequent sections will deal with different aspects of Roman engagements with and understandings of stone materials. The first section uses the Roman stone trade and stone working practices as a model to evaluate relationships between artistic style, iconography, and (origins of) materials, in order to assess the persistent premises underlying the current understandings of Egyptian objects in the Roman world. Building on these insights, the second section sets out to explore Roman perceptions of stones. If we want to assess the materiality of so-called Aegyptiaca from a Roman perspective, while acknowledging that materials are perceived differently in different places and social and historical contexts,[106] we must first turn to understandings of stone materials in the social and historical contexts in which the objects that we call Aegyptiaca were used and perceived, namely, the Roman world. The concluding paragraph of this section then studies the materials and materiality of selected Roman stone sculptures in relation to their subject matter and stylistic execution, and demonstrates that, in order to fully appreciate the efficacy of stone artefacts in the Roman world, the material data should be integrated with other object parameters that have traditionally received more attention.

Hereafter the book returns to so-called Aegyptiaca. Building on the insights obtained in Part II, the remainder of this study sets out to apply a different approach to a selection of Aegyptiaca. Starting from a focus on these objects' material aspects, these data are subsequently integrated with other object parameters, in order to obtain a more inclusive and bottom-up understanding of the objects that we call Aegyptiaca. Part III addresses the methods and materials. The first two sections explain the method that is used in this study to obtain the material data of selected objects and provide definitions of the object parameters that will be studied in relation to these data later on, respectively. Finally, the corpus of selected objects is presented in the third section. For each object, a fixed set of data is given first, as well as a brief description, which focuses on possible disagreements in previous studies. In addition, material descriptions are given for the first time for a selection of the studied objects. The corpus will then be analysed and subsequently discussed in the two respective sections that form Part IV, *Aegyptiaca beyond representation*. Ultimately, this final part tries to move 'beyond representation', and to demonstrate the potential of this study's novel approach to so-called Aegyptiaca.

the 'linguistic turn': see, e.g., Boivin 2008, 10-15 and Hicks 2010, *passim*). These traditional views have been criticised for their failure to take the physicality of objects and its resulting efficacy into account, which, as Boivin (2008, 21) argues, has resulted in the reduction of the material world to "little more than a theatre, with objects as kinds of props […] in a story that has already been written by human agents". By contrast, recent studies, aware of the limitations of the textual analogy, have set out to study material culture in its own right. By redefining the fundamental research question of what objects 'mean' to what they 'do' or, more radically, what they 'want' (Gosden 2005), this object-centred approach shifts from a discussion of how objects signify to how they effect, and it thus accommodates the active role and the impact of objects on people and social relationships that results from their physicality; this is often called 'object agency' or 'material agency' – the latter concept is usually meant to indicate the agency of material things, or objects (e.g., Boivin 2008, 27-28), instead of the agency of materials (cf. *supra*, n. 103). As such, the Material Turn in fact redresses the relationships between the social world and the material world that was previously dominated by anthropocentric views, "so that artifacts are not always seen as passive and people as active" (Gosden 2005, 194; on human and/versus object agency see also Boivin 2008, Jones – Boivin 2010, Hodder 2012, and Versluys 2016).

105. For this important methodical manoeuvre, with particular focus on so-called Aegyptiaca, see also Mol (2015).

106. Tilley (2007) 20, cf. Knappett (2007) 22-23.

Part II

Understanding stone in the Roman world

"About the sea the continents lie 'vast and vastly spread', ever supplying you with products from those regions. Here is brought from every land and sea all the crops of the seasons and the produce of each land, river, lake, as well as of the arts of the Greeks and barbarians [...] It cannot be otherwise than that there always be here an abundance of all that grows and is manufactured among each people. So many merchant ships arrive here, conveying every kind of goods from every people every hour, every day, so that the city is like a factory common to the whole earth [...] The arrival and departures of the ships never stop, so that one would express admiration not only for the harbour, but even for the sea [...] So everything comes together here, trade, seafaring, farming, the scourings of the mines, all the crafts that exist or have existed, all that is produced and grown".[107]

Such is the 2nd century AD Greek orator Aelius Aristides' account of Rome. Although the text is not a strictly historical source, the passage nevertheless gives an impression of how to imagine the capital of the Imperium Romanum. The city's demands were enormous and could not be met by Italian sources alone. Consequently, its market was soon to be supplied from all parts of the Empire, and Rome came to play a pivotal role in this pan-Mediterranean trade network.[108] All kinds of goods reached the city through its various supply routes, either by land or over sea.[109] Well-known is the annona, the shipment of grain from Egypt, northern Africa, Sicily, and Spain to the ports at the Italian coast, which allegedly involved the transport of over 400,000 tons annually.[110] Other principal trade commodities included wine and oil, textiles, slaves, and decorative stones.

As perhaps one of the most prominent features of Antiquity, decorative stones were the Roman world's construction materials *par excellence*. The Roman appreciation of marble is suitably embodied in the famous saying attributed to Emperor Augustus: "I found Rome a city of brick and left it a city of marble".[111] The most beautifully coloured and the purest white stones were obtained from all over the Empire, and the Roman Imperial period saw a sharp increase in commercially exploited sources.[112] Considerable effort was put into the transportation and distribution of stones, which mainly reached Rome first and were subsequently distributed across the entire Empire. These materials were sometimes transported over several thousands of kilometres before they were put to use, which markedly contrasts economically rationalistic models. The enormous quantities of stones that were processed were used to build the Empire, both literally and metaphorically: because they were

107. Aelius Aristides, *To Rome* 10-13; after Meijer – van Nijf (1992) 82-83 no. 112 (translation Behr).

108. This is not the place to explore Roman trade and the importance of the Mediterranean Sea for Roman trade and economy in general. To gain understanding of Roman trade and economy in its Mediterranean context, see Horden and Purcell (2000), who forward the idea of the Mediterranean world as connective microecologies.

109. Sea transportation was preferred over transport by land. The latter form of transport was slow, inconvenient, and involved considerable technical and logistic problems. Pliny the Younger's letter to emperor Trajan is well-known, in which the former advocates the cutting of a canal to link the city of Nicomedia in present-day Turkey with the nearby lake of Sapanca Göl to enable water transport (*Epistulae* 10.41). The passage demonstrates that transport by ship was both easier and cheaper than land transport; cf. Ward-Perkins (1992b) 67. Information on ancient transportation costs is scarce. The main source is Diocletian's Price Edict of 301 AD, which provides valuable insights into the price structures of the early 4th century AD. Meijer and van Nijf (1992, 133-134) have calculated the effect of different means of transportation on the price on the basis of the Price Edict, and a 1st century AD papyrus which mentions the freight rates for river transport (these are absent from the Price Edict, as it only refers to the rates for transport over land and by sea). Their estimated ratio for the average price increases as a function of means of transport is 1 (sea) : 4.9 (river) : 28 (land); cf. Maischberger (1997) 25 and n. 95 with further references, and Pochmarski (2012) 31-34, with particular focus on marble transport on land and by river.

110. The total amount of grain involved in the annual supply is difficult to calculate. The estimate of about 400,000 tons is based on the combination of two literary texts. The first, a fragment of the 4th-century AD *Epitome de Caesaribus* (I.6), states that "in his [i.e. Augustus'] days twenty million modii of grain were imported each year from Egypt to the city" (after Meijer – van Nijf [1992] 98 no. 124). In a passage in his *Jewish War* (II.382-383 and 385-386), Flavius Josephus reports that the African grain supplies to Rome are twice as high as those from Egypt, making an amount of about forty million modii of grain annually (cf. ibid., 98-99 no. 125). In sum, imports from Egypt and Africa would add up to about sixty million modii of grain, which equals 440,000 tonnes. For a review of this and other estimated figures, based on estimations of the Roman population, cf. Stecher (2009) 19-21. On the annona see, e.g., De Salvo (1998); for the grain supply from Egypt in the context of the Roman grain trade see Erdkamp (2005).

111. Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 28.3. For a recent contextualisation of this phrase see Fant (1999).

112. For recent views on the intensification of connectivity in the Roman world, see *Globalisation and the Roman world* (2015).

used as construction material for architecture and statuary, stones brought about associations of luxury and prestige from the onset, and hence became symbols of (Imperial) wealth and power. Consequently, the first centuries AD saw the phenomenon of a pan-Mediterranean stone trade reach an unprecedented scale.

Part II of this study focuses on understandings of stone in the Roman world. In two subsequent sections, different aspects of the diverse engagements of Romans with stone are investigated in order to assess their potential for gaining a better understanding of so-called Aegyptiaca in the Roman world. On the basis of an analysis of the Roman stone trade and stone working practices, the first section evaluates relations between artistic style, iconography, and (origins of) material. By focusing on particular characteristics, including stock-piling of stone in Rome, pre-fabrication of freshly quarried stone materials, itinerant craftsmen, and the relations between materials and carvers, this section attempts to assess the underlying assumptions that determine the way in which Aegyptiaca are traditionally understood, as has been argued in Part I. The second section focuses on the driving forces behind the stone trade and the production of stone objects, and considers issues of demand and Roman consumption of stone, and subsequently presents examples of materials and materiality of Roman stone sculpture 'beyond representation'.

1. Understanding stone in the Roman world I: provenance, style, and workmanship

1.1 STONES IN PRE-MODERN SOCIETIES

Stones or, in geological terms, rocks, can be defined as naturally occurring solid aggregates of one or more minerals or mineraloids. As rocks make up the solid outer layer of the earth, encounters between stones and mankind go back to the very moment the first humans set foot on the earth. Relations between human beings and stones have always been significant. Indeed, it can even be argued that stone has played a substantial role in the evolution of modern man. Throughout the Stone Age, it was man's recognition and appreciation of the physical properties of stones that led them to use stones as raw material for a variety of tools, which resulted in mankind's definitive advantage over other species. This may have started more than 2,000,000 years ago in Ethiopia, where eroded surface material was worked into usable tools. Much later, approximately 100,000 years ago, the first known systematic extraction of stones took place in South Africa.[113] As knowledge of the intrinsic qualities of stones and technology improved over time and some products proved more successful than others, the demand for certain types of stones and stone tools likewise accumulated. Appreciated for their technological capabilities and/or specific cultural values – like wealth and power, resulting from their limited availability and thus attesting to the owner's access to scarce and remote networks – stone materials and objects have been significant since the earliest times.

1.1.1 Egypt

Stone has played a central role throughout Egyptian history.[114] The use of stone for architectural and sculptural purposes seems to have commenced soon after the foundation of a unified Egyptian state and the concomitant rise of elites in the late 4th millennium BC. Early examples include stone masonry and stone grave goods, especially funerary vessels, from Early Dynastic elite tombs at Abydos and Saqqara (ca. 3000-2649 BC).[115] The demand for stones sharply increased with the construction of the large royal funerary complexes of the Old Kingdom, which culminated during the Fourth Dynasty (ca. 2613-2494 BC) with the construction of the large pyramids at Giza. Large monolithic blocks were preferably quarried close to the river Nile in order to minimise the distance of land transport. However, several varieties of coloured stones were obtained from remote areas in the Eastern Desert, with individual quarries located at least 100-200 kilometres away from the Nile. Once the stones reached the river, they were transported by ship to their intended place of use. Depictions on the walls of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari (Thebes, 18th Dynasty, ca. mid-15th century BC) show the transportation of two obelisks from the quarries near Aswan to the temple complex at Karnak and demonstrate that Egypt already mastered the transport of large, voluminous monoliths over long distances early on.[116] Egyptian stones were also valued highly by the elites of ancient pre-Roman Eastern Mediterranean societies, as evident from the preserved diplomatic correspondence between Egypt and Western Asiatic states of the 14th-13th centuries BC, in which the exchange of Egyptian stones is an important topic.[117] As a result, a tradition of using stones for both architectural and sculptural purposes came into being in Egypt early on, which included a wide range of different materials.

113. The raw material would normally be procured from working eroded deposits of stone or the collection of loose pebbles. See Waelkens (1992) 5.
114. It has been argued that the modern image of ancient Egypt is over-dominated by stone because of its favourable preservation conditions. Other materials, such as metals (especially copper and gold), wood, ivory and bone, may have been equally important but either have disappeared or have been recycled. See Baines (2000) 29-30.
115. The use of stone for both architectural and sculptural purposes may even have begun in the late Predynastic period, although the dating is not entirely clear: see Aston *et al*. (2000) 42. On stone vessels see Aston (1994), Lucas – Harris (1962) 421-428.
116. See Clarke and Engelbach (1930) 34-45 and fig. 39.
117. Cf. Baines (2000) 30.

1.1.2 The Near East

Relative to Egypt, the relationships between stone quarries and customers seem to have been more direct in the ancient Near East. Naturally occurring blocks of limestone were used locally as early as 6000 BC in the fortification wall of the village of Maghzaliya in northern Iraq. Much later, in the 2nd millennium BC, local limestone was used for the construction of the monumental architecture of the Hittite capital, the city of Hattuša.[118] Other varieties of stones that occurred naturally within the boundaries of the Hittite Empire were quarried as well, but, like limestone, these were mainly used locally or transported over comparatively small distances. However, the Hittite Empire also actively imported stones from outside Anatolia, not least from Egypt.[119] The direct quarry-customer relationship that had characterised the Hittite engagements with stones remained essentially the same under the Assyrian Empire in the 1st millennium BC. The core area of the Empire had its own local, workable stones, in particular limestone and alabaster, which could meet the demands for architectural and sculptural purposes. Additionally, the Assyrians imported (coloured) stones from conquered territories to use for architectural reliefs. The rationale behind this choice may have been both practical (intrinsic qualities of the materials) and propagandistic (visible testimony to the expanding Assyrian power).[120] Finally, a series of reliefs from Sennacherib's royal palace in Niniveh (ca. 700 BC) shows the process of quarrying, prefabrication, and transport of a large monolithic statue from the quarries near Balatai to the imperial palace at Nineveh, some 40 kilometres away, which demonstrates that the Assyrians, like the Egyptians, were capable of transporting loads of stones over considerable distances if necessary.[121]

118. Waelkens (1992) 11-12; cf. ibid. (1990a).
119. As evident from administrative texts from Hattuša: see Klengel (2009) 102-103. Moreover, at the start of the 2nd millennium BC, the Sumerian city of Ur (Ur III) traded products like textile, wool, and oil, for copper and stone from Magan in present day Oman: Larsen (2009) 8. Textual sources also mention that the taking of diorite was listed as an important goal of military expeditions under Sargon of Akkad, and thus indicate that this material was highly valued in the late 3rd millennium BC.
120. Raede (1990) 46-47.
121. The reliefs are now best known from drawings that were made upon their excavation in 1849 by Henri Layard: see Raede (1990) 48-52 and figs. 2-11.

1.1.3 The Greek world

The history of the use of white marble in the Aegean goes back to the Middle Neolithic period (ca. 5000 BC) at least, when the stone was used for the production of anthropomorphic figures in areas where it naturally occurred.[122] Apart from the local use of marble, evidence from Franchthi Cave in the southern Greek Argolid suggests that the long-distance trade and oversees transportation of marble commenced already in late Neolithic times.[123] An intensification of the use of and trade in marble can be observed during the Aegean Early Bronze Age (ca. 3rd millennium BC), when a flourishing trade of marble artefacts from the Cycladic islands emerged, including the characteristic figurines and vessels.[124] The marble used for these objects was most probably obtained from weathered surface beds and loose pebbles. Systematic exploitation of stone quarries seems to have commenced with the development of Minoan monumental palace architecture and the concomitant increased demand for stone construction material on Crete in the early 2nd millennium BC. This practice was followed in the 15th century BC on the Greek mainland, when large quantities of stone were needed for Mycenaean tholos-tombs and defensive structures.[125] From the 8th century BC onwards, a sharp increase of the demand for white marble for both architectural and sculptural purposes can be observed; this period is characterised by what may be called a commercialisation of marble engagements. Yet, the Greek quarry system seems to have essentially remained small and local in scope. The demand for stones was typically met by local sources. However, fine qualities of white marble were occasionally transported over large distances. For

122. See Waelkens (1990b), ibid. (1992) 7.
123. Isotopical analysis of the marble of artefacts from this site, where marble does not occur locally, suggests Peloponnesian and Cycladic (Naxos) sources; see Herz (1992) 188.
124. Examples of so-called Cycladic art have been found in mainland Greece, western Anatolia, and Egypt; see Herz (1992) 189-190 with additional bibliography. On the localisation of prehistoric Cycladic marble quarries, see Tambakopoulos and Maniatis (2012).
125. On Minoan stone quarrying see Waelkens (1992) 7-11 and Papageorgakis et al. (1992), both with further bibliographical references. On Mycenaean stone extraction see Ward-Perkins (1992a) 19, who mentions examples of *serpentino* from the quarries at Krokees and *rosso antico* from the Mani Peninsula; cf. Waelkens (1990b) 56.

example, Athens imported white marble from remote suppliers, such as the islands of Naxos, Paros and Chios, and Ephesus in Ionia, for its large-scale building program of the 5th and 4th centuries BC.[126] In addition, Parian marble appears to have been preferred for the production of important statues.[127] Yet, these are the exceptions that prove the general rule, namely, that the relationship between stone quarries and customers in the Greek world was and remained essentially direct.[128]

1.1.4 The Hellenistic world

The use of stone for architectural and sculptural purposes had been well-known for the areas and periods discussed thus far, although significant differences exist between their respective engagements with stone. Egypt had a long history of long-distance transport of stones, whereas it was common practice to use the nearest source of good quality stone in Near Eastern and Greek societies. However, for monumental constructions, stone was occasionally transported over considerable distances in the Near Eastern and Greek worlds, too. And even though the relationship between quarry and customer was relatively direct – namely, Egyptian society could meet its demand for stones from its own wealthy sources, and the Greek world essentially made use of stones that occurred throughout the Greek world – stone had also been an 'international' commodity from an early period onwards. However, the gradual development towards an international long-distance trade of stones did not emerge until the Hellenistic period. The demand for stones sharply increased with the rise and installation of Hellenistic kingdoms. Large quantities of stones were needed to build capital cities, such as Alexandria and Pergamon, and the wealthy patrons from these Hellenistic metropoleis readily invested in the procurement of stones from the most distant quarries.[129] As a result of this increasing demand and intensification, new sources were added to the already known suppliers of stone materials. The last three centuries BC, it seems, witnessed an increase in the scale and 'international' character of stone trade. This situation undoubtedly reflects the importance of stone materials in the increasingly connective Hellenistic world. Soon Rome would emerge as the new leading power in this world, and Roman engagements with stone would eclipse everything the world had seen before.

1.1.5 The Roman world

"Synnada is not a large city […] and beyond it is Docimaea, a village, and also the quarry of 'Synnadic' marble […] At first this quarry yielded only stones of small size, but on account of the present extravagance of the Romans great monolithic pillars are taken from it […] so that, although the transportation of such heavy burdens to the sea is difficult, still, both pillars and slabs, remarkable for their size and beauty, are conveyed to Rome".[130]

Writing around the start of the 1st century AD, the Greek geographer Strabo aptly captures the changes that Roman rule brought to a modest Phrygian city called Synnada and the nearby village Dokimeion. Thus a previously hardly known and remote settlement situated in west-central Anatolia could develop into an important Roman centre because of its location near stone-producing quarries. The stone type that these quarries produced had already been used before the Roman period, but, as Strabo describes, this was by no means comparable to its use in the Roman period.[131] This passage is just one among several examples where ancient writers allude to the phenomenon of the Roman stone trade. Although the Mediterranean world already had a history of stone use and trade, as the previous sections have shown, the first centuries AD witnessed a redefinition of all previously existing human-stone engagements. The sheer scale of stone procurement, the large distances over which stones were transported, plus the organisation and infrastructure needed to make all of this happen are just some aspects that indicate how Roman quarry-customer relationships came to differ significantly from those of earlier periods.

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126. It has been suggested that Parian marble was initially preferred over local, good-quality marble from Mount Pentelikon because the sculptural potential of Pentelic marble was not yet appreciated: Herz and Wenner (1981) 17.
127. Mielsch (1985) 12, Herz (1992) 190, and Bradley (2006) 10.
128. Ward-Perkins (1992a) 20-21; cf. ibid. (1992b) 61-63, Waelkens *et al*. (1988), Waelkens (1990b) 56-61.
129. Ward-Perkins (1992a) 21.
130. Strabo, *Geography* 12.8.14 (translation H.L. Jones); cf. Appendix B.
131. This is the so-called *pavonazzetto*, which had been used for sculptural purposes since the 2nd century BC: Mielsch (1985) 59.

John Bryan Ward-Perkins was a pioneer in the study of the Roman stone trade, who worked on the reconstruction of the Roman stone trade between 1951 and 1980, and his work remains fundamental to the discipline.[132] Building on earlier work that had resulted in the idea of an organised Imperial Roman quarry and trade system of decorative stones,[133] Ward-Perkins argued that the increased demand for decorative stones in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD resulted in profound reorganisations of the system of stone production and supply. Consequently, from the mid-2nd century onwards, this system took on a semi-industrial character based on bulk production and stockpiling of stones in the importing centres, plus standardisation and prefabrication at the quarries. This model contains an excellent discussion of the concept of provenance, although implicitly, and therein lies its importance for the purpose of the present study. Therefore, the following sections discuss Ward-Perkins' model, with particular focus on the possible relationships between (the origins of) raw materials, craftsmen, and carving traditions.[134]

1.2 ROME'S MARBLE YARDS: BLUEPRINTS OF THE ROMAN WORLD?

The most fundamental innovation of the Roman stone trade, according to Ward-Perkins, was a completely new quarry-customer relationship "based upon bulk-production at the quarries and upon stock-piling both at the quarries and in […] the importing cities".[135] This

132. Ward-Perkins (1951) is generally considered as the defining article on the Roman stone trade; cf. Russell (2013a) 1-2. Several of Ward-Perkins' papers on this topic were re-printed in 1992 with updated comments and notes: *Marble in Antiquity* (1992). Even though Ward-Perkins' model has been refined by subsequent scholarship, it largely remains its fundamental interpretive framework up until today. Studies that build on Ward-Perkins' work include, among others: Dodge (1991) with reviews of some important studies of the late 1980s; and Peacock (1994), who discusses the contribution of publications on the Roman stone trade from the early 1990s. Other scholars that have dealt with particular aspects of Ward-Perkins' model include, in particular, M. Waelkens, J. Clayton Fant, and P. Pensabene; their extensive lists of publications include important contributions, such as Waelkens (1982), (1985), (1990b); Fant (1989), (1993), (2001); Pensabene (1994), (1998), (2002) and (2012). Studies that should also be mentioned in this respect include Jongstra (1995), Maischberger (1997), Clarke (2008), Hirt (2010), as well as the recent work of Ben Russell, most notably Russell (2013a).

133. Crucial in this respect are the excavations directed by Visconti near the Aventine Hill in Rome between 1868 and 1870, during which the Emporium, one of Rome's marble yards, was discovered. These campaigns yielded large quantities of decorative stones of all sorts, in different shapes, sizes, stages of workmanship, and frequently inscribed with quarry marks, which first gave rise to ideas of a centrally governed system. On Visconti's excavations, cf. *infra*, n. 138. General interest in the stones of Antiquity goes back to the late 16th century at least, when the Medici family established the 'Opificio delle Pietre Dure' in Florence, a workshop specialised in inlaid stonework. The stonecutters reused antique materials on a large scale for their projects, as the *scalpellini*, the stone masons of Renaissance Rome, did in Rome. From the 17th to 19th centuries, ancient stones were also popular souvenirs for travellers who returned from their Grand Tours, and several renowned collections of antique stones were created during this period. One of these belonged to the Italian lawyer Faustino Corsi (1771-1846), who, in contrast to his predecessors whose interest had mainly been in the aesthetic aspect of stones, set out to determine the geological sources of the stones in his collection. With this aim, he studied the writings of ancient authors and arranged his collection according to geological principles, and thereby took a more scientific approach. The methodological considerations laid out in Corsi's main work on the ancient stones of Rome, *Delle pietre antiche* (third and final edition in 1845: Corsi 1845), remained the principal reference for the study of Rome's ancient stones for more than a century. Corsi's collection, which contained some 900 specimens of ancient Roman stones plus stone samples from contemporary Italian quarries and non-Italian sources, was sold in 1827 to Oxford, and can be accessed online at http://www.oum.ox.ac.uk/corsi/. On the history of the reuse of antique stones see especially Gnoli (1988) 95-100; cf. Cooke and Price (2002) 415 and Price (2007) 12-13; Mariottini (2004) gives a diachronic overview of the history of collecting antique stones.

134. The editors of Ward-Perkins' papers already recognised the importance of Ward-Perkins' model in discussing possible relationships between quarry, shipper, and customer: Ward-Perkins (1992b) 61 n. 1.

135. Ward-Perkins (1980) 325; cf. ibid. (1992b) 63. The theory of bulk-production and stockpiling of stones in major cities has met with various scholarly responses. It was largely confirmed in studies like Dodge (1991) 36, Pensabene (1994) 335 and (2002) 29, Lazzarini (2010) 489; see also Maischberger (1997, 159), who concludes that "die Ergebnisse der topographischen Untersuchung zu den Marmorlagern in Rom und Umgebung [bestätigen] grundsätzlich die von J.B. Ward-Perkins formulierte These, daß die Lagerhaltung die Folge einer nicht an konkreter Nachfrage orientierten Massenproduktion in den Steinbrüchen sei"). However, critical voices can be heard in particular in the work of Clayton Fant. Based on the observation of quality deficiencies in several of the stone leftovers at Portus, Fant (1992, 116-117) has made a case that at least a part of the leftovers consisted of rejects. Building on this argument, and extending it to the blocks that have been recovered from the Emporium, he challenged the idea of immense stockpiles itself more recently: Fant (2001) 177-196; cf. Ward-Perkins (1992b) 64 n. 14. The recent work of Russell builds on Fant's theory and concerning Rome's marble yards (2013a, 237) the author concludes that "The Portus and Emporium assemblages, in sum, might more

characteristic becomes particularly evident when we look at the marble yards in the Roman world. These were stone repositories with stocks held locally that could meet ordinary stone requirements. Rome had at least two large stone repositories.[136] One of these was located at the old commercial river harbour of the city, known as the Emporium, on the eastern banks of the river Tiber below the Aventine Hill, while the other one was situated at Rome's maritime port of Portus.[137] No exact numbers of the unused stones that have been excavated at these sites are known, due to incomplete documentation. However, estimates run easily into hundreds or even thousands of specimens for the Emporium alone, which indicates that Rome's marble yards must have been substantial institutions indeed.[138]

In order to get an idea of the availability of decorative stones in Rome, I conducted a survey of the stone types from the marble yards at the Emporium and Portus.[139] As Table 2.1.1 shows, at least 26 different types were present from sources that spanned the Roman Empire from the east to the west.[140] Hence, besides three Italian stone types, the depots comprised materials from (often remote) sites in the east, including the Egyptian Eastern Desert, west-central Anatolia, mainland Greece and several Greek islands, and from sites in present-day Tunisia and Algeria, and Spain in the west. A comparison of these stone types with the most important decorative stones of the Roman world shows that the material make-up in Rome's marble yards can be considered as a good cross-section of the most sought-after stones in the Roman world. With due allowance for the chronology of the two sites discussed, several of these materials must have been simultaneously available.[141] Based on this, the stone

plausibly be interpreted as the remains of dumps or discards, similar in composition to the unintentional accumulations we find at the quarries, than as the remnants of carefully managed stockpiles". It is clear that no consensus has yet been reached on the understanding of this aspect of the Roman stone trade.

136. The evidence from Rome has been studied in most detail and will be considered here. According to Ward-Perkins, other storage facilities for stone existed in cities like Alexandria, Athens, Ephesos, and Utica. For the available evidence, see Ward-Perkins (1992b) 64 (Ostia), 69 (Emporium), 74-75 (marble yards other than Rome).

137. Based on a detailed study of the available evidence from these storage facilities, Martin Maischberger concludes that the Emporium was Rome's first and main depot for stone throughout the 1st century AD. The facility at Portus was opened as a result of the increased demand for decorative stones throughout the late 1st and early 2nd centuries AD. It would gradually take over the role of Rome's main marble-yard and was the only one that remained in function into Late Antiquity. See Maischberger (1997) 50-51 and 77-82 for Portus and the Emporium, respectively; cf. Fant (2001), Pensabene (1994). For recent work on the harbour constructions at Portus, carried out in the context of the Roman Ports Project under direction of Simon Keay, see esp. Keay *et al*. (2005), Keay and Paroli (2011), Keay (2012). Additional evidence from the Campus Martius suggests activity in this area of stone workshops, where stones were temporarily stored for specific construction projects. These workshops have been associated with the fire in 80 AD that damaged large parts of the Campus Martius and which gave the impetus to large-scale (re-) construction works under Domitian (81-96 AD): Maischberger (1997) 158, cf. Fant (2001) 186, De Angelis d'Ossat *et al*. (2015) 103-104. A much smaller Late Antique storage for semi-finished architectural fragments of Thasian marble was found in the temple of the Fabri Navales in Ostia: see Herrmann and Barbin (1993) 99-103; cf. Jongstra (1995) 43.

138. Maischberger's study includes 339 documented specimens found at Portus since 1840; other studies that have dealt with the same material have come to different numbers. See also Fant (1992) 117, Pensabene (1994) 422-423 and the update published by Pensabene and Bruno (1998) 22 = Fant (2001) 169 = Pensabene (2002) 28. Estimates of stones that have been recovered from the Emporium easily surpass the number of a thousand for just the campaigns that P.E. Visconti undertook by order of Pope Pius XII between 1868-1870; Maischberger comes to a rough estimate of 1250-1400 large blocks, but this number pales in comparison to the number of small fragments that were found: the find of ca. 30,000 small stone fragments is reported for November 1869 alone: Maischberger (1997) 71-75; cf. Bruzza (1870), Fant (1992) 118, ibid. (2001) 188. Lastly, some 270 specimens have been collected from the Campus Martius: see Maischberger (1997) 142-143.

139. Regardless whether the stone leftovers from Rome are the remains of carefully managed marble yards or dumps of rejected stones, they provide a rough index of what once must have been present in the largest of all importing centres.

140. The following data were used: Emporium: Pellegrini (1868) 151, Bruzza (1870), Maischberger (1997) 74-75, cf. Fant (2001) 188-189; Portus: Pensabene and Bruno (1998) 22 = Fant (2001) 188 = Pensabene (2002) 28. I have only considered the presence/availability of stone varieties in Rome's marble yards and not, as others have, quantified these data for reasons of representativeness (for which see also Maischberger 1997, 47 and Fant 2001, 169 n. 19). In line with this section's main aim, that is, to give a first idea of the extent of connectivity in the Roman world in terms of the availability of stone types, I have solely focused on availability, although of course the distribution pattern of certain types of stone also depended on other variables. For the same reason, I have not differentiated between the different object types (e.g., columns, slabs) that were stored. For a discussion on the distribution of stone see Russell (2013a) 143-146 with additional bibliography.

141. Whereas distribution maps of particular stone types illustrate the large distances over which stones were transported and present a strong visual image of the large scale of this phenomenon, they are not particularly informative about the presence and

Table 2.1.1. Presence of stone types and their sources in Rome's marble yards.

Source		Stone type	Site	
			Emporium	Portus
Egypt	Wadi Umm Esh	*serpentina moschinata*		x
	Wadi Umm Wikala/Wadi Semna	*granito verde della sedia*	x	
	Mons Porphyrites	Imperial porphyry	x	
	Various (e.g., Hatnub, Wadi Gerrawi)	travertine		x
Turkey	Íscehisar	*pavonazzetto*	x	x
	Vezirhan	*breccia corallina*	x	
	Marmara Adası	Prokonnesian marble		x
	Cigri Dag	*granito violetto*		x
	Sigacik	*africano*	x	x
		bigio africanato		x
Greece	Chios	*portasanta*	x	x
	Thasos	Thasian marble		x
	Skyros	*breccia di Settebasi*	x	x
	Paros	Parian marble	x	x
	Karystos	*cipollino*	x	x
	Eretria	*fior di pesco*	x	x
	Mount Pentelikon	Pentelic marble		x
	Larissa	*verde antico*	x	x
	Krokees	*serpentino*	x	
	Mani Peninsula	*rosso antico*	x	
Italy	Montagnola Senese	*breccia dorata*		x
	Monte Capanne (Elba Island)	*granito dell'Elba*		x
	Carrara	Luna marble	x	x
Spain	Tortosa	*broccatello di Spagna*	x	
Algeria	Bou Hanifia	*alabastro a pecorella*		x
Tunisia	Chemtou	*giallo antico*	x	x
Various sources		*nero antico*	x	
		bigio antico	x	x
Unknown		*alabastro listato*		x
		jasper	x	
		spato fluore (rock crystal)	x	
		unspecified alabaster	x	
		unspecified breccia	x	
		unspecified granites	x	
		unspecified white marble	x	x

repositories from Rome represent a "unique material 'map' of the Roman empire".[142]

Therefore, if an analysis of the distribution of stone types from across the Empire offers insight into the extent of connectivity in the Roman period, as has been recently argued, then a study of Rome's unused stones unmistakably shows that the city was very much part of that conneced world.[143] Moreover, the fact that these stones were not yet carved into finished objects but remained available as raw and partly-worked materials already indicates that the relationships between the geological source of stones and finished stone artefacts was not necessarily straightforward.

1.3 MARBLE IN THE CARGO: ROMAN SHIPWRECKS

In assessing Rome's marble yards, I have explored the receiving end of the Roman stone trade. This subsequent section moves to an earlier stage in the sequence, namely, the stage that leads from solid bedrock to finished stone product: stones in transit. This allows us to assess the Roman stone trade 'in operation' and to see how stone producing quarries dispatched their goods. Prefabrication, as defined in Ward-Perkins' reconstruction of the Roman stone trade, is a key concept for this.[144]

The evidence from Roman shipwrecks with cargoes of stone materials constitutes the most notable body of archaeological evidence for the Roman stone trade in operation.[145] Interestingly, it offers a unique insight into the different stages of workmanship of stone objects during transport; that is, between the stone producing quarries and the place of destination, which directly affects the question where objects were made.[146] Roman shipwrecks with stone cargoes demonstrate, first and foremost, that there was no such thing as a typical Roman stone cargo.[147] Apart from a large variation of stone types, cargo loads, and object types that were transported, objects could be dispatched at all possible stages of finishing. Rough blocks, roughed-out, half-worked, nearly-finished, and completely finished products of stone have been recovered from shipwreck sites.[148] Moreover, objects in different stages of finishing could be part of the same cargo.[149] Although there appear to be certain correlations between materials, object types, and the degree of finish that was given to objects before transport, several exceptions show that these relationships should not be understood as strictly defined rules.[150] For instance, it is usually thought that

availability of stone types at a certain time and place within the Roman Empire. For distribution maps of popular stones in the Roman world see Lazzarini (2004) and (2009), and Lazzarini – Sangati (2004). Lazzarini compiled distribution maps of both primary (i.e. Roman/Byzantine period) and secondary (i.e. medieval or later) uses of 28 commonly used (coloured) stone varieties in the provinces of the Roman Empire on the basis of more than 6,000 records from 377 sites. For recent criticism on such traditional distribution maps, see Russell (2013a) 144.

142. Schneider (2001) 7.

143. Russell (2013a) 6.

144. "Columns, for example, were regularly quarried to standard multiples of the Roman foot; and the prefabrication of such bulky objects as sarcophagi, presumably introduced in the first place in order to reduce transport costs, in course of time led to specialisation, with certain quarries producing certain particular shapes, and in some cases even certain particular designs, specifically to the order of certain particular markets": Ward-Perkins (1980) 325; cf. ibid. (1992b) 63.

145. For the most up-to-date overviews of Roman shipwrecks with stone cargoes, with reviews of older literature and further bibliography, see Russell (2012), (2013a) 112-140, and (2013b); the latter paper collects evidence for 96 (potential) shipwrecks with stone cargoes datable between the 2nd century BC and the 7th century AD. Parker (1992) should still be considered as a standard reference for Mediterranean shipwrecks in general; see also Maischberger (1997) 25-31.

146. Of course, a distinction must be made between shipwrecks with freshly quarried stone materials that were in transit between quarry and destination, and those with reused objects aboard – for instance, the Mahdia shipwreck that is thought to have sunk in the 1st century BC is considered to have transported already finished and centuries-old Greek sculptures for Late Republican Italian senators: Parker (1992) 262 no. 621.

147. This is one of the main arguments in Russell (2012).

148. Widely acclaimed and sought-after stone types, such as fine white marbles and exotic coloured stones, occur next to stones of local and regional importance. Furthermore, cargoes varied greatly in terms of size, and typically included architectural elements (e.g., columns and capitals), sarcophagi, statues, roughly squared blocks, or a mixture of the aforementioned object types. On the issue of finished versus unfinished products of stone see Rockwell (1990a).

149. Examples of ships with stone cargoes with different stages of finishing aboard include the shipwrecks of Torre Sgarrata (2nd-3rd century AD: Parker 1992, 429-430 no. 1163; Isola delle Correnti (3rd-4th century AD: Parker 1992, 219 no. 522), Capo Taormina (Roman period: Parker 1992, 125 no. 256).

150. The quarries at Prokonnesos and Dokimeion, for instance, seem to have developed strategies for finishing their products at the quarries and to deliver (nearly) finished products to their customers, in contrast to numerous other quarries. The alleged specialisation of the Dokimeian quarries has been understood as

statues were either carved at the place of destination from a rough block or that they were transported in roughed-out form.[151] However, while this practice makes sense from a practical viewpoint – transportation was not without risks, hence the more refined the object, the more prone to damage it was – this does not mean that freshly quarried sculptures were not transported in a (nearly) finished state, as, for example, a statue of Eros and Psyche recovered from the Punto Scifo A shipwreck demonstrates.[152]

The above has shown that a selection of the available repertoire of stone types travelled throughout the Roman Empire. Evidence from Rome's marble yards made it clear that this city had (contemporaneous) access to a variety of the most sought-after stones. The fact that these materials are unused, moreover, provides a first indication of a possible geographical division of Roman sculptural processes. An assessment of Roman shipwrecks with stone cargoes further supports this hypothesis. Stone materials could move around as raw materials, awaiting further manufacturing at the intended place of destination. Although certain patterns can be observed between materials, object types, and the degree of prefabrication, there do not appear to have been fixed rules. The evidence instead suggests that different practices existed side by side, and that there were several possibilities within the boundaries of the participating actors. That means that the production process of stone artefacts could be geographically divided between quarry location and place of destination. This complicates an assessment of the question where in the connected Roman world a given stone artefact was manufactured. Hence, as the *where* question is difficult to assess in principle, our next question should be to evaluate the so-called *social* aspect of provenance: *who* made stone artefacts?

1.4 ITINERANT CRAFTSMEN

"It is always easier to move a carver than it is to move a carving. Human beings do not weigh 2.7 tons per cubic meter and can move by themselves; they are generally less fragile than finely carved details in stone"

Rockwell (1993) 98

When discussing who made Roman stone artefacts, craftsmanship is a key concept. It is understood here as the totality of skills and techniques in a particular craft, in this case the craft of stone working. While essentially immaterial, it is materialised when practised to concrete matter. In other words, craftsmanship needs a practitioner in order to materialise, and it is to these practitioners that we will turn here.[153] Rather than providing an in-depth overview of carvers in the Roman world, which is beyond the scope of this study, this section emphasises itinerant carvers in order to assess aspects of *social* provenance, namely, where and by whom stone sculptures were carved.[154]

It is well-known that carvers travelled widely in Antiquity. A recent study demonstrates that of 212 sculptors that were active between the 7th and late 5th

an intentional strategy for increasing the profit margins of their products. The quarries' relatively unfavourable geographical position in inland Turkey implied high (overland) transportation costs, and these costs considerably reduced the profit margins of producing and shipping roughed-out products and made it difficult to compete against more favourably located quarries. To avoid this problem, the quarries shifted their focus to a different sector of the market, the local elites of Asia Minor, by specialising in the production of finished high-end products. See Waelkens (1982) 124-127, esp. 125, ibid. (1990b) 69; cf. Bartoli (2008) 179. See now also, with a note of caution, Russell (2013a) 278-281. For the shipment of nearly finished Prokonnesian sarcophagi see Wiegartz (1974) 348-357, *contra* Ward-Perkins (1956).

151. Dodge (1991) 37. Two half-finished sculptures were found among the cargo of a ship that wrecked on the Black Sea coast of Turkey off Şile: the bust of a woman (perhaps of Trajanic date) and a 4.5 m high colossal statue of a cuirassed emperor: see Mellink (1973) 191, Asgari (1978) 480, Beykan (1988) 127. For a discussion on the date of the Şile shipwreck see also Russell (2013a) 322.

152. For the Punto Scifo A shipwreck that sank near Croton, southern Italy in the early 3rd century AD, see Bartoli (2008); the statue of Eros and Psyche is discussed on 128-130 and 261-262. More examples of (nearly) finished statues from shipwrecks are cited in Russell (2012) 536, (2013a) 336-337, and (2013b) 353, although it is not always clear whether the relevant statues were newly quarried or not. On the question of *where* statues were produced, cf. Russell (2013a) 315, 329-330, and 336-338.

153. I will not explore this topic here; on the concept of making, and the interrelationships and interaction between practitioner and matter, see Ingold (2013).

154. As such, the following discussion elaborates on another characteristic of Ward-Perkins' model of the Roman stone trade, namely, the presence of specialised workmen overseas, "so that the customer could, if he wished, not only order the materials but also obtain the craftsmen capable of handling those materials": Ward-Perkins (1980) 325; cf. ibid. (1992b) 63.

centuries BC in the Greek world no less than 80 worked far from home.[155] Moreover, Pliny informs us of the presence of several Greek sculptors in 2nd-century BC Rome.[156] The concept of the itinerant craftsman was also known in the Roman world. A dedicatory inscription from Nicopolis ad Istrum in Bulgaria demonstrates the presence of an association of Nicomedian sculptors in that city.[157] Another dedication from Konya in Turkey attests to the presence in that city of two brothers named Limnaios and Diomedes, 'statue carvers and carvers of Dokimeian marble, Dokimeians'.[158] The valuable but ambiguous corpus of makers' inscriptions or sculptures 'signatures' is often used as evidence for the existence of travelling sculptors.[159] Several finished sculptures with makers' inscriptions have been found at sites that are far removed from the hometowns of their carvers, and this is often considered to be a result of the movement of carvers. However, several scholars have drawn attention to the issues that relate to the interpretation of such marks. Peter Stewart has convincingly warned against simply equating the prevailing Greek names that are inscribed in the Greek alphabet in finished statues with either these carvers' ethnic or cultural Greek origins and, by extension, touched upon the important issue of the significance and meaning of (Greek) ethnic and cultural identity in the Roman world.[160] From a very different angle, Ben Russell recently showed the difficulties of using makers' inscriptions as source for the actual movement of carvers.[161] The fact that such inscriptions are found at sites far removed from the places mentioned in the inscription does not necessarily imply the physical presence of carvers from far away. Indeed, a maker's mark could as easily be applied to a finished statue in a carver's hometown right before shipment.[162]

These observations indicate that makers' marks should be treated with caution. But then, does any concrete evidence remain to support the widely accepted idea that carvers travelled around and offered their services on location? The answer is yes. The Alexandrian sculptor Antoninos son of Antiochos left his name on two statue bases from Jerash in Jordan. While the first of these was carved from imported white marble, which complicates the question where the actual carving took place, the second base was made from a local yellow limestone that was neither widely acclaimed nor transported in Antiquity. Hence, the important implication is that the Alexandrian Antoninos is indeed very likely to have sculpted and signed this base at Jerash proper.[163] The find of metal carving tools among the stone cargo of the Porto Novo shipwreck hints at the same conclusion, and suggests that carvers were actually sent with shipments of freshly quarried stone – in this particular case rough column fragments and blocks of Luna marble.[164]

155. Dimartino (2010) esp. 19-20; for Greek makers' inscriptions see also Donderer (1996).
156. Pliny, *Natural History* 36.34-35 (translation D.E. Eichholz); cf. Toynbee (1951) 18-21.
157. See Ward-Perkins (1992b) 70 no. 4.
158. Hall – Waelkens (1982) 151-152; cf. Russell (2013a) 332.
159. The ambiguity of this corpus results from the fact that, although makers' marks demonstrate the presence of carvers in areas other than their places of origin, they generally do not provide actual evidence that these travelling or migrant carvers worked on location. Makers' marks are generally understood as quality signs. It has been noted that the practice of inscribing finished statuary was generally limited to carvers from a fairly small number of cities with reputable artistic traditions, such as Athens, Aphrodisias, Alexandria, Nicomedia, and Rhodes (bibliographical references for signed works of carvers from each of these cities are conveniently collected in Russell 2013a, 333 n. 82). This recognition has led to the idea that such makers' marks of artists from renowned production centres were intended as quality signs: see, e.g., Ward-Perkins (1992b) 69, Stewart (2008) 16, and Russell (2013a) 332-333; cf. Donderer (2011), for an emphasis on makers' marks as important advertising medium for carvers (or workshops), and Osborne (2010) for theoretical background to the practice and significance of artists' signatures in ancient Greece.
160. Stewart (2008) 15-18.
161. Russell (2013a) 332-333.
162. Examples like the statue of Eros and Psyche discussed in section II.1.3 above demonstrate that (nearly) finished sculptures were actually transported.
163. For this and similar examples see Russell (2013a) 333-334 with further literature; cf. Friedland (2012) 62-63.
164. This ship was supposedly wrecked in the early 1st century AD off the south-eastern coast of Corsica: see Bernard *et al.* (1998), esp. 57-66. The find of the stonecarving tools aboard a ship with a stone cargo is a concrete indication of Ward-Perkins' notion of workmen overseas. In discussing what the author called mason's marks inscribed on architectural pieces from especially Lepcis Magna, Ward-Perkins asserted that the marks were probably carved after shipment, that is, by Greek artists from Asia Minor, where the marble also came from. "Nothing would be more likely", he concluded, "than that the shipments of Greek marble for the capitals and bases were similarly accompanied by the skilled craftsmen needed to work them": Ward-Perkins (1951) 93-94, quote from p. 94. In his final contribution on the subject, Ward-Perkins specified the itinerant carver as "[…] what must have been a common phenomenon […]"; this would furthermore play a decisive role in his final understanding of the mechanisms

A brief assessment of the practice of travelling carvers in the Roman world demonstrates that there is indeed conclusive evidence for the movement of stone sculptors across the Mediterranean. Carvers moved around, either accompanying shipments of newly quarried stone materials or not. The presence and activity of sculptors outside their area of origin implies that, if we encounter a sculpture at a given archaeological site, we cannot automatically presume that it was made by local craftsmen. However, this was not the only approach to the production of stone sculpture. Sculptors could possibly also dispatch finished statues without ever leaving their areas of origins. The production process of stone sculpture in the Roman world therefore appears increasingly complex, and so does our understanding of the concept of provenance. Not only raw materials, but also craftsmen circulated across the Empire. These practices seriously complicate questions of where and by whom artefacts were manufactured. One of the important questions that remain is whether certain patterns existed in the relations between materials and carvers, as previous scholarship has often presumed. The following section will assess this issue.

1.5 RELATIONS BETWEEN MATERIALS AND CARVERS

"It is easiest to see a piece of stone as going through a sequence of operations after quarrying that leads to a finished object. Whether or not these operations are all carried on in the same place is important but does not destroy the sense of sequence of the process"

Rockwell (1993) 98

Any sculpture made of stone is the result of a series of choices and actions that start at the quarries and, subsequently, follow a certain order.[165] The basic operations within this sequence go beyond the limits of time and space. Therefore, regardless of when and where a stone sculpture was carved, its production sequence must have involved the quarrying of raw material and, by necessity afterwards, the sculpting of the raw material into the desired shape. However, there are many possible variations in the number and execution of operations between the initial and final production stages of stone sculpture. Peter Rockwell has drawn attention to the chronological aspect of this variability. He argues that the largest difference between Roman Imperial and medieval/modern approaches to stone working is the fact that the entire process was principally carried out in one location in later periods, while the Romans could break up this process geographically between quarry and worksite.[166] The geographical division of Roman production processes of stone objects, already referred to in the previous sections, is a very useful framework for assessing the question where objects were made. Different approaches to the production of stone objects could and did co-exist in the Roman period. Theoretically speaking, Roman approaches to stone working offer a wide range of possible relations between raw material and craftsmanship. This section briefly reviews how these relations have been traditionally understood and what this implies for our understanding of stone sculpture in the Roman world.

Several scholars have emphasised the correlations that would have existed between the geological sources of stone types and the origins of carvers. This supposed association played an important role in Ward-Perkins' final understanding of the Roman stone trade and the actual explanation that it provided for the Marble Style, namely, the diffusion of a 'flourishing *koiné*' of 'Asiatic' architectural styles and techniques over a large part of the Roman Empire.[167] In his comparative study on architectural elements from Tripolitania, Lower Moesia, and Pamphylia, the author pointed out the close stylistic and technical similarities that exist between objects from these geographically remote areas.[168] These objects would illustrate "[...] some of the many common elements of taste and craftsmanship that unite the architectural ornament of these three territories in the Antonine and Severan periods, resemblances

of the Roman stone trade: see Ward-Perkins (1992b) 69 (quote above) and 99-100, respectively. The idea of skilled craftsmen who accompanied shipments of freshly quarried stone has been followed by later authors: "Sicher ist auch, daß Steinmetzen aus einzelnen Steinbruchgebieten zusammen mit ihren fast vollendeten Produkten an den Bestimmungsort reisten, um sie dort zu vollenden" (Mielsch 1985, 15).

165. Not taking advance planning into account.

166. Rockwell (1993) 90-100, esp. 92.

167. See Dodge (1991) 39 n. 108 for the notion of a 'marble style'.

168. Ward-Perkins (1992b) 68-100.

that are in such striking contrast to their geographical remoteness from each other that they can hardly be accidental. Given the common material, Prokonnesian marble, and given the epigraphic evidence of Bithynian marble workers in two of the three areas, there really does seem to be a *prima facie* case for some commercial mechanism linking the import of fine materials with that of the craftsmen needed to work them".[169] The idea of a Marble Style has influenced subsequent writings on the subject. The direct relationship it presumes between the origins of carvers, who are deemed assessable through (ethnic) style, and materials indeed makes sense from a practical point of view. Based on the apprentice system through which sculptors were trained in Antiquity, it is likely that carvers tended to work with the materials they were most familiar with, which often will have been the stones from their own regions.[170]

But even though this is probably true, the relations between sources of materials and carvers were not linear and, therefore, "while […] Thasian carvers, as a result, are likely to have worked predominately [*sic*] in Thasian marble, this does not mean that all statues in Thasian marble were necessarily carved by Thasian carvers".[171] This observation is worth noting explicitly, were it only to counterbalance the direct relationship between origins of materials and carvers that is often implicitly presumed. Of course it is reasonable to imagine that "[...] monuments that *look* Greek were made by Greek artists who had inherited the necessary skills, habits, and sensibilities to work in this manner and who were patronised by Romans who favoured such work", as Stewart has argued with regard to the proliferation of what he calls Greek styles in Roman works of art.[172] But this was not necessarily the case. Moreover, these arguments overlook the role of the transference of knowledge and skills. Like raw materials and craftsmen, immaterial 'goods' will have flown to and from everywhere. This means that technical knowledge and skills are likely to have been available at other places than those from which they originated. This idea goes against the notion of ethnic styles, which has permeated Western approaches to art and art history, as it does not automatically assume a direct relationship between the stylistic execution of material culture and the ethnic or cultural backgrounds of a people or individual carvers. Recent scholarship has increasingly criticised this traditional assumption. Therefore, with regard to the carving and style of architectural elements from the theatre at Beth Shean in Israel, Elise Friedland argues that "[…] it is not impossible that artisans of one town or region would receive training from foreign or itinerant sculptors who had arrived to execute a special project. It is also possible that local artisans might have travelled to an area famous for its marble quarries and sculptural workshops to receive training in a different carving tradition".[173] Although it takes time to complete the transmission of the knowledge and skills necessary to work a specific type of stone – several generations, according to a recent study[174] – it is not unlikely that, in due time, it became difficult to distinguish between the carvings of 'local' and 'non-local' sculptors.[175] Such a development fits well with the cosmopolitan character of the Roman world, which provided access to both raw materials, carvers, and knowledge from distant sources.[176] While of course this does not mean that sculptural traditions like the Aphrodisian or Ephesian school did not exist,[177]

169. Ward-Perkins (1992b) 99-100.
170. Rockwell (1993) 2-5. A series of apprentices' or test pieces provides actual evidence for the training of sculptors at Aphrodisias: Van Voorhis (1998), (2012) 48-50.
171. Russell (2013a) 330, cf. 168-169. In similar vein, Freyberger's study of the production of capitals in Imperial Rome has demonstrated that several workshops worked together on the cities' large building projects and has noted the preferences between carvers and materials. Nevertheless, Freyberger (1990, 135) concludes that "[…] die Marmorsorte für die Bestimmung einer Werkstatt nicht ausslaggebend ist".
172. Stewart (2008) 14.
173. Friedland (2012) 59.
174. See Barresi (2003) 89-91, with regard to the transference of the skill to work Prokonnesian marble in Pergamon.
175. See also Russell (2013a) 332: "In both the Levant and Cyrenaica marble-working skills would have been transferred from immigrant carvers to local ones over time and by the Roman period it might often have been difficult distinguishing between those groups". For contrasting views see the references in Friedland (2012) 59 n. 30, and 69 n. 84.
176. Or, as Gosden (2004, 105-106) has it, "[…] the [Roman] empire as a whole formed a giant circulation system which connected flows of people, religious practices and material culture throughout the empire, so that influences came from everywhere and flowed to everywhere". In this respect, one might even wonder if, and to what extent, 'local' and 'non-local' constitute useful categories to discuss Roman stone working, at all.
177. The identification of individual artists' 'hands' and workshops or 'schools' on the basis of stylistic analysis has been one of the traditional focuses of scholarship on the Greek and Roman visual arts; for a current state of affairs and modern approaches to the subject see the volume *Ateliers and artisans* (2012).

it nevertheless indicates that the direct correlation between sculptural styles and either the ethnicity or geographical origins of people appears to be too narrow as a model for understanding the complex processes of stone working and stone trade in the Roman world.[178]

1.6 CONCLUSION: CIRCULATION OF STONES, SCULPTORS, AND SKILLS

On the basis of an analysis of the Roman stone trade and Roman stone working practices, this chapter has investigated the two questions at the heart of current debates on Aegyptiaca Romana: *where* were they made and *who* made them? The Roman stone trade was a complex system in which several approaches to and practices of stone production existed side by side. Although the origins of raw materials and the ethnic background of sculptors could have been one and the same, no strictly defined relationship existed between geological provenance and craftsmanship. Moreover, the distinction between local and non-local carvers may have been less evident than often assumed, since different carving traditions and the skills needed to work with different materials could be transferred through training. This implies that no simple answers can be given to questions of where in the Roman world stone artefacts were made and who made them.[179] The Roman world was an increasingly connective world in which materials, sculptors, and knowledge circulated and could function independently from one another.

This conclusion has important implications for the usefulness of existing approaches to Aegyptiaca in the Roman world, and Egyptian versus Egyptianising interpretations of material culture in particular. Perceived style, iconography, and the origins of materials are still often understood to relate to the provenance of Aegyptiaca in a direct way, as the discussion in section I.2 made evident. While it is indeed likely that Pharaonic Egyptian stone artefacts were often made in Egypt and by Egyptians, and even though there is evidence to suggest that Egyptian sculptors worked in locations outside Egypt during the Roman Imperial period,[180] the entangled nature of stone trade and stone working practices in the Roman world implies that relations between the origins of materials, artistic style, and iconography were not necessarily bound by ethnic and/or cultural backgrounds. Consequently, we cannot automatically assume that the geological provenance of the stone materials of Aegyptiaca is indicative of the place where these artefacts were manufactured. Moreover, the stylistic execution of these objects does not provide conclusive evidence for the background of their sculptors.[181] In other words, existing approaches to Aegyptiaca in the Roman world are too static to correctly reflect Roman Imperial connectivity, and in particular the flexible nature of Roman stone trade and stone working practices. This also emphasises one of the conclusions of Part I, namely, that the terms Egyptian and Egyptianising, and the associated binary interpretations that their use implicitly entail (i.e., authentic versus copy, religious versus exotic, and understanding versus misunderstanding) are not useful to assess Roman perceptions of the objects that we call Aegyptiaca. Those terms reflect modern attempts to categorise and understand the broad variety of objects that we associate with Egypt. These attempts draw on several assumptions about the supposed provenance of these objects, which appear to be untenable from a Roman perspective.

178. Critical voices about a direct relationship between sculptural style and ethnicity/cultural identity of carvers can also be heard in the field of Archaic Greek sculpture: Marconi (2010) with further references. See also Adornato (2010) for a recent critical appraisal of the 'approccio langlotziano' (p. 309), in reference to Ernst Langlotz (1895-1978), whose understanding and identification of Greek sculptural schools was essentially based on different ethnic origins of (groups of) carvers.

179. See also Russell (2013a, 329): "[…] how do we know whether marble statues at somewhere like Palmyra were carved locally using imported raw materials (by a migrant or Palmyrene carver), carved by an itinerant carver who arrived with the material, or carved elsewhere altogether and imported fully finished? The short answer, of course, is that it is usually impossible to know for certain since the evidence is often far from conclusive".

180. See Donderer (2001) 175-179 for attestations of Alexandrian sculptors in the Hellenistic and (early) Roman Imperial periods outside of Egypt, including the island of Kos, Messene, and Gerasa. On the presence of Egyptians in Roman Italy and Rome in general, see Cristofori (1998) with relevant bibliography.

181. Most sculptures are not signed and, as a result, we simply lack the information to determine who made these objects. While the practice of not signing works of art fits well with Egyptian traditions (see Ware 1927 for Egyptian artists' signatures), the fact that the large majority of Aegyptiaca are not signed can, of course, not be used as an argument in support of the view that the artists were Egyptians; cf. Friedland (2012) 59.

2. Understanding stone in the Roman world II: Roman perceptions of stone

"It is better to focus on a world of stones, sculptors and carving traditions – all of which could be easily transmitted from the great marble-carving centers of Italy, Greece and Turkey to the farthest reaches of the East. And we should not forget that patrons commissioned sculptures in specific materials, styles, and visual vocabularies in order to communicate certain messages to viewers and deities"

Friedland (2012) 60

This section shifts its attention from aspects of stone production to consumption in order to explore the social values that Romans attached to stones in general, and certain types in particular. Why were stones used so extensively, how did the particular demand for certain types of stone come about, and how could materials contribute to the efficacy of Roman stone sculpture? In order to study the materiality of so-called Aegyptiaca, it is necessary to gain a better understanding of the ways in which stone materials functioned and how they were perceived in the Roman world. Therefore, the first section discusses illustrative points of the growing demand for stone in the Roman world. Subsequently, an assessment is made of Roman appreciations of stones and of the characteristics that contributed to their desirability. To conclude, examples are presented of Roman Imperial sculptures to demonstrate how materials, artistic styles, and subject matters could interact in a way that rendered the objects in question objects significant 'beyond representation'.[182]

2.1 THE DEMAND FOR DECORATIVE STONES

The demand for stone that grew to unprecedented levels in the Roman world, especially in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, had its origins in the 2nd century BC. It has traditionally been understood against the backdrop of the Roman expansion in the East.[183] For instance, Pliny recounts how, after the conquest of Asia in 189 BC, wooden and terracotta statuary came to be replaced with luxury materials, such as marble.[184] Besides the importation of already finished stone objects, which were often brought back as spoils of war,[185] the local

182. This section draws from a large body of literature and is therefore necessarily selective. The focus is mainly on the most renowned stones because these feature most prominently in both the archaeological and literary record. For the same reason, most attention will be paid to Rome; in addition to this, at least initially, Rome was the main consumer of decorative stones: although these materials were available in provincial centres as early as the 1st century AD, it seems that they did not reach the outlying provinces in large quantities until the 2nd century AD (cf., e.g., Schneider 2001, 7; Bartoli 2008, 148-150). This focus suffices for the purpose of the present study, which is to give a general idea of the relevance of stone in the Roman world and the ways in which stone materials can contribute to the understanding of stone sculpture. While indeed "the fashion for [the most renowned stones] is indicative of a more widespread and deep-rooted interest in stone use that took hold in almost every region under Roman rule" (Russell 2013a, 16), there are many regional and chronological differences between the different parts of the Roman Empire. For a more inclusive approach to the Roman consumption of stone, see especially Russell (2013a). Likewise, it is beyond the scope of this study to provide a literary interpretation of the textual sources that will be referred to throughout this chapter and that have been collected in Appendix B; for an interpretation of literary descriptions of stones in Pliny's *Natural History* see Carey (2003) 91-92, who sees Pliny's history of marble as "both a history of the Roman conquest of the world and a history of the world in Rome… The account of marble in Rome is […] also an account of the challenge to Roman morals through contact with *luxuria*". For an interpretation of building processes and stone building materials in Roman antiquity see Reitz (2013).

183. Cf. Jongstra (1995) 28-31, Maischberger (1997) 17, Bartoli (2008) 141-146, Hirt (2010) 90, and Russell (2013a) 13-14.

184. Pliny, *Natural History* 34.16.34; cf. *infra*, Appendix B.

185. The first recorded import of marble to Rome took place in 173 BC, when the censor Quintus Fulvaius Flaccus stripped half of the marble roof tiles of the temple of Juno Lacinia at Croton and had them brought to Rome to embellish the temple he had built for Fortuna Equestris (Livy, 42.3.1-11; cf. *infra*, Appendix B). Livy reports how Flaccus' act met with great indignation and was depicted as an act of sacrilege. The situation was settled by the Senate's order to return the marble tiles to Croton and to make atonements to Juno. Bartoli (2008, 143-145) has suggested that, rather than religious concerns, other reasons may have motivated the Senate's apparent haste and determination to send back the marble roof tiles. The use of marble was inextricably

stones of the newly conquered territories soon came to be appreciated as raw materials. This was made possible by the expansion during the first two centuries BC that gave Rome access to the most important quarry districts of the Mediterranean world.[186] The import of stones from distant sources as raw materials began in Rome during the mid-2nd century BC. This practice is closely associated with victorious Roman generals, who commissioned buildings *de manubiis* upon their return. Thus, in 146 BC, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, victor in Macedonia, ordered the construction of the earliest known building in white marble, the temple of Jupiter Stator in the Campus Martius.[187] The marble was brought from Mount Pentelikon in Greece, that is, from the very land that Rome had conquered, which transformed the building into a monument of victory.[188] Other generals followed suit and as a result imported stones quickly established their position as "potent tokens of victory" in the context of Republican elite competition.[189]

Over the course of the 1st century BC, an increasing variety of decorative stones entered the domestic domain and became a popular means of prestigious self-presentation and socio-political rivalry. Thanks to a series of passages in Pliny's *Natural History* we can trace the introduction of some of the most appreciated stone types in elite residences in Rome.[190] For example, in 95 BC, the consul L. Licinius Crassus installed six columns of Hymettian white marble in his house on the Palatine Hill; in 78 BC, the consul M. Aemilius Lepidus introduced *giallo antico* in Rome, followed four years later by L. Licinius Lucullus' introduction of *africano*, which he incidentally named after himself (*marmor luculleum*); in 58 BC, the aedil M. Aemilius Scaurus embellished his ephemeral theatre (which only lasted for one month) with a range of expensive materials, including 360 columns of *africano*, some of which were later used in Scaurus' residence on the Palatine Hill;[191] and finally Mamurra, Caesar's *praefectum fabrum*, is credited with being the first man in Rome to have covered entire walls with marble veneer, a tradition that would refer back to Mausollos of Halicarnassus, and to have only marble columns (of Luna and *cipollino* marble) in his house on the Caelian Hill.

This fashion for imported stones took hold rapidly. According to Pliny, Lepidus' house was the finest of its time, but it was not even among the first hundred 35 years later.[192] By the end of the Republic, the use of imported

associated with notions of luxury, wealth and power that were in contrast with Republican mores of modesty. Therefore, what was officially portrayed as an act of religious impiety can also be tentatively conceived as an attempt by the Senate to tame the marble's agency, a goal that only could be achieved by physically removing the stone from Roman soil – much like the famed Borghese statue that had to be put away from public viewing to tame its agency (Van Eck *et al*. 2015, 15-19). Throughout the Republican age, the use of imported stones evoked both praise and condemnation and seems to have become a literary *topos*: "the use of marble in urban architecture affirms Republican biases", as Favro (1996, 183) sums up. Hence, while ancient authors specifically applied the term *magnificentia* to describe buildings of marble, at the same time laws were issued that prohibited the excessive use of luxury materials, including imported stones in private monuments. Clearly, Rome was struggling to come to terms with its new material make up. See, e.g., Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 12.35, 13.6.1: cf. *infra*, Appendix B. On the ambiguity towards imported stones and *luxuria* in general, see Carey (2003) esp. 91-99, Mielsch (1985) 29-31, Jongstra (1995) 17-19, Pensabene (2002) 7-8, Bradley (2006) 6-7, and Wallace-Hadrill (2008) esp. 329-338.

186. The quarries of *giallo antico* at Chemtou in Tunisia fell in Roman hands after the conquest of Carthage in 146 BC. In the same year, Rome gained access to some of the most renowned sources of white marble of the Greek world (Paros, Hymettos, Naxos, Thasos, Pentelikon) after its victory at the battle of Corinth. Further events that increased Roman access to important quarries occurred in 133 BC, when the kingdom of Pergamon was bequeathed to Rome, which granted Roman access to the Phrygian quarries at Dokimeion (the quarries of *pavonazzetto* and a high quality white marble), and the battle of Actium in 31 BC and subsequent annexation of Egypt in 30 BC, which brought the rich geology of Egypt into the hands of the Roman state. Cf. Bartoli (2008) 141-142.

187. Velleius Paterculus, *History of Rome* 1.11.5; cf. *infra*, Appendix B. See also Pensabene (2002) 3-4, Bradley (2006) 3, and Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 356.

188. A preference for Pentelic marble has been noted for early marble buildings in Rome in general: see Bernard (2010).

189. Excerpt from Russell (2013a) 13. At least three more temples were built in Rome from imported marble during the last decades of the 2nd century BC. Remains of one of these have been found under the Church of San Salvatore in Campo in the Campus Martius: namely, the temple of Mars in Pentelic marble, commissioned *de manubiis* by the triumphator D. Iunius Brutus Callaicus sometime after 133 BC: see esp. Bernard (2010); cf. Jongstra (1995) 29, Maischberger (1997) 17 with n. 32.

190. Relevant passages are all quoted in Appendix B. For late-Republican archaeological evidence from elite residences see Pensabene (2002) 4-5.

191. On Scaurus see now Leemreize (2016) 57-58 with n. 181, who notes a close association between Scaurus and extravagance/decadence in Pliny's *Natural History*, for which see also Carey (2003) 96-99.

192. *Natural History* 36.24.110; cf. *infra*, Appendix B. Russell (2013a, 15) discusses a similar example in Seneca's *Epistles* (86.6, quoted in Appendix B).

stones had been established as an efficient means to articulate the owner's socio-political position.[193] These materials came from far lands and therefore implied notions of costliness, scarcity, and labour, which in turn meant they were noteworthy and prestigious. In other words, decorative stones embodied aspects of affluence and privilege, and their prestige value quickly developed against the backdrop of socio-political rivalry in late Republican times.

Augustus was the first to use these prestigious materials on a large scale in public architecture and sculpture.[194] To meet the growing demand for stone, which has even been dubbed an "Augustan marble revolution",[195] decorative stones were more systematically exploited at the quarries from this time onwards. In addition, several new quarries were opened to increase the range and volume of the available materials, in particular of coloured stones.[196] Through the targeted use of these materials in monumental public buildings, like the Forum of Augustus, the temple of Apollo Palatinus, and the Basilica Aemilia, an imperial building program with ideological underpinnings was developed, in which the associations of stones were paramount.[197]

193. Besides the materials, also the tradition to decorate houses with 'marbles' came from the East, as several scholars have pointed out: "the metropolitan elites of this period [i.e. the late Republic] were following in a well-established Eastern tradition, consciously modelling their residences on the royal palaces of Hellenistic kings and notables" (Russell 2013a, 14). Often-mentioned Hellenistic 'models' include the royal palaces at Vergina and Alexandria. Dating from the 3rd century BC, the former displayed large thresholds of Pentelic marble, while an epigram by Poseidippus informs us on the installation, in the late 3rd century BC, of a fountain in the royal palace at Alexandria that was made of various imported stones: Pensabene (2002) 3-4, with references, Mielsch (1985) 16. For Poseidippus' epigram see Von Hesberg (1981) 96-97. On the basis of Kallixeinos of Rhodes' work, Athenaeus reports that the banqueting tent of Ptolemy II (285-246 BC) and the *thalamegos* or houseboat of Ptolemy IV (221-204 BC) were also decorated with costly materials including various coloured stones (Athenaeus, *Deiphnosophistae* 5.196a-197c, and 5.203d-206c, respectively); see Gans (1994) 448-449 and McKenzie (2007) 49, and 62-64.

194. Favro (1996, 185-186) assumes that Augustus made a deliberate distinction between the use of decorative stones in public and private works. Well aware of the impact and associations of stones, Republican conservatism, and his own newly acquired position as Princeps, he would have lavishly spent on decorative stones in public buildings "for the aggrandizement of the Roman state", while he refrained from material opulence in private life. To support her assertion, the author refers to a passage in Suetonius, who emphasises the modesty of Augustus' house on the Palatine Hill and explicitly mentions the absence of luxurious decorative stones: Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 72.1 (quoted in Appendix B). To what extent Suetonius' statement reflected reality or was just an idealistic portrayal must be questioned in light of a series of Augustan-period columns and capitals of imported stones from the Casa di Augusto (*giallo antico*, *pavonazzetto*, *portasanta*, *alabastro fiorito*): see *Marmi colorati* (2002) 443-445 no. 139-145 (P. Pensabene); cf. Pensabene (2002) 4-6.

195. Schneider (2001) 3-4, (2002) 83. It is often assumed that, from the time of Augustus onwards, coloured stones were prized higher than white marbles (Pensabene 1983, 57; Schneider 1986, 149 n. 1124; Gregarek 1999, 108 n. 382; ibid. 2002, 208. See also Bradley 2006, 15 n. 77 with references). This assumption is based on a passage in Strabo's *Geography* (9.5.16, see Appendix B). The author, who wrote around the time of Augustus, records that white marbles had devaluated due to the predilection for coloured stones in his days. We get a similar impression from the poet Statius' description of the Domus Flavia in the late 1st century AD: white, Italian marble from Luna serves only as the base of columns of coloured – and one may seemingly add, more precious – stones (*Silvae* 4.2.26-29, quoted in Appendix B; cf. Schneider 2001, 8-9). Although some varieties of white marble were certainly much in demand and highly prized, the observation that many of the quarries that were newly opened in Roman times targeted coloured materials further supports this hypothesis. Coloured stones not only stood out because of their specific colouration – commonly labelled 'exotic' in the literature – but usually also had particular textural characteristics. Because of their distinct visual characteristics, these materials were presumably easier to recognise than white marbles, and as such it is not unlikely that they were a more direct means of 'communication'. Section II.2.2 will elaborate on Roman appreciations of stones.

196. These developments necessitated reorganisations of pre-existing quarry infrastructures and of the logistics of the stone transportation that took place during the course of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD – which formed the basis of Ward-Perkins' model of the Roman stone trade, which was discussed in section II.1. The growth in demand for decorative stones during the reign of Augustus is aptly recorded in Strabo's account of the quarries at Dokimeion, quoted in II.1.1.5 above (*Geography* 12.8.14); writing around the same time, Ovid claims that "mountains diminish as the marble is dug from them" (*The art of love* 3.125); cf. Pliny, *Natural History* 36.1.2-3 (all passages quoted in Appendix B below). These literary passages are supported by archaeological evidence from the quarries. While the available data are heterogeneous and differ in both geographical and chronological respect, three developments can be observed that may be considered as direct consequences of the changing demand for stones in the Roman period: 1). a striking intensification of activity in pre-existing quarries, 2). the opening of new quarries; this development is particularly clear in the West, where there was no established tradition of stone working prior to the Roman period, and 3). most notably, a vast increase in the number of quarries that produced coloured stones: see Russell (2013a) 82-93; for new quarries in Egypt that produced coloured stones cf., e.g., Harrell (2012b) 19.

197. For an overview of the materials used in Augustan building

Augustus' material imprint on the city of Rome set the tone for the public architecture and sculpture of the next centuries. As a result, the urban fabric of Rome was gradually transformed into the capital of an Empire.[198] In addition, the imperial architectural and sculptural 'canon' increasingly took hold among non-imperial elites, which had at least two important consequences. Firstly, it led to a further increase in the demand for stone; the available evidence indicates that the total, non-imperial consumption of stone was much larger than the quantities used in imperial projects. Furthermore, through the (provincial) elites' engagement with the fashion of stone use and display, these materials came to play an important role in municipal benefaction and urbanisation processes – especially in the Western provinces, where, in marked contrast with the East, there was no previously established tradition of stone working.[199] Stone materials fitted well with these processes: "great monolithic shafts of polished polychromes, transported from the ends of the earth regardless of difficulty, cost and distance and finished to a state of uniform perfection, stood in almost every Roman city, proclaiming not only the economic wealth, political loyalty and cultural identity of the (re-) urbanised provinces but also Rome's paramount power over all conditions of life, including commerce, industry and expertise".[200] Hence, there were many different associations that came with stones in general, and with specific types in particular. The next section charts these Roman appreciations in more detail on the basis of a selection of literary and archaeological sources.

2.2 ROMAN APPRECIATIONS OF STONES

2.2.1 The literary evidence: selected sources

"I have paid […] the HS 20,400 for the Megarian statues in accordance with your earlier letter. I am already quite enchanted with your Pentelic herms with the bronze heads […] so please send them and the statues and any other things you think would do credit to the place in question […] especially any you think suitable to a lecture hall and colonnade".[201]

The above quotation is taken from the correspondence between the orator Cicero and his friend Atticus. In 67 BC, Cicero was putting together a sculptural program for his recently acquired villa in Tusculum and to this end he had authorised Atticus to buy sculptures in Greece on his behalf. The passage is often quoted in modern literature to denote the discrepancy between Roman conceptualisations and modern appreciations of works of art.[202] In particular, the appropriateness (*decorum*) and utility (*utilitas*) of sculpture have been emphasised as two important criteria according to which Roman audiences would have judged works of art, as opposed to modern aesthetic theorisations. Hence, the sculptures for Cicero's villa had to be suitable first and foremost, namely, appropriate for the decoration of particular spaces in his villa. Rather than mere ornaments, sculpture served specific purposes. It offered an increasingly popular means of elite self-presentation, and therefore great care was taken in putting together intellectually consistent decorative programs according to the concept of *decorum*.[203]

projects see Favro (1996) 184-185 Table 5; cf. the references in Schneider (2001) n. 12; for the Forum Augustum see also Ungaro (2002).

198. Bartoli (2008) 147-149; Favro (1996) 183-186; Schneider (2001) 4. As such, Augustus' famous boast that he found Rome built of brick and left it as a city of marble brings together two important aspects of the Augustan use of stone (Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 28.3). First, it conveys a sense of realism: the large-scale use of decorative stones in public building programs indeed first began with Augustus. Secondly, it alludes to the ideological undercurrents of the use of stone by Augustus, an aspect already noted by Dio Cassius (56.30.3-4): "He did not thereby refer literally to the appearance of its buildings, but rather to the strength of the empire"; cf. *infra*, Appendix B.

199. On imperial versus non-imperial consumption of stone and the role of stone in processes of urbanisation (with an emphasis on the importance of small-scale, local supply of suitable stones) see Russell (2013a) 18-21, 65-77, and 84 with relevant bibliography.

200. Schneider (2001) 9. For similar understandings of the use of decorative stones in Roman Imperial architecture and sculpture, see ibid. (1986) and (2002), Pensabene (2004), esp. 43, and McCann (2015) 23. Fant (1988b, 149) and Dodge (1991, 39) emphasise power and wealth but omit the aspect of imperialist conquest; for recent criticism on imperialist messages conveyed by stones, in particular of conquest of the lands from which stones came, see Burrell (2015). The author refutes the idea that monolithic columns of coloured stones would have conveyed any specific message of dominance in a 2nd-century AD context, when "any message of conquest was far in the past" (p. 950), and instead relates their significance to aspects of expense and difficulty of transportation.

201. *Letters to Atticus* 1.8.2; see also Appendix B.

202. See, e.g., Leen (1991), Stewart (2008) 37-38, and Squire (2015) esp. 590-593.

203. Cicero's letter to Fabius Gallus, another confidant who, like Atticus, was entrusted with the task to purchase appropriate

Which properties made sculpture suitable for display? If we consider the remarks in Cicero's correspondence with Atticus, it is evident that, rather than aesthetic appraisal, popular statue types and costly materials are emphasised.[204] The materials used are prominently mentioned. Besides the mention of heads made of bronze, statues and herms are said to be made from particular stone types: Megarian and Pentelic marble, respectively.[205] These white marbles were highly prized stones and therefore are likely to have contributed to the political and social atmosphere that Cicero alluded to in compiling a suitable decorative program. This suggests that the materials used were an important aspect of sculpture, and one that was worthy to be noted.

Cicero is by no means an isolated example. Passages in Pausanias' *Description of Greece* and Plutarchus' *Moralia* underline that the materials of statuary were indeed noticed by ancient viewers.[206] Such references also make clear that writers like Cicero and Pausanias were able to recognise specific stones in terms of their origins. The geological origin of stones is frequently remarked upon in literary sources, which suggests that it was considered to be an important aspect of stones.[207] In fact, many stone types were known after their place of origin, often with high geographical accuracy. For example, the green-spotted *serpentino* from the ancient town of Krokeai in the region of Lacedaemon was known in Greek as *krokeatis lithos* ("stone from Krokeai"), while its Latin name referred to the region from which it came: *marmor lacedaemonium* ("Lacedeamonian marble"). More examples of this practice are collected in Table 2.2.1.[208] This demonstrates that ancient authors had clear knowledge of the geographical origins of stones, and that they were able to tell them apart when they encountered them in sculpture or architecture.

The recognisability of stone materials was undoubtedly enhanced by certain visual properties. This is suggested by several literary passages, where the origins of stones are connected to specific remarks on their appearance.[209] The two most frequently mentioned visual characteristics relate to colour and texture. Some stones even took their names from particular eye-catching features. For instance, the metaconglomerate from the Wadi Hammamat in Egypt that consists of numerous well-rounded pebbles of other stones was either known by the name of *lapis hexecontalithos* or *lapis hecacontalithos*, which both clearly alluded to the stone's appearance ("stone of 60-stones" and "stone of 100-stones", respectively; see Table 2.2.2 for this and similar examples[210]).

Specific visual properties also contributed to the appreciation of stones. When discussing the use of stones in the Greek world, Pliny argues that "in those times no

sculpture, demonstrates that this was taken very seriously: Gallus is reprimanded because he bought statues that were not appropriate for the intended purpose (Cicero, *Letters to friends* 7.23.1-2).

204. Cf. Leen (1991) 234-235, and Stewart (2008) 36.

205. For the quarry locations see Russell (2013a) 87 fig. 3.17, no. 27 (Mount Pentelikon) and no. 35 (Megara).

206. *Description of Greece* 1.18.6 and *Moralia* 395B, respectively; cf. *infra*, Appendix B.

207. A selection of these references can be found in Appendix B below: Dio Chrystostom, *Discourses* 79.2; Juvenal, *Satires* 14.305-308; Lucian, *Hippias, or the Bath* 5-6; Martial, *Epigrams* 1.88.1-7; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.18.6, 3.21.4; Pliny, *Natural History*, 36.2.6, 36.3.7-8, 36.7.48, 36.8.49-50, 36.34.113-115, and 36.27.131; Propertius, *Elegies* 2.31.3-8; Seneca, *Epistles* 2.31.3-8; Strabo, *Geography* 9.1.23, 10.1.6, 13.1.16, and 14.1.35; Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 85; Suetonius, *Nero* 50; Tibullus, *Elegies* 3.3.13-14.

208. The following literature was used: *Il marmo e il colore* (1998) 5-16; Martano – Calogero (2000); Lazzarini – Sangati (2004); Price (2007); cf. Bugini *et al*. (2002).

209. References to the origins of stones in combination with remarks on their specific properties are listed in Appendix B: Martial, *Epigrams* 8.55.6-10; Paulus Silentiarius, *Description of Hagia Sophia* 617-663; Pliny, *Natural History* 36.4.14, 36.5.44-45, 36.5.46, 36.8.49-50, 36.11.55-58, 36.12.59-61, 36.13.62, and 36.13.63; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Letters* 2.2.7; Statius, *Silvae* 1.2.145-147, 1.5.30-41; Strabo, *Geography* 5.2.5, 9.5.16.

210. Harrell (2012b) was used for the overview. Depending on the literary genre, the visual aspects of certain stones are either stated as a fact or described in terms of the associations they evoke. Nevertheless, regardless of their character, these remarks have in common that they usually relate to aspects of colour and/or texture. Hence, although stylistically very different, the following descriptions of Aswan granite are essentially the same: "the Thebaic stone mottled with gold spots is found in a part of Africa that has been assigned to Egypt" (Pliny, *Natural History* 36.13.63), "nor do any stone surfaces, stained with a natural tinge among the Ethiopian crags with their purple precipices, furnish a counterfeit imitation of sprinkled bran" (Sidonius Apollinaris, *Letters*, 2.2.7). In addition to colour and texture, transparency and the ability to take a polish are also remarked upon. Cf. Heilmeyer (2004) 407: "homogeneity in structure and colour, durability and fine-grained quality, suitability for high polish and translucency and finally surface stability, were most likely the criteria by which the suitability of the material was judged. In an ancient mason's workshop, these criteria will have been debated no differently from in a modern one".

Table 2.2.1. Stone types named after their origins.

Modern name / *Italian name*	***Ancient name***	**Source**
Aswan granite	*Lapis syenites / thebaicus / aethiopicus*	Aswan (ancient Syene), near Thebes, Egypt
Breccia corallina	*Marmor sagarium*	Vezirhan, Turkey, close to the river Sakarya (ancient name Sagarius)
Breccia di Settebasi	*Marmor scyrium*	Skyros, Greece
Luna marble	*Marmor lunense*	Carrara, near Luni (ancient Luna), Italy
Cipollino	*Marmor carystium / styrium*	Near Karystos/Styra, Greece
Cipollino rosso	*Marmor iassense / carium*	Kiyikislacik (ancient Iasos), Caria, Turkey
Fior di pesco	*Marmor chalcidicum*	20 km south of ancient Chalkis, Greece
Giallo antico	*Marmor numidicum*	Chemtou, Tunisia (ancient province of Numidia)
Granito verde della sedia	*Lapis ophytes*	Wadi Semnah (ancient name Mons Ophyates), Egypt
Granito violetto	*Marmor troadense*	Çiğri Dağ, Troad peninsula, Turkey
Hymettian marble	*Marmor himettium*	Mount Hymettos, Greece
Parian marble	*Marmor parium*	Paros, Greece
Pavonazzetto	*Marmor docimium / synnadicum / phrygium*	Íscehisar (ancient Dokimeion), near Afyon (ancient Synnada), Turkey (ancient Phrygia)
Pentelic marble	*Marmor pentelicum*	Mount Pentelikon, Greece
Portasanta	*Marmor chium / carium*	Chios, Greece (near the coast of Caria)
Rosso antico	*Marmor taenarium*	Cape Tainaron, Mani Peninsula, Greece
Serpentino	*Krokeatis lithos / marmor lacedaemonium*	Krokees (ancient Krokeai) in the region Laconia (ancient name Lacedaemon), Greece
Verde antico	*Marmor thessalicum*	Thessaly (near Larissa), Greece

Table 2.2.2. Stone types named after visual properties.

Modern name / *Italian name*	***Ancient name***	**Translation**
Aswan granite	*Lapis pyrrhopoecilos*	“Red-spotted stone”
Breccia verde d Egitto	*Lapis hexecontalithos/ hecacontalithos*	“Stone of 60-stones” / “stone of 100-stones”
Imperial porphyry	*Lapis porphyrites / leptopsephos*	“Purple stone” / “(stone of) small pebbles”
Porfido nero	*Lapis porphyrites melanos*	“Dark/black *porphyrites*-stone”
Serpentina moschinata	*Lapis batrachites*	“Frog-stone”

value was attached to marble with markings".[211] This remark should be understood in contrast to the Roman period, which becomes clear further on in the text, where the author says that the most renowned stones of his own time "are favoured because of their markings or colours".[212] Notable visual characteristics facilitated the recognisability of stones and highlighted the fact that these materials were brought from afar, which in turn communicated notions of access to distant sources and, as such, luxury and affluence.[213]

The cost of these materials is another aspect that may tell us something about the Roman perception of specific kinds of stones. Several scholars have attempted to reconstruct the costs of stone objects.[214] While it appears to be difficult to get a grip on the different factors that influenced the total cost of a certain finished product in a given type of stone,[215] these studies nevertheless make clear that considerable capital was invested in stone and stone sculpture. Diocletian's Price Edict is the only ancient source that informs us of the comparative cost of mostly decorative stones. Issued in 301 AD, in an attempt to stop the inflation that was afflicting the Empire, the Edict set maximum prices for all sorts of services and goods that were available in the early 4th century AD, including a selection of nineteen different stone types (see Table 2.2.3).[216] There are several problems with the interpretation of this list, and it is clear that it cannot be used for straightforward cost calculations of finished objects.[217] Nevertheless, the Price Edict gives us an impression of the most appreciated stones in the early 4th century AD and their relative valuation. Considering the geological sources of the listed materials, the most highly prized stones appear to have come from the Eastern provinces of the Empire, including Egypt, Turkey, and Greece.[218] Moreover, the large majority of the stones on the list are naturally coloured types with characteristic textures. Of the seventeen identified stone types, only three are white marbles (Herakleian, Thasian, and Prokonnesian).[219] Lastly, the relative position of the section on stones in the Edict indicates that these materials ranked among the most luxurious goods that were available in the Empire.[220]

211. *Natural History* 36.5.44; see Appendix B.
212. *Natural History* 36.8.50; cf. 36.5.46: "our favourite marbles with their parti-coloured markings"; both quotations listed in Appendix B. Some varieties of certain stone types were prized higher than others because of different visual qualities. For instance, Pliny discusses a relative valuation of onyx marble or alabaster: the most 'excellent' and 'warmly recommended' types of alabaster thus have specific colours (honey-colour) and textures (spiral marks), while the absence of lustre and other colours (horn colour, or gleaming white) are the least valuable and considered as serious flaws (*Natural History* 36.12.59-61; see Appendix B).
213. For largely comparable analyses and conclusions see Mulliez (2014) 82-84 and Annexe 1 (p. 175-198); cf. Russell (2013a) 15. The relations between the visual appearance of materials, their geographical origins, and social identity are not restricted to the Roman world. Cooney (2002), for instance, discusses the importance of colour as distinguishing criterion for the origins of Irish Neolithic stone axes and its role in the construction of social identity through the access of materials from non-local sources. A similar coherence between the circulation of distinctly coloured materials, geographical distance, and power, wealth, and status has been documented in anthropology (Helms 1988; cf. Jones and MacGregor 2002, 10).
214. E.g., Pensabene (1983); Barresi (2002), (2003) 163-188, and (2015); Russell (2013a) 23-36.
215. Besides chronological and geographical patterns, these included the type of raw material, the type and distance of transport, and the amount of labour needed (man-hours).
216. Four different fragments of the section on stones have been preserved; two of them are in Latin (from Aezani and Aphrodisias, both in Turkey), the other two in Greek (from Pettorano sul Gizio in Italy, and Geronthrae in Greece); Giacchero (1974) and Lauffer (1971) are the main editions of the Edict; in these editions, the section on stones is listed as number 31 and 33, respectively.
217. Most notably, it is not clear whether prices are given in square or cubic Roman foot and in what form the units of listed stones are presented (raw, part-worked, finished); for a discussion on the unit measurement see in particular Corcoran and DeLaine (1994). Several problems concerning the section on stones are summarised in Russell (2013a) 33-36. For the relevance of the Edict for studies on Roman economy in general, see Reynolds (1995), esp. 17.
218. H.M. Ballance suggests that the omission of stones from Western sources might suggest that the Edict was not in effect in the provinces in the West (in Erim and Reynolds 1970, 136). Besides the omission of stones from Western sources in general, the absence of specific popular stone types from the East, such as *granito violetto* and several types of white marble mainly from the Greek world (Pentelic, Parian, and Naxian), has been noted, which might reflect the general character of the stone industry in the early 4th century AD: Pensabene (1983) 58; Bartoli (2008) 332-333.
219. The fact that the white marbles are among the least expensive stones on the list is not necessarily indicative of a lesser appreciation than the (generally more expensive) coloured stones: transport appears to be one of the main price-determining factors. The stones that travelled the largest distances over land are generally the most expensive. See H.M. Ballance in Erim and Reynolds (1970) 136 and Corcoran and DeLaine (1994) 266; on the cost of transportation, cf. *supra*, n. 109.
220. The goods in the Edict are sorted according to price, with the most expensive and luxurious items last. The section on marble takes the penultimate position, only followed by the most expensive single items in section 32 (Giacchero edition), African lions (the maximum price for a first-class lion is set at 150.000 denarii); cf. Corcoran and DeLaine (1994) 267; Schneider (2001) 7.

Table 2.2.3. Diocletian's Price Edict: prices of decorative stones (in denarii, per square or cubic foot).

Listed name	Modern name / *Italian name*	Source	Price
Porfyritici	Imperial porphyry	Egypt	250
Lacedaemonii	*Serpentino*	Greece	250
Numidici	*Giallo antico*	Tunisia	200
Lucullei	*Africano*	Turkey	150
Pyrrhopoecili	Aswan granite	Egypt	100
Claudiani	*Granito del Foro*	Egypt	100
Alabastreni	Egyptian travertine	Egypt	75
Docimeni	*Pavonazzetto*	Turkey	200
Euthydemiani	?	-	60
Anacasteni	?	-	40
Tripontici	*Occhio di pavone*	Turkey	75
Thessalici	*Verde antico*	Greece	150
Carusti	*Cipollino*	Greece	100
Scyriani	*Breccia di Settebasi*	Greece	40
Heracleotici	Herakleian marble	Turkey	75
Lesbi	*Bigio antico*	Greece	40
Thassi	Thasian white and greyish marble	Greece	50
Proconnesi	Prokonnesian white marble	Turkey	40
Potamogalleni	*Breccia corallina*	Turkey	40

Hence, stone materials mattered a lot. They were noted and discussed, and they belonged to the most prestigious and costly commodities that circulated throughout the Roman Empire. There was certain knowledge of the ways specific materials looked and where they came from. Visual appearance, notably colour and texture, and geological origins were considered to be important aspects of stones.

2.2.2 Substitution stones and imitations in wall paintings

"More and more evidence attests to the wide use of local marbles associated with imported ones"

Pensabene (2012) 731-732

Another testimony of the great importance of stones in the Roman world, and specific types in particular, is the fact that the most desirable decorative stones were replaced by more readily available local alternatives, so-called *marmi/materiali sostitutivi*, or were imitated in different media.[221] In the 1st century AD, the increasing

221. The substitution of the most desirable stones is often considered to have been a less expensive option to engage with wider fashions of stone use and display. Hence, Lazzarini (2002, 226) argues that "Va inoltre detto che la ricerca di materiali simili a quelli più costosi e prestigiosi, proprio in quanto già affermati, materiali che potremmo chiamare di sostituzione, generalmente destinati a una committenza di basso rango, fu una costante in tutte le epoche e province dell'Impero". However, other factors, such as availability and the better workability of some of these 'substitution' materials over others, may also have been involved. In similar vein, wall painting is usually considered to have been less expensive than a veneer of real stones: see Corcoran and DeLaine (1994) 271. On different expenditure see also a passage in Julian, *Letter* 29 (to his uncle Julian), in which the emperor remarks on the rebuilding of the temple of Daphne: "First of all set up the pillars of the temple of Daphne; take those that are in

prestige of and demand for certain decorative stones led to the practice of substitution stones. To this purpose, especially in areas that were located far from the sources of the most renowned stones (notably in the Western half of the Empire), a demand for local stones that looked similar to the most widely distributed stones from the Eastern provinces emerged. Table 2.2.4 provides some examples of substitution stones from the Roman world.[222] It is evident from these examples that there was a good knowledge of the appearance of stones. The similarities in colour and texture between Aswan granite and Italian *granito sardo*, to name but one example, are such that these stones are notoriously difficult to tell apart without scientific analysis, even for stone experts.[223]

If substitution stones were not locally available, other strategies could be adopted to ensure the desired visual similarity. An interesting case comes from Fâ and Périgueux in southern France, where two temples dating from the 1st century AD had walls covered with slabs of stone in two distinct colours: yellow on the side where they were attached to the temple, and pink on the outside. Material analysis has shown that the slabs were made from *breccia romana*, a stone with large white marble clasts in a yellow matrix with pink veins that was quarried at Saint-Béat in the French Pyrenean Mountains.[224] Owing to its overall brecciated yellow appearance, this stone was occasionally used as a substitute for the renowned *giallo antico* from Chemtou (Tunisia).[225] However, in this particular case, the *breccia romana* may have been artificially treated to make it resemble one of the other prestigious stones of the Roman world, namely, the pink brecciated *breccia corallina* from Bithynia (Turkey). Experiments have shown that the observed discolouration from yellow to pink occurs after heat treatment by means of the alteration of the yellow limonite mineral into red hematite. The fact that the altered colour only occurs on the visible side of the wall revetments is considered to be an argument against the suggestion that an accidental fire may have caused the alteration, as that would have resulted in an even pink colour throughout. Therefore, the targeted modifications may indicate a deliberate strategy of Roman craftsmen to modify the appearance of *breccia romana* in order to imitate the higher prized stone from Turkey.

Besides the substitution of the most desirable stones through local alternatives, another way to participate in contemporary fashions of display was through the imitation of stones in wall painting.[226] This first occurred in Italy in the late 2nd century BC and grew particularly popular in the 4th century AD.[227] The long list of sites with examples of this practice includes Rome, Pompeii, Oplontis, and Boscoreale, and it is evident that great care was taken to create the most realistic effect. For instance, the analysis of a late 2nd-century BC wall painting from Populonia has shown that pure colour pigments were mixed with calcium to obtain the desired colour tone and intensity. Moreover, the walls were prepared with several grounding layers of specifically selected components to facilitate their polishing, so that they resembled real stones in the best way possible when painted.[228] The resulting surface appearance was

any palace anywhere, and convey them thence; then set up in their places others taken from the recently occupied houses. And if there are not enough even from that source, let us use cheaper ones meanwhile, of baked brick and plaster, casing them with marble" (translation W.C. Wright).

222. The following literature was used: Röder (1992); Bruno (2002b); Lazzarini (2002) 250; Lazzarini – Sangati (2004) 75; Lazzarini (2004); Beltrán *et al*. (2012); Corremans *et al*. (2012); Dessandier *et al*. (2012); Blanc and Blanc (2012); Salán (2012); Lazzarini and Van Molle (2015). Other examples can be found in Pensabene (2004), Braemer (1986) (*non vidi*), and Fant and Barker (2015).

223. On the similarities between Aswan granite and *granito sardo* see also *infra*, 75 with n. 314.

224. Blanc and Blanc (2012).

225. See, e.g., Antonelli (2002) 267.

226. There may have been a hierarchy of wall decoration. Although imitations in wall painting developed their own aesthetic, wall revetments of real stones are usually understood to be the more highly prized of the two. For instance, recent work on the decorative schemes of Nero's Domus Aurea in Rome, which includes both wall paintings and real stone veneers, suggests the existence of a certain correlation between the importance of space and decoration type (Meyboom and Moormann 2013). As a result, the most prominent rooms of this complex had their walls nearly completely covered with decorative stones. In decreasing order of the importance of rooms, the walls would be less covered with real stones, while the least important rooms are usually fully painted; cf. Corcoran and DeLaine (1994) 269 with n. 45-46. In addition to substitution stones and imitations of real stones in wall paintings, stones could also be painted to imitate more prestigious stones, as suggested by architectural mouldings from Alba Fucens (Italy), which were carved from white marble but painted red in imitation of *rosso antico*: C. Evers, N. Massar, *Polychromy, religion and power: the forum of Alba Fucens*, unpublished paper delivered at the Xth International ASMOSIA Conference, Rome 2012.

227. The practice of imitating decorative stones in wall painting thus preceded the use of actual stones for wall revetments.

228. Cavari *et al*. (2015); the preparation and treatment of the walls in this study showed many similarities with Vitruvius'

Table 2.2.4. Substitution stones from the Roman world.

Modern name / *Italian name*	**Alternative**	**When?**
Aswan granite	*Granito sardo* (Italy)	> 2nd c. AD
Bianco e nero antico	*Nero Timau* (Italy)	?
Breccia corallina	*Breccia di Arbe* (Croatia)	?
	Breccia Romana (France)	1st c. AD
Breccia di Settebasi	*Breccia di Seravezza antica* (Italy)	> 1st c. AD
Cipollino	Limestone of Macael (Spain)	Roman period
Egyptian travertine	*Alabastro di Circeo* (Italy)	> 1st c. AD
Giallo antico	*Breccia Romana* (France)	1st c. AD
	Espejón limestone (Spain)	1st c. AD
	Giallo di Siena (Italy)	> 1st c. AD
	Limestone of Kristel (Algeria)	Roman period
Granito del Foro	Felsberg granite (Germany)	4th c. AD
Grey stones (e.g., *bigio antico, bigio morato*)	Kaplan postu marble (Turkey)	Roman period
Luna marble	Marble of Filfila (Algeria)	Roman period
Nero antico	Marble (?) of Antequera (Spain)	Roman period
Occhio di pavone	Limestone of El Torcal (Spain)	Roman period
Portasanta	*Breccia rosata di Roselle* (Italy)	> 1st c. AD
	Breccia rossa di Verona (Italy)	> mid-2nd c. AD
Rosso antico	*Breccia rossa di Verona* (Italy)	> mid-2nd c. AD
	Cipollino rosso (Turkey)	Late 2nd c. AD?
Verde antico	Marble (?) of Sierra Elvira (Spain)	Roman period

very similar to wall revetments made of real stones, and the materials are easily recognisable as imitations of the most prestigious stones of the Empire, including *giallo antico*, Egyptian travertine, Aswan granite, *pavonazzetto*, *breccia di Settebasi*, *breccia corallina*, and *cipollino*.[229]

Customers were aware of the availability and prestige of different varieties of stones. Some types were more highly prized than others, and people knew this. The care that was taken to ensure the best possible imitations of the most prestigious stones – either in wall painting, or through the selection of *Ersatz*-stones, or, if necessary, after artificial treatment – shows that people had a particular knowledge of the way materials looked, and subsequently indicates that it was considered important how materials looked. Visual appearance, especially colour and texture, thus once more emerges as a noteworthy quality of stones.

recommendations for stucco walls (*On architecture*, 7.3). On imitation of stones in wall painting see also, *in extenso*, Mulliez (2014) 79-122.

229. The two practices that are investigated here, substitution stones and imitations in wall painting, were neither confined to the Roman Imperial period, nor were they the only two options in the Roman world to engage with wider fashions of stone use and display. In late 16th century Milan, for instance, a shortage of the most sought-after stones (broadly speaking the same stones as those in Roman times) led to the extraction of new local 'surrogates'. In similar vein, the tradition of imitating prestigious stones in wall painting was continued in later times and places, for instance in Renaissance Venice, and also later in Victorian England. See Bugini and Folli (2012) and (2015) for substitution stones and imitation in wall paintings, respectively, both with further references. Moreover, the imitation of certain stone types could also be realised in media other than stones or wall painting. For instance, imitations of *opus sectile* floors from Albania include ceramic as substitute for red stones, and different colours of glass for renowned green and blue stones: Omari (2015).

2.3 ROMAN SCULPTURE BEYOND REPRESENTATION

Previous studies on Roman sculpture have drawn attention to the possible relationships between the materials used and subject matter. As early as 1923, Georg Lippold devoted a brief chapter to the use of coloured stones for Roman Imperial statuary in his work on *Kopienkritik*, and wondered whether there was a deliberate link between the use of coloured stones and the subject matters of Roman Imperial sculptures.[230] Similar questions formed the basis of Rolf Michael Schneider's *Bunte Barbaren*, an important and frequently cited work.[231] Schneider's main argument was that, (at least) starting from the reign of Augustus, a decorative program can be observed in Imperial sculpture that not only relates to iconographical and stylistic properties of material culture (*Bildprogramm*), but that also involved a deliberate selection of the medium of sculpture. His thesis opened up an alternative perspective on the understanding of Roman sculpture, which until then had largely relied on style and iconography.[232] Through his focus on a series of statues of Eastern barbarians in *pavonazzetto* from the Augustan period, he showed how conscious relationships could be established between a statue's theme, its iconographical scheme, functional use, and its medium. He convincingly showed that these relationships imbued the resulting monuments with cumulative and mutually reinforcing layers of meaning, in which the visual appearance of stone, as well as its geological provenance, played a crucial role.[233] Subsequent studies that explored the relations between material and subject matter include Belli Pasqua's treatise on Roman sculptures in Egyptian greywacke and Gregarek's study on Roman *Idealplastik* in coloured stones.[234]

The remainder of this section discusses a few examples of Roman sculptures to assess *how* the material properties discussed in the previous sections could be capitalised upon in practice. It will be shown that the material of choice could interact with and even transcend subject matter to augment a statue's efficacy, thereby demonstrating that stone sculptures do more than representing fixed meanings.

Celebrating the spectacles of the recently opened Colosseum in Rome, Martial compared a Numidian lion to the appearance of the prized stone from that country.[235] Manufactured around the same time, the statue of a lion now in the Vatican Museum embodied the relationship between the animal and the 'marble-painted' yellow stone, both from Numidia.[236] A semantic relation can be established between the selected stone and the subject matter of the sculpture, namely, one that relates to two different aspects of the particular stone. The lion is

230. Lippold (1923) 137-146. Other early forays into this subject include Sievering (1941) (on the selection of greywacke for the colossal statues of Dionysos and Heracles from Domitian's Aula Regia), Mielsch (1985) 23-28, and various contributions in *Radiance in Stone* (1989). Additional bibliography can be found in Gregarek (1999) 35 n. 8.

231. Schneider (1986); see also ibid. (1990), (1998), (2001), (2002), (2007), and (2008).

232. Hölscher (2004, esp. 58-85) has demonstrated the intricate relationship between subject matter and style in Roman statuary. The given examples make clear that, while the relationship between subject matter and form was not static, style would nevertheless have been essentially subordinate to theme: certain styles would be appropriate for the representation of certain subject matters, so that the "modes and types of representation were to a great extent thematically prescribed" (quotation from p. 114). While Hölscher's theory on the language of Roman art has been influential in recent scholarship (although see the criticism in Versluys 2015, esp. 154), it does not take material characteristics into account at all.

233. *Contra* Mielsch (1985, 24) who says with regard to the Augustan statues of barbarians that "es also nicht auf die Herkunft aus einem bestimmten Steinbruch ankommt, sondern auf Farbe und Musterung".

234. Belli Pasqua (1995), Gregarek (1999). On the materiality of (specific varieties of) white marble and semantic relations between white marble, style, and iconography in late Republican Rome, see Gros (2016). Furthermore, publications like *Marmi colorati* (2002) are indicative of a development towards a more integrated approach to Roman stone by bringing together experts on geological, technical, and economic aspects of the Roman stone trade, like Patrizio Pensabene and Lorenzo Lazzarini, with leading specialists on the socio-cultural significance of Roman stone use, like Rolf Michael Schneider. A similar tendency of convergence can be observed in the most recent volumes of the ASMOSIA-proceedings, in which contributions on the cultural significance of stones have gradually begun to emerge besides the more scientifically and geologically oriented studies that formed the traditional core of the series. A good example is the inclusion of a brief résume of Gregarek's above-mentioned study in *ASMOSIA V*: Gregarek (2002). Moreover, *ASMOSIA IX* (2012) for the first time included a section on the symbolism of stones.

235. Martial, *Epigrams* 8.55.6-10; cf. *infra*, Appendix B.

236. Musei Vaticani, Sala degli Animali, inv. 149 (1st century AD): Amelung (1908) 353 no. 149 Taf. 36 = Gregarek (1999) H25; cf. Schneider (1986a) 153-156, ibid. (2001) 3, Lazzarini (2002) 244, and Bradley (2006) 12-13.

carved from *giallo antico*, the famous Numidian stone. Care was taken to select a block of stone that mimicked the appearance of the animal as closely as possible: while *giallo antico* comes in a wide range of different colours and textures, the specific stone block that was used is indeed reminiscent of a lion's colouring.[237] In addition to this relation between the visual appearance of the stone and the subject matter of the statue, the Numidian provenance of the *giallo antico* reinforces the theme that it represents. Numidia was known as the land of wild beasts and lions *par excellence*; as far as Pliny was concerned, the produce of that country was not worth mentioning except for its marble and wild beasts.[238] Therefore, in this particular case, the colour, texture, and provenance of the selected material interacted with and reinforced the statue's subject matter. A comparable example is the sculpture of a crab now also in the Vatican Museum.[239] It is carved from *porfido verde egiziano* (*lapis hieracites*), an andesite-dacite porphyry from the Egyptian Eastern Desert. This stone was rarely used, and usually only for small columns and veneer slabs; indeed, the Vatican crab is the only known statue in this particular stone.[240] Its unusual selection seems to have had a specific reason. The *porfido* is characterised by a dark olive green matrix with numerous green-yellowish and white phenocrysts. These specific material properties made this stone a suitable choice to depict the subject matter of a crab: the dark green colour resembles a crustacean's shell when wet, while the phenocrysts simulate drops of water. In this case, the odd material selection was thus presumably determined by its characteristic colour and texture.[241]

Other cases where the medium of sculptures augmented the realistic expression of particular contents, likewise derived from the natural world, include the use of various dark coloured stones to depict Blacks,[242] and the use of Greek *cipollino* to portray trees.[243] However, the visual characteristics of stones were not always entirely appropriate for a specific subject matter, which meant that sometimes compromises were necessary. For instance, several statues of leopards are made from a porphyritic variety of granodiorite from Aswan (Egypt) that is characterised by an overall greyish matrix and white and pink phenocrysts.[244] While the material's overall colour is not reminiscent of a leopard, its phenocrysts evoke the characteristic feline rosette pattern, which suggests that in these cases texture was preferred over the realistic rendering of colour that could have been mimicked, for instance, by *giallo antico*.[245]

Stone materials could also reinforce their subject matter in other ways than by adding a sense of realism. Representations of Dionysiac themes were often carved from *rosso antico* from the Greek Mani Peninsula. This recurrent connection is generally understood as a semantic relation between the red colour of the material and the wine associated with Dionysiac mythology. However, representations of the deity himself were often made from the yellow *giallo antico*, the colour that would allude to saffron, with which Dionysus is often associated.[246] A particularly telling example of the

237. Its colour typically ranges from off-white to dark-yellow and from pink to almost purple; the texture ranges from monochrome to veined or brecciated types with dark cement.

238. Pliny, *Natural History* 5.2.22. For other references to ancient authors on Numidia as the land of wild beasts see Schneider (1986) 156 n. 1178.

239. Musei Vaticani, Sala degli Animali, inv. 229: Amelung (1908) 390 no. 229 Taf. 43 = Gregarek (1999) H59; cf. Spinola (2002) 357.

240. See Lazzarini (2002) 235.

241. Similar examples of animals include boars in a variety of grey stones and statues of a horse and a donkey's head in black and grey stones, respectively, which establish a semantic relation between colour and subject matter: see Gregarek (1999) H5 (horse), H7 (donkey's head), H13-18 (boars) with further references.

242. Dark skin colour was the most characteristic feature of Negroid people according to ancient authors: see the references in Gregarek (1999) 146 n. 701.

243. Besides the green colour of the stone, which resembled that of trees, its undulating texture may have evoked the typical growth rings in wood. Examples include a palm trunk in Constantinople (Lazzarini 2007, 185 Fig. 16) and a tree trunk of the Holy Cross. The Late Roman/early Byzantine use of *cipollino* for representations of the wood of the Holy Cross seems to have continued in medieval times: Lazzarini (2007) 186-187 Fig. 17; see also ibid. (2002) 257, and Price (2007) 174.

244. Examples can be found in Liverpool (World Museum inv. 59.148.77), Naples (Museo Nazionale inv. 6225) and Rome: Musei Vaticani, Sala degli Animali 155 & 163 (Amelung 1908, 357 no. 155 Taf. 36 & 362 no. 163 Taf. 37, respectively). See also Gregarek (1999) H34-39 for more examples; cf. Spinola (2002) 357.

245. Other examples suggest that textural resemblance could also be sacrificed in favour of a proper rendition of colour or different colour shades: Spinola (2002) 357-358. In addition, the statue of another feline in the Vatican Museum (Sala degli Animali, inv. 383) attests to the uncompromising desire to mimic reality: its body is carved from alabaster, which evokes the colour of its fur, while inlays of *nero antico* and *giallo antico* mimic its rosette fur pattern; cf. Amelung (1908) 357 no. 154 Taf. 36 = Gregarek (1999) H42 Abb. 12.

246. Lazzarini (2002) 256, and (2007) 74. Gregarek traces back this specific semantic relation to Hellenistic Rhodes, where local

possible associations between particular stones, subject matter, and iconography that rendered the object in question into something larger than the sum of its parts is the so-called *Bocco* monument.

In 91 BC, the king of Mauretania, Bocchus, had a monument erected on the Capitoline Hill in Rome to commemorate the military victory of his Roman ally Sulla over the king of Numidia, Jugurtha. Six blocks of black marble from this monument were found on the southern slopes of the Capitoline Hill in the 1930s.[247] They depict part of a frieze with shields, trophies, and Victories in relief. The blocks are generally considered to have served as base for a gilded statuary group that, according to Plutarchus, would have portrayed the surrender of Jugurtha to Sulla.[248] Hölscher has demonstrated that the monument's style and iconography form a coherent propagandistic *Bildprogramm* as an effective and deliberate metaphor for Sulla's policy.[249] Yet the glorifying character of the monument is given an additional dimension by the material from which its base is carved. The black limestone, or *nero antico*, is generally thought to originate from Numidia.[250] Being from Numidia, the stone embodies the conqueror's access to the conquered land's resources, which were to be used in Rome as a spoil of war for the glorification of the conqueror, Sulla. Therefore, the selected medium, which was virtually unknown in Rome at that time and stood out with its natural colouration, reinforced the ideas of conquest and victory that were represented on the relief that had been carved in it, thus showing how a deliberate selection of stone materials could contribute to the efficacy of an object in a way that transcended the efficacy of medium and representation individually.

Stones could thus be used to augment the efficacy of representation. Yet, "[…] for every example of self-evident use of particular marbles for suitable subjects, there are far more which make no attempt to find a realistic match between subject and marble type".[251] Associations between medium and subject matter were not always well-defined, and it is often not possible to define a specific rationale for the use of particular materials. However, that does not necessarily mean that the stones used were any less significant in those cases.

Dark coloured stones can illustrate this. The virtually infinite possibilities of these materials for statuary purposes make it "very difficult to establish a particular significance for the choice of the stone itself".[252] Hence, greywacke from the Wadi Hammamat in Egypt was the medium of choice for a wide variety of subject matters and types from the Augustan up to the Antonine periods.[253] The corpus of extant sculptures in this material includes Imperial portraits, *Idealplastik*, especially including athletes of Polycleitan models but also mythological figures and animals, as well as various utilitarian and ornamental sculptures, like craters and bathtubs. Widely diverging motivations have been proposed for its diverse applications in Roman sculpture.[254] Its resemblance to old patinated bronze in terms of colour and lustre may have determined its use for the portrayal of Polycleitan athletes, thereby conveying a sense of antiquity that was

red limestone had been repeatedly used for the portrayal of Dionysiac representations. Moreover, when used for portrayals of Dionysus' entourage, such as satyrs, the red colour of the stone would allude to the tanned body mentioned by ancient sources and the ferocity and exuberance for which these creatures were known: Gregarek (1999) 53-64, ibid. (2002) 206-207. For the relation between *giallo antico* and Dionysus see Gregarek (1999) 143-144 and McCann (2015) 24.

247. Now in Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 2749/S-2752/S, 3517/S; another block is currently kept at the archaeological area of Portico d'Ottavia (see Brilli *et al.* 2011, Fig. 1a-e); a final fragment is in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 1576: see Schäfer (1979) pl. 55.

248. Plutarchus, *Marius* 32.2: "And when Bocchus the Numidian, who had been designated an ally of the Romans, set up trophy-bearing Victories on the Capitol, and by their side gilded figures representing Jugurtha surrendered by him to Sulla" & Plutarchus, *Sulla* 6.1-2: "Moreover, Sulla's quarrel with Marius broke out afresh on being supplied with fresh material by the ambition of Bocchus, who, desiring to please the people at Rome, and at the same time to gratify Sulla, dedicated on the Capitol some images bearing trophies, and beside them gilded figures representing Jugurtha being surrendered by Bocchus to Sulla" (translations B. Perrin).

249. Hölscher (1980) 359-371.

250. On the alleged Numidian provenance of the *nero antico* of the *Bocco* monument see Schäfer (1979) 248-249; cf. Hölscher (1980) 369 n. 126 and Schneider (1986) 145-146. Recent archaeometric investigations to determine the geological source of the monument's stone blocks have not yet resulted in an unequivocal attribution of the black limestone to one particular Tunisian quarry-site; the current *status quaestionis* is that the *nero antico* was presumably extracted from an as yet undiscovered quarry in north-western Africa/Tunisia: see Brilli *et al*. (2011), Lapuente *et al.* (2012) 379.

251. Anderson (1989) 14.

252. Fullerton (1997) 614; on the wide applications of dark coloured stones in Roman sculpture see also Schneider (1986) 158-159, and Gregarek (1999) 147-148 and (2002).

253. Belli Pasqua (1995).

254. Ibid., 56-58.

particularly suitable to depict a sculptural type of the 5th century BC. Similar associations may have been the rationale behind its use for craters and bathtubs, as these sculptural types were modelled after metallic forms.[255] However, when used to depict the originally Egyptian gods Isis and Sarapis, the Egyptian provenance of the stone would have been capitalised upon, whereas its dark colour would allude to the skin colour of the people of Egypt when used for representations of the river Nile.[256] A rather different explanation has been given to account for the selection of greywacke for early imperial portraiture. Belli Pasqua wonders "se non sia possibile che, sulla scia di quanto era stato introdotto da Augusto, questa pietra non avesse sviluppato nel corso del I secolo d.C. un particolare legame con la figura dell'imperatore tanto da divenirne quasi un simbolo".[257] This citation suggests that materials may become imbued with a particular significance through reiterative co-occurrence. In the particular case of greywacke, notions of (Julio-Claudian) imperial dynastic belonging may indeed have come to 'reside' in this stone through its repeated use for the portrayal of its dynasts.

This and the other examples discussed above demonstrate that, while not always self-evident, specific properties of stones, including colour, texture, and geological origins, could interact with other object parameters, such as artistic style and subject matter, to enhance the presence and efficacy of Roman sculptures. This implies that stone objects in the Roman world cannot be fully understood without considering all relations that may possibly exist between the different parameters that constitute an object. While demonstrating the shortcomings of a focus on representational aspects alone, this also shows that a mere focus on materials and materiality is insufficient to assess the efficacy of Roman stone sculptures. Rather, in order to fully appreciate Roman sculpture, we need a more integrated approach that studies material data in relation to parameters that traditionally have received more attention, like style and subject matter. This conclusion has important implications for previous approaches to the objects that we call Aegyptiaca. It becomes evident that these objects have not been studied to their full potential yet. The strong reliance on representational aspects has resulted in the overall neglect of these objects' material properties and their associations. However, without involving these material data into our analyses, our interpretations have remained necessarily limited. This demonstrates the necessity of a more integrated approach to so-called Aegyptiaca from the Roman world.

255. The resemblance of dark coloured stones to metal, especially of Egyptian greywacke, is mentioned by Pliny (*Natural History* 36.11.58, cf. Appendix B), and has long been recognised in scholarship: see Schneider (1986) 158-159 n. 1188 with older literature. Furthermore, according to Gregarek (2002, 206), red stones could be used to create the illusion of coppery bronze. However, several authors have objected to the idea that stone materials were considered as a mere substitute for metal. It has been repeatedly stated that bronze "involved less expense and cachet" than dark coloured stones (Anderson 1989, 14). This acknowledgement led Schneider (1986, 159) to argue that "Die dem Stein eigene »Patina« ermöglichte dem reichen Römer, jedes von ihm begehrte Statuenmotiv mit dem einmaligen Anspruch der bedeutendsten alten, natürlich verfärbten Bronzewerke zu verbinden und diese durch das kostbarere Material noch zu übertreffen"; cf. Mielsch (1985) 26, Di Leo (1989) 59-60, Belli Pasqua (1995) 56, and Gregarek (1999) 148.

256. According to Pausanias, statues that represent rivers are usually made from white marble, except statues of the Nile, which are traditionally made in black stone because "it descends through the sea through Aethiopia": *Description of Greece* 8.24.12; cf. Appendix B); cf. Schneider (2002) 96, Jones (2005) 39-40. In similar vein, the black dress of bi-chrome statues (i.e., sculptures that combine coloured stones with white marble for limbs and head) depicting Isis is generally understood as a reference to Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 11.3-4 and the mourning goddess when she searches for her murdered husband Osiris: Gregarek (1999) 142.

257. Belli Pasqua (1995) 57; see also Fejfer (2008) 168-169.

Part III

Methods and materials

The discussion in Part II has elaborated on understandings of stone in the Roman world. It was demonstrated that the entangled nature of the Roman stone trade and stone working practices implies that, in order to gain a better understanding of the Roman use and perception of the objects that we call Aegyptiaca, it is not useful to approach materials, material provenance, artistic style, and subject matter as if these concepts were strictly bound by ethnic and/or cultural backgrounds. An assessment of Roman stone consumption has subsequently shown that, in the Roman world, stones came with all kinds of associations. Especially in combination with particular artistic styles and subject matters, the use of certain materials and the social values that were related to them seem to have shaped the impact and understanding of the artefacts in question. It follows that, in order to better appreciate the particular efficacy of stone sculpture in the Roman world, material properties should be integrated with and studied in relation to other object parameters. I propose that this is a useful way to approach so-called Aegyptiaca 'beyond representation', because, first, it accommodates an assessment of these objects' material aspects and, second, it does so in a way that enables a bottom-up analysis of Roman understandings of stone materials and, subsequently, of stone materials as part of the objects that we call Aegyptiaca. Part III discusses the methods and presents the materials that are needed to enable a bottom-up approach to a selection of Aegyptiaca and, as such, it provides the material basis for its application in Part IV.

Since the materials of Aegyptiaca have thus far remained underexplored, as demonstrated in Part I, we need a perspective that starts from a focus on these objects' stone materials and that subsequently works towards the integration of material properties with other object parameters that have traditionally received more attention, like subject matter and style. It has become evident from a discussion on Roman appreciations of stones in Part II that Romans considered geological provenance and visual characteristics, in particular colour, to be important properties of stones, and that these properties contributed to the ways in which (particular types of) stones were used and perceived. Therefore, these properties will be central to the material analyses of the selected Aegyptiaca.[258] Since the geological provenance of stones cannot be determined right away, the method that is developed for and implemented in the present study is discussed in a separate section. The second section defines material colour, plus the other object parameters selected for analysis in relation to the above-mentioned material properties. Building on the insights from the first two sections, the corpus of selected Aegyptiaca is introduced and presented in the final section.

258. I am aware that stones have more properties than colour and provenance – like translucency, hardness, workability, and durability – and that, therefore, a focus on these two properties to assess the relevance for Romans of the material constituent of so-called Aegyptiaca by definition entails a simplification of what in reality may have been a complex and dynamic web of material properties and mental associations. Nevertheless, based on the exploration of Roman perceptions of stone in Part II, the current focus on colour and provenance provides a useful starting point.

1. Rock classification and source determination

"Although the early confidence in macroscopic ("eyeball") petrofabric analysis was misplaced, there has often been an overcompensating reticence in archaeological publication which frustrates building distribution maps"

Fant (1988a) 1 n. 3

The characterisation of stone materials has been a central issue within the discipline of archaeology. Applications of stone characterisation in archaeology particularly focus on the determination of the geological sources of the studied materials. As early as the mid-19th century, advancements in the knowledge about the composition of rocks and other raw materials led to the idea that correlations in chemical composition could be indicative of their sources. Archaeologists were quick to recognise the potential of this 'chemical fingerprint' to contribute to traditionally relevant issues such as trade and exchange. However, it was not until the mid-20th century that technological advancements provided the instrumentation needed for such analyses,[259] and since the 1960s archaeological objects of various materials have been the subject of so-called archaeological provenance or sourcing studies.[260] Most of these studies have tried to establish a chemical link between the stones of archaeological objects and geographically defined source areas.[261] These attempts have met with various degrees of success. Obsidian, for instance, is the classic success story within archaeological provenance studies.[262] Partly because of continuous advances in analytical instrumentation, positive results have also been obtained for a range of other stone materials, such as chert, jade, granite, and marble, chemically processed materials like glass and ceramics, and metal alloys like bronze.[263] These data have yielded a wealth of information on traditionally important archaeological issues like trade and exchange processes.[264] In addition, material analysis also plays an essential role in the reconstruction of the so-called *chaine opératoire* of

259. For the development of scientific applications in archaeology see, e.g., Pollard and Heron (1996) 1-19, Henderson (2000) 324-326, Brothwell and Pollard (2001), and Pollard *et al*. (2007) 5-10.

260. The development of archaeological provenance studies can be shown by means of the analyses of the megaliths at Stonehenge. The first efforts to trace the origin of these stones dates from the mid-18th century. Early observers noticed that the monument was made out of two different types of rocks. The first petrographic descriptions of these types were made in the 19th century. In the early 20th century scholars successfully located the origin of the so-called "bluestones" to the Preseli Hills in south-west Wales. Finally, thanks to technological advancements, in the late 20th century scholars succeeded in attributing these bluestones to seven sub-sources. See Rapp and Hill (1998) 134 with further references.

261. The principal assumption, on which all archaeological provenance studies rely, is the so-called provenance postulate, which states that "there exist differences [that can be measured] in chemical composition between different sources that exceed […] the differences within a given source" (Weigand *et al*. 1977, 24). In other words, there is a scientifically measurable property that links an archaeological artefact to a specific source area or production site. Discussions on the underlying principles and prerequisites of provenance studies are readily available elsewhere; see, e.g., Luedtke (1978), Wilson and Pollard (2001), Tykot (2003) and (2004), Lambert (2005), and Malainey (2012), esp. 169-171.

262. Thanks to obsidian's great potential for sourcing using trace element characterisation, there is a vast literature on archaeological obsidian. The methods and techniques for obsidian sourcing are included in most recent archaeological science books: see, e.g., Pollard and Heron (1996), Rapp and Hill (1998), Henderson (2000), and Malainey (2012); cf. Williams-Thorpe (1995) and various contributions in *Archaeological Obsidian Studies* (1998).

263. Theoretically speaking, stone materials have a larger potential for provenance studies than artificially manipulated materials, like glass and metals. This is because the chemical composition of stone materials is less likely to be altered by extraction and production techniques or post-depositional processes: see Wilson and Pollard (2001). With regard to sourcing ceramics, see also the comment by Freestone (2001, 623): "compositional alteration may modify the elemental analysis of a ceramic to the extent that provenance determination becomes seriously affected". For a discussion on the suitability of different archaeological materials for provenance studies see, e.g., Pollard and Heron (1996), Rapp and Hill (1998) 134-152, Henderson (2000), Tykot (2003) and (2004), Lambert (2005), Tite (2009) 227-230, and chapters 8-17 in *Analytical Archaeometry* (2012), all with additional bibliography.

264. For recent perspectives on ancient trade and exchange and the contribution of material analysis see several contributions in *Trade and Exchange* (2010) and the introduction to that volume: Dillian and White (2010).

artefacts. Originating from within the related field of anthropology, current archaeological thought increasingly takes inspiration from the idea of a cultural biography of things. It considers archaeological artefacts as going through several socio-culturally embedded life stages, from the procurement of raw materials, through fabrication and decoration, to its distribution, use, reuse, and eventual discard. This approach has brought material culture back to the centre of analysis, and its implementation in archaeological studies typically involves (scientific) material analysis.[265]

The number of available analytical methods has greatly expanded over the years, and ongoing technological advancements ensure a steady continuation of this process. They range from visual examination and thin-section petrography to more experimental methods, which rely on the most recent techniques and analytical equipment. Characterisation studies usually start with macroscopic examination. The term 'macroscopy' is meant to indicate visual examination that involves no equipment other than a 8-12x hand lens and low-technology tools for testing a rock's (mineral) properties, such as colour, lustre and other aspects of appearance, hardness, and refractive index. However, it has been acknowledged that these properties are only rarely sufficient to distinguish among all possible source areas of a certain material.[266] The potential of colour as a discriminating aspect of stones has been particularly criticised, mainly because colour variations may result from weathering processes rather than that they are source-specific properties.[267] Moreover, the method of macroscopy has been challenged as a valid heuristic tool. It necessarily depends on the personal expertise of the analyst, which not only requires essential training and experience, which is notably difficult to obtain,[268] but which would also render the results "somewhat arcane and difficult to communicate".[269] This in turn would raise important issues in regard to scientific reproducibility and objectivity. Therefore, recent studies generally tend to dismiss macroscopic petrography as a valid method for the classification of rocks. Although it still holds its position as useful tool for preliminary classifications,[270] it has become common in archaeological studies to "place characterisations on a more detailed and reliable footing".[271]

This becomes particularly evident from a survey of the rapidly growing literature on the application of scientific methods in archaeological research that focuses on the available methods for rock characterisation.[272] Notwithstanding occasional remarks that characteristic features of rocks, such as veining, or macrofossils in certain sedimentary rocks, may be identified macroscopically,[273] these studies mainly focus on more comprehensive (and especially laboratory-based) techniques. Accordingly, microscopic examination is typically mentioned as a next, second step in analytical procedures of rock characterisations. Thin-section petrography with a polarising microscope is the traditional microscopic approach.[274] Originating from

265. The idea of a 'life-cycle of artefacts' finds its origin in an article by the anthropologist Igor Kopytoff: Kopytoff (1986). For the possible contribution of material analysis for the reconstruction of an artefact's cultural biography, see Dobres and Hoffmann (1994), who conveniently define the final goal of material studies as "not to describe microscale prehistoric *activities*, but to understand microscale social *processes*" (p. 213). For the implementation of the characterisation and source determination of raw materials within a *chaine opératoire* framework see, e.g., Tite (2001) and (2009), Whitbread (2001), and Tykot (2003).

266. Exceptions exist and include, for instance, dark green obsidian found in Malta and the south-central Mediterranean, which most likely originates from Pantelleria, and black/grey obsidian, from Lipari: Tykot (2004) 407.

267. Henderson (2000) 299-300, Tykot (2003) 63-64, and (2004) 407. Chert is a classic example of a material for which colour variation is no reliable source-indicator. Although chert from different sources is often visually distinctive, this variability is not necessarily source-dependent or -characteristic: Cackler *et al*. (1999) report that the colour variations observed in chert from Northern Belize result from weathering instead of different origins. Moreover, Luedtke (1979) has shown that, while cherts from within a single formation can exhibit a large visual variation, visually identical cherts can also occur in different formations.

268. The difficulties of macroscopic petrology are observed by Brown and Harrell (1991) 379. Practitioners need to acquire a basic understanding of rock-forming processes, rock-forming minerals, and (resulting) structural, textural, and compositional characteristics of rocks, which is not compatible with the inferior role of megascopic petrology in academic programs as compared to microscopic petrography and the lack of rock classification systems adapted to megascopic methods.

269. Luedtke (1979) 745; cf. Henderson (2000) 299.

270. See, e.g., Luedtke (1979) 746.

271. Edmonds (2001) 461.

272. See, e.g., Pollard and Heron (1996) 81-99, Rapp and Hill (1998) 147-151, Henderson (2000) 297-323, Edmonds (2001), *Pietre e marmi antichi* (2004), Ervynck *et al*. (2009) 163-167, Rapp (2009) 21-43, and Malainey (2012) 311-318.

273. Antonelli – Lazzarini (2004) 33.

274. Thin-section petrography and its applications are extensively discussed in *The petrology of archaeological artefacts* (1983).

around the mid-19th century, it enables both a qualitative and quantitative characterisation of rocks in terms of its mineralogy and structure. The method involves an inherent error in that the quantitative data of the studied sample are extrapolated to the total volume of the rock. While this stresses the need for a representative sample, thin-section petrography generally allows for an exact characterisation of rocks. The obtained data, which gives volume percentages of the mineral components of rocks, underly internationally accepted and widely used analytical rock-classification systems, which essentially tells if a rock classifies, for instance, as granite, granodiorite, or diorite.[275] However, although accurate characterisations of many materials can be obtained with thin-section microscopy, optical methods (macroscopy and/or microscopy) are often not sufficient to distinguish between all possible source locations. This applies in particular to materials with little visual variability, like obsidian, a typically homogeneous amorphous volcanic rock, and several white marbles that were used in the Roman world. In these cases an efficient source-distinction is only possible with more comprehensive analytical methods, which measure differences in chemical rather than mineralogical composition: optically identical materials can have quite different chemical compositions.[276] Many of the available chemical techniques focus on trace-element instead of major composition of materials, in order to identify a source-specific chemical fingerprint.[277] However, practice has shown that a successful discrimination between all possible source-areas is often effectively enabled by a combination of optical and chemical techniques.[278]

As a result of the proliferation of sourcing studies in archaeology, scientific protocols have been issued as guidelines to enable a proper conduct. These emphasise that a correct implementation of a provenance study in an archaeological research framework involves more than the selection of a suitable analytical technique, and furthermore indicate that its success depends on other than scientific possibilities alone. This can be illustrated by means of the procedure for chert source analysis.[279] This procedure consists of six successive steps, which include archaeological question, literature study of possible source areas for relevant objects, study of possible source areas, selection of analytical method, analysis, and matching of artefacts to sources. These successive steps demonstrate that the selection of a suitable analytical technique to investigate a particular archaeological question is not a matter of simply choosing a reliable method.[280] Instead, it requires a carefully considered strategy, which first and foremost starts with the definition of the archaeological question. It has been repeatedly stressed in recent literature that useful data can only be obtained from a carefully formulated archaeological question and the ensuing carefully selected analytical method. The nature of the archaeological problem directly affects crucial parameters, such as the required amount of sampling, the analytical method selection, and the allowed margin of error. In other words, the archaeological question should always precede the analytical method.[281]

275. Cf. Streckeisen (1973), Le Maitre *et al*. (2002).

276. Cf. Aston (1994) 11: "It is desirable to be as specific as possible in identifying a particular rock, since this allows one to determine if two similar appearing rocks may be from the same source or are actually quite different in composition".

277. Analytical methods are typically based on the atomic properties of chemical elements, and use element-characteristic properties, such as atomic/molecular mass or energy and wavelengths of electromagnetic radiation, to identify the presence and relative or absolute proportions of certain elements in materials. For discussions on available techniques and their underlying scientific principles see, e.g., Pollard and Heron (1996) chapter 2, *Modern Analytical Methods in Art and Archaeology* (2000), Pollard *et al*. (2007) chapters 3-9, Ervynck *et al*. (2009) chapter 6, and *Analytical Archaeometry* (2012) chapters 1-7.

278. This is the case, for instance, with ceramics: see, e.g., Degryse and Braekmans (2014). It should be noted that different materials commonly require different combinations of (optical and) chemical techniques. Therefore, while a combination of petrography and trace element analysis often gives the best results to distinguish between sources of igneous rocks, stable isotope analysis ($\delta^{13}C/\delta^{18}O$) in combination with petrography generally works best with stone materials such as marble (metamorphic) and limestone (sedimentary). For a provenance study of archaeological limestone see, e.g., Degryse *et al*. (2006).

279. This procedure, originally developed by Luedtke (1992, 109-113), has often been used in subsequent studies: cf. Wilson and Pollard (2001) 510-511; see also already Earle and Ericson (1977) 4-5.

280. It has been acknowledged that some techniques work better with specific materials than others. On the basis of these insights, overviews have been created that show the compatibility between, on the one hand, archaeometrical methods and techniques and, on the other hand, archaeological materials: see, for instance, Tykot (2004) 409 Table II.

281. It has even been argued that "[…] the successful application of any technique is as much (if not more) a function of the [archaeological] questions that are asked as a product of reliability or accuracy in description [of a particular technique]": Edmonds (2001) 467. See also Pollard *et al*. (2007, xii-xiv) in

Therefore, the actual selection of a suitable analytical technique only follows from the archaeological question and on the basis of a proper knowledge of the possible source areas. However, in practice it often depends on and is directed by other considerations than technical possibilities and limitations alone. Relevant other considerations include the costs of analysis, the availability of techniques, and sample requirements. This latter aspect is of crucial importance for the present study, and therefore it will be briefly dealt with.

The destructive nature is an inherent drawback of most analytical methods. The degree of intrusion depends on several factors, including the studied material's characteristics and the selected technique, but a physical sample is nearly always required for microscopic and/or chemical analysis. While not necessarily a limiting factor for a geologist in the field, it is for archaeologists working on precious and valuable artefacts. An example may clarify this. Aswan in Egypt is home to the so-called monumental red and black granites that were extensively used in Pharaonic Egypt and the Roman world for architectural and statuary purposes. The quarrying area at Aswan measures some 20 km^2. In an area of this size, there are naturally major variations in the rock formations. Nevertheless, the available techniques allow to attribute a sample to a precise location within the extraction area: an error of only ±100 m has been reported.[282] However, due to the specific characteristics of the Aswan rocks, in particular their heterogeneity and coarse nature, and the concomitant difficulties in taking representative samples, a reliable chemical analysis is only possible if at least 1 kg of material is available for preparation.[283] Such samples are generally not available for archaeological investigations. Therefore, although theoretically speaking it should be possible to characterise and attribute Aswan rocks with great accuracy, in nearly all archaeological case studies the benefits of such accuracy do not outweigh the requirements.

Aswan is, of course, an extreme example. A sample of approximately 100 mg is generally sufficient for a distinct characterisation of heterogeneous materials, and even smaller samples may suffice, depending on the specific characteristics of the analysed materials and the analytical method.[284] Moreover, sample requirements are likely to decrease thanks to ongoing technological advancements. Yet, no matter how small the sample, as long as available methods are not entirely non-invasive, there is always a certain impact on the integrity of artefacts. Therefore, in the absence of a ready-made analytical technique that has both a very high accuracy and precision and that is non-invasive at the same time, in practice always a compromise has to be sought between archaeological question and analytical method.

1.1 AEGYPTIACA ROMANA: ROCK CLASSIFICATION AND SOURCE DETERMINATION

Four important inferences can be made on the basis of the above observations with regard to the characterisation and provenance determination of the stones of so-called Aegyptiaca Romana:

(1) Reliable characterisations can be obtained with existing analytical methods. Thin-section petrography, if necessary in combination with chemical analysis, will yield more accurate and precise data than macroscopic analysis.

(2) The prospects for a successful source-discrimination are good, considering the (relatively) unaltered chemical composition of lithic materials from geological source to finished object, previously achieved successes with similar stone materials (e.g., granites), and good knowledge of potential (Egyptian and Mediterranean) source areas. A

the preface to their book on applications of analytical chemistry in archaeology: "It is a matter of some debate as to whether it is worse to carry out superb chemistry in support of trivial or meaningless archaeology, or to address substantial issues in archaeology with bad chemistry".

282. Klemm and Klemm (2008) 257.

283. Ibid., 257-258. This is the required sample size if greatest accuracy were desired; a sample of at least 200 g is recommended to allow for a successful chemical analysis of medium- to coarse-grained granodiorite from Aswan: ibid., 265. A sample of about fingernail size is usually recommended to allow for proper petrographic analysis. This again stresses the importance of the archaeological question: what information is exactly desired? On the representativeness of Aswan rocks see also Serra *et al*. (2010), esp. 963.

284. Tykot (2004) 416.

combination of optical and chemical techniques will likely be most effective.

(3) A provenance study of the stones of Aegyptiaca Romana should start with the formulation of the archaeological research question. Its success not only depends on the technical and theoretical possibilities, but also involves practical aspects, most notably sample requirements.

(4) At present there is no analytical technique that is at the same time non-invasive and that has both the precision and accuracy to adequately discriminate between source-areas of stone materials. This implies that, in order to answer the archaeological question, a compromise has to be made between, on the one hand, sample requirements and, on the other hand, technical and theoretical possibilities.

What does this imply for the material analysis of the selected objects, and how were the considerations mentioned above translated into a suitable methodology? The aims of the stone analyses in this study are twofold: first, to formulate stone characterisations according to minero-petrographic criteria and, second, to formulate geological provenance hypotheses on that basis. More specifically, in order to assess the question whether the Egyptian provenance of the stones used for the objects that we call Aegyptiaca was considered as an important feature from a Roman perspective, it is crucial to differentiate between Egyptian and non-Egyptian sources. Therefore, rather than focusing on the attribution of stones to specific source-locations, the inclusion or exclusion of Egyptian sources suffices for the present purposes. From a technical and theoretical point of view, it should be possible to answer this question with adequate accuracy by the implementation of a proper archaeological sourcing framework. However, the nature of the relevant objects poses serious limitations to the availability of suitable analytical techniques. The majority of the studied objects are valuable and important museum pieces, which require full non-invasive and *in situ* analysis. Therefore, neither microscopic nor chemical analyses could be carried out. Instead, a non-invasive methodology was implemented, which relies on macroscopic analysis, and which has yielded results of suitable accuracy in the context of the present study. How was this done?

Minero-petrographic descriptions are made on the basis of the recommendations for macroscopic rock classification by Brown and Harrell.[285] Adapted from internationally acknowledged non-macroscopic analytical methods, this classification is particularly suitable for the selected 'Aegyptiaca' since it meets the requirements to study these objects non-destructively and *in situ*. All relevant rocks are described in terms of their mineralogy and structure, as far as these can be recognised macroscopically. Rock structure is taken to consist of a rock's mineral structure and texture.[286] Together with its mineralogy, it determines the appearance of a rock, which, in turn, results from its geological origin. This relationship between rock appearance and geological origin makes it possible to determine the underlying rock-forming processes on the basis of rock appearance, and this allows for the classification of a particular rock into one of the three genetic rock groups.[287] The possibilities for mineral identification are restricted thanks to the nature of the studied objects.[288] Additional complicating factors are the typically polished surfaces of the studied rocks and

285. Brown and Harrell (1991).

286. See, e.g., Klemm and Klemm (2008) 11.

287. These are igneous, sedimentary, and metamorphic rocks. For the major rock groups, genetic processes, and the rock cycle, see, e.g., the introductory chapter on rocks (chapter 3) and subsequent chapters on igneous, sedimentary, and metamorphic rocks (chapters 4, 7, and 8, respectively) in Press and Siever (1986).

288. Though only minimally intrusive, methods like the acid test or the determination of minerals' physical properties as hardness, cleavage, fracture, streak, or density, were not available. The acid test is an efficient way to test whether a rock contains certain carbonate minerals, like calcite, dolomite, or copper-bearing malachite. Diluted hydrochloric acid (HCl) is dropped on a rock sample, or, preferably, a small powered sample, to increase the reactive surface area. If present, the carbonate minerals will dissolve in the dilute HCl, which will cause a typical fizzing. Likewise, the Alizarin Red S (ARS) staining is an easy way to distinguish between, e.g., limestone and dolomite. Physical properties of minerals can be used for their identification; these include hardness (the ease with which a mineral surface can be scratched), cleavage (the ability of a mineral to break along flat planar surfaces), fracture (the way in which minerals break along irregular surfaces other than cleavage planes), lustre (the nature of a mineral's reflection of light), colour (imparted by transmitted or reflected light by crystals or irregular masses), streak (the colour of mineral dust on an abrasive surface), and density (mass per volume unit). More information on minerals and their properties can be obtained from any introductory textbook on geology: e.g., Press and Siever (1998) 26-57, and Rapp (2009) 17-43 with a particular focus on archaeological applications of mineral identification.

the variable light conditions in which they are exhibited. Nevertheless, the most important rock-forming minerals like quartz and feldspar can be identified and, as such, rock classifications can be formulated on the basis of minero-petrographic criteria.

The following size scale is used: fine, less than 1 mm; medium, 1-5 mm; coarse, 5-30 mm; and very coarse, more than 30 mm. The terms aphanitic and phaneritic are used to determine the degree of coarseness of igneous rocks. Aphanitic rocks are igneous rocks, in which individual crystals are not distinguishable by the unaided eye. In phaneritic igneous rocks crystals are visible with the naked eye. Following the recommendations in the paper by Brown and Harrell, the boundary between aphanitic and phaneritic rocks is set at 1 mm, which means that all fine-grained igneous rocks are considered as aphanitic.[289] The terms euhedral, subhedral, and anhedral are used to describe the degree to which crystals have developed their typical crystal morphology. In descending order, these terms indicate how well crystals are shaped, which may help in mineral identification. Some rocks have grains in two different size ranges. These rocks are named porphyritic, with the larger crystals called phenocrysts. Alkali feldspar phenocrysts sometimes cross over into plagioclase at their rims. Macroscopically, this appears as a white mantle around a pinkish core; occasionally, plagioclase phenocrysts also cross over into alkali feldspar at their rims, which appears at a macroscopic level as a pink mantle enveloping a plagioclase crystal. This is called rapaviki texture.[290] Other important textural information that is recorded includes the spatial arrangement of minerals. In particular, parallel *versus* directionless textures are taken into consideration, because these provide important genetic information about rocks. Igneous rocks sometimes exhibit a (sub-)parallel arrangement of the feldspar and biotite grains. This type of foliation is caused by magmatic flowage rather than metamorphism. Igneous rocks with such textures are described as gneissoid rocks. Some igneous rocks contain irregular patches or streaks, which appear as portions richer in biotite than the surrounding mass, and therefore darker in colour or as patches of coarser or finer grains than the main rock; these are known as schlieren.[291] Although no quantitative mineral proportions can be obtained with the used method, the relative ratios between quartz, alkali feldspar, and plagioclase, in combination with the relative amount of dark-coloured minerals as can be deduced from the overall rock colour, allows for a tentative differentiation between related granitoid rocks like granite and granodiorite.[292] Colour descriptions are made according to the Munsell Rock Color Book (rev. ed. 2009) and follow the notation in hue/value/chroma.[293] Since rock colours typically appear darker in a polished surface than on freshly broken surfaces, care is taken to record both colours when applicable.[294]

289. Igneous rocks with a phaneritic texture are presumed to have formed by slow cooling, and hence crystallisation, of a magma at large depths; therefore, these rocks are called intrusive igneous or plutonic rocks. By contrast, igneous rocks with an aphanitic texture are presumed to have formed by relatively fast cooling of the magma, which occurs when the magma erupts at the surface; therefore, these rocks are called extrusive igneous or volcanic rocks.

290. Le Maitre *et al*. (2002) 136; cf. Meneisy *et al*. (1979), esp. 126-127, Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 225, and Klemm and Klemm (2008) 253.

291. Gindy (1956), Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 216-220.

292. Granitoid rocks are igneous plutonic rocks that essentially consist of quartz, alkali feldspar and/or plagioclase. The term granitoid is proposed for preliminary "field" classification for plutonic rocks, ranging in composition between granite, granodiorite, and tonalite – the differentiation of which depends on the volumetric percentages of quartz, alkali feldspar and plagioclase (Le Maitre *et al*. 2002, 85-86). The larger proportion of (light coloured) alkali feldspar of the total feldspar component in granites relative to granodiorites, in combination with the smaller proportion of dark-coloured minerals in granites relative to granodiorites, renders granites more felsic than granodiorites. This implies that granite is likely to have a lighter overall colour than granodiorite, which, in turn, means that overall rock colour can be used to relatively distinguish between different lithotypes within the group of granitoid rocks. As such, overall rock colour allows for a relative, provisional classification of a given rock as either granite or granodiorite (see also Brown and Harrell 1998, esp. 36: although some rocks that are classified as granodiorite on the basis of their dark grey to nearly black colour are actually granites [based on volumetric percentages], the authors suggest "to name a rock after the granodiorites that it more closely resembles"). Note that rock colour is not meant to indicate colour index (M') as defined in Streckeisen (1973, 30): colour index enables more felsic and mafic types of each rock type to be described on the basis of the relative amount of dark-coloured minerals present (e.g., a leucocratic or melanocratic granite).

293. Following the recommendations of the Munsell Rock Color Book, overall rock colour was determined for all fine- and medium-grained rocks, while the colours of the main rock-forming minerals in (very) coarse-grained rocks were recorded separately.

294. For instance, the overall rock colour of the lion statue in Palazzo Altemps (inv. 362624, cf. *infra*, 224-225 no. 106) is medium dark grey (N4) to dark grey (N3) on (freshly?) broken surfaces,

A Zebralight H600Fc III headlight is used to ensure comparable light conditions.[295]

In addition, a neodymium magnet is used to test the magnetic properties of the studied rocks. This is an easy way to determine the presence of certain iron-rich minerals, most notably magnetite, which is an important asset in identifying the genetic origin of rocks.[296] This is of particular relevance for the present study, because the magnetic susceptibility of the studied rocks can be used as a diagnostic tool to distinguish between the most frequently mistaken rock types, namely, greywacke, basalt, and granodiorite.[297] Although a wide overlap has been reported between different rock types, sedimentary rocks have the lowest average magnetic susceptibility values and basic igneous rocks the highest. This implies that greywacke, a slightly metamorphosed sedimentary rock, will be much less susceptible to the neodymium magnet than granodiorite and especially basalt, which are intermediate and basic igneous rocks, respectively.[298] In this study the following (relative) scale for magnetic attraction is used: 0, no visible attraction between the neodymium magnet and the rock; 1, the attraction between the neodymium magnet and the rock is clearly visible, but the magnet will not stick to the rock; and 2, the attraction is so strong that the magnet will stick to the rock; n/d means that no data is available.

After provisional characterisations were made on the basis of macroscopy, a strategy was developed to allocate the studied materials to a potential source area. Following the scientific protocol for provenance studies, possible source areas for the relevant materials were studied next. It was decided to focus on the geology of Egypt first. This study comprised two components. First, a literature study of potential Egyptian source areas for the materials of the relevant objects was carried out. There is an extensive literature on the geology of Egypt and the numerous stone materials that were quarried for sculptural and building purposes throughout Egyptian history.[299] Several of these studies include colour photographs of representative samples of polished slabs and/or of objects made of particular stones, which allow for a good comparison.[300] A basic

but typically appears as greyish black (N2) in polished surface.

295. Typical Colour Rendering Index (CRI) = 83-85; nominal Correlated Colour Temperature (CCT) = 4000K. This implies that the device is fairly well able to discriminate and match observed colours accurately.

296. See, e.g., Bourne (1993).

297. On the confusion between dark-coloured, visually indistinct rocks in Egyptian archaeology see Müskens *et al.* (2017); cf. Brown and Harrell (1998), Aston *et al.* (2000), Klemm and Klemm (2001), Lapuente *et al*. (2012) 377, and Bloxam *et al.* (2014).

298. Telford *et al.* (1990) report average magnetic susceptibility values of 70 for basalt and 0.4/0.9 for sandstone/average sedimentary rocks, respectively (x 10^3, SI units); and Hernant (2003) reports maximum volume susceptibility values (SI units) of 0.18 for basalt, 0.062 for granodiorite, and 0.0012/0.0209 for silt/sandstone, respectively. On the magnetic susceptibility of rocks and minerals, cf. Clark and Emerson (1991) and Hunt *et al*. (1995). Following the recommendations by Harrell (2012b, 3), the term (meta-)greywacke is used in this study to refer to the three slightly metamorphosed, compact sedimentary rocks that were obtained from the Wadi Hammamat in Egypt, regardless of grain size and colour. Strictly speaking, greywacke refers to a dark coloured, poorly sorted variety of sandstone (predominant grain size 0.062-2 mm), which contains a range of grain sizes with at least 10 percent of clay and silt matrix (Aston *et al*. 2000, 57). Besides green and dark-grey varieties of sandstones, a third, finer-grained rock was obtained from the Wadi Hammamat, a greyish green siltstone, which is a variety of mudrock (predominant grain-size 0.004-0.062 mm).

299. These studies focus on the identification of the stone types used for Egyptian objects, the topography and archaeology of relevant quarries, and the extracted materials (with a greater or lesser focus on the petrology of the rocks); for a brief outline of (the exploration of) Egypt's geology see Klemm and Klemm (2008) 1-10, with relevant bibliography. Principal references to the geology of Egypt include Hume (1925) and (1934-1937), Said (1962) and the more recent edition of *The geology of Egypt* (1990) with Said as editor, and the geological map of Egypt (1:500.000), which was prepared by Klitsch *et al*. (1987) with financial support of the Conoco Coral oil company. Important (geological-archaeological) studies on Egyptian quarries and their stones include, in chronological order, the chapter on stone materials in Lucas – Harris (1962), De Putter – Karlshausen (1992), Klemm and Klemm (1993), Aston (1994), Harrell *et al*. (1996), Aston *et al*. (2000), Klemm and Klemm (2008), and Harrell and Storemyr (2009). Finally, Sethe (1933) and Harris (1961) studied lexicographical data of ancient Egyptian stones. The list of studies focusing on specific aspects of Egyptian quarries and stones is much longer; a recent bibliography can be found in Harrell (2012b) 26.

300. However, it should be noted that actual colours can be notoriously off when reproduced on a computer screen or in print. Hence, Harrell uses CMY and RGB colour systems for the reproduction of rock colours online, which allow for (subjective!) colour calibration corrections (see http://www.eeescience.utoledo.edu/faculty/harrell/Egypt/Quarries/Images_Info.html). Moreover, the way we perceive colour is affected by factors like lighting conditions and background. The polished slab of a 'violet siltstone' from Egypt's Wadi Hammamat in the Klemm Collection is a good case in point (sample no. 198). Visual examination of the actual hand specimen under lamp light in 2012 showed a colour that is distinctly different from its colour as reproduced in Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 88 (the colour plate was examined under the same lighting conditions). This example demonstrates

knowledge of the most typical varieties of Egyptian stone materials was obtained through literature study. In a second phase, this primary knowledge was increased, to also include the variability of rock types within specific source areas, and to get first-hand expertise with Egyptian rock samples. This was done through the study of the two principal reference collections of Egyptian stones.[301]

First is the so-called Klemm Collection, which has been housed in the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan of the British Museum in London since 2000. This collection results from the field campaigns that were undertaken by Egyptologist Rosemarie Klemm and geologist Dietrich D. Klemm in the 1970s and 1980s. It currently consists of approximately 1.600 stone samples from 80 ancient Egyptian quarry areas (hand specimens and thin sections). The collection's main strength lies in the sheer quantity of samples, which enables a thorough understanding not only of the most important anciently quarried stones, but also of the variation that occurs within a single quarry area. For instance, the main lithotypes from the quarries at Aswan (granite and granodiorite) are represented by more than 300 samples,[302] which give a good idea of the wide variation that occurs within this anciently worked granitic body.[303] Acknowledging that no two blocks of stone are exactly the same, an understanding of this intra-source variability is essential for a proper classification of stone objects in museums. However, the Klemm Collection excludes most of the Egyptian quarries that were worked in Roman Imperial times. While samples of the most important Roman quarries are available, notably from those at Mons Claudianus and Mons Porphyrites, the collection omits samples of the numerous smaller quarries that were opened during the Roman period.

This is one of the largest differences with the second main reference collection on Egyptian stones in the University of Toledo, Ohio. This university houses the Ancient Egyptian Stone Collection, which has been compiled since 1989 through the work of the archaeological geologist James Harrell. While the total number of samples in this collection is smaller than the number of samples in the Klemm Collection, the Ancient Egyptian Stone Collection includes samples from a larger number of quarries (approximately 200 stone quarries and gemstone mines are represented, including the full range of known Imperial Roman stone sources). Besides hand specimens and thin sections, polished slabs are available for a large number of samples including all hardstones. This feature makes the Ancient Egyptian Stone Collection particularly valuable for macroscopic comparison to the materials analysed in this study, which typically have polished surfaces. In conclusion, through the combination of literature study and the study of the two principal reference collections of Egyptian stones, a good knowledge of the different sources of anciently quarried Egyptian stones and the intra-source variability was obtained.

In a second phase the knowledge of potential source areas was expanded beyond Egypt, in order to include

that colour reproductions are not necessarily accurate; nor are the words we use to describe colour. What is recorded as violet by one examiner, may be perceived as purple, purplish, reddish-grey, or different, by another person. Colour perception, in other words, is subjective. An effective and commonly used means to standardise and communicate the colour of materials, including rocks, is the Munsell colour system. Although its use is not without its (fair) criticism either (for which see especially Jones and MacGregor 2002), it remains a useful reference device for communication among scholars, as it principalle serves to codify the recording of colour. As such, it has been widely employed for the recording of archaeological material, including, for instance, rock and pottery colour (for rocks, see, e.g., Antonelli – Lazzarini 2004, 33; for the use of Munsell and alternative systems to record pottery colour see Orton – Hughes 2013, 155-158).

301. These collections stand at the basis of several principal references to Egyptian stones and quarries, including *Stones and quarries in ancient Egypt* (Klemm and Klemm 2008), which is a revised edition in English of *Steine und Steinbrüche im Alten Ägypten* (Klemm and Klemm 1993), and the more recent study on the origins of the building materials of the Old Kingdom pyramids (Klemm and Klemm 2010). A full bibliography of Harrell's publications on Egyptian quarries and mines can be found online at http://www.eeescience.utoledo. edu/faculty/harrell/Egypt/AGRG_Home.html. This website also contains up-to-date information on Egyptian quarries and mines, including coloured images of polished slabs of Egyptian stones. Recent overviews of Egyptian quarries have been published as Harrell and Storemyr (2009), and Harrell (2012a) and (2012b).

302. Samples from Aswan: nos. 11, 471-499, 571, 579-750, 800-822, 958-972.

303. Aswan granitoids compositionally range from granite to granodiorite and tonalite (however, see Brown and Harrell 1998 for a critical discussion of the occurrence at Aswan of tonalite). Several textures are attested, including isotropic, porphyritic and gneissoid; grain-sizes typically range from (very) coarse to fine-grained. The rocks are gradational with one another, and they may be intruded by granitic or quartz veins. Cf. Klemm and Klemm (2008) 233-267.

the major stones of the Imperial Roman Mediterranean world. This expansion is necessitated by this study's geographical and chronological context. The fact that material goods circulated across the Roman world and could function independently from ideas and people, implies that it needs not be surprising to find, for instance, an (originally) Egyptian theme worked in a non-Egyptian stone by an Egyptian, Roman or, for that matter, Greek or Jewish sculptor. The flexible relationship between ideas and material goods can be illustrated by the numerous 'Aegyptiaca' made from white marble. Despite its rich geology, Egypt had no major workable deposits of marble, like, for instance, the Greek world. While marble occurs in numerous small veins throughout the Egyptian Eastern Desert, only three deposits are known that were large enough to be worked. Of these, only the deposits at Gebel Rokham seem to have been quarried anciently, and only to a very limited extent during the 18th Dynasty (New Kingdom).[304] Therefore, it can reasonably be assumed that the great majority of objects with (originally) Egyptian themes and iconography in white marble were carved from non-Egyptian stones. This observation has important consequences for the material analyses of the selected objects. Since the sample does not include objects in white marble that date to the 18th Dynasty, and because no Ptolemaic or Imperial Roman statuary carved from Egyptian marble has been recognised to date, the exclusion of an Egyptian source directly follows from the classification of the studied materials as marble. Therefore, in the case of white marble, the distinction between Egyptian and non-Egyptian sources, defined as one the main objectives of the material analyses in this study above, can be made on the basis of an identification as marble alone.[305]

However, in the case of the numerous coloured stones that were used in the Roman world, the determination of the geological provenance usually does not directly follow from its classification. Although Egypt was an important supplier of such materials, it certainly was not the only one, as the discussion in Part II has made clear. Therefore, a proper evaluation of the materials of the selected objects can only be made by also taking non-Egyptian coloured stones into account. This is all the more important because the natural variability within and across different source areas makes it likely that a certain stone type has look-alikes from other formations.[306] Moreover, there is good reason to believe that the Romans were aware of such similarities, and actively used them to substitute, for instance, highly prestigious materials for less prestigious materials with comparable appearance.[307] These considerations

304. For the marble from Gebel Rokham see, e.g., Aston *et al*. (2000) 44, Harrell (2002) 240, and Klemm and Klemm (2008) 312-314. The location of the quarry is indicated on the geological map in Harrell and Storemyr (2009) no. O3. Most of the known statues in Egyptian marble date to the reign of Thutmose III (approximately 1479-1425 BC), with rare exceptions dating to his later successors Amenhotep II, Akhenaten, and Tutankhamun: see De Putter – Karlshausen (1992) 108-110 pl. 38-39, Aston *et al*. (2000) 45, Harrell (2002) 240, and Klemm and Klemm (2008) 313-314. Imperial Roman exploitation of Gebel Rokham marble is suggested by the find of pottery that dates from the Roman period in an ancient 'workshop', an area with abundant white marble chips (Prof. Harrell, pers. comm.), plus the discovery of some marble fragments at two Roman period *praesidia* in the quarry's vicinity; cf. Brown and Harrell (1995) 231. Although the use of Egyptian marble has not been demonstrated for Roman period sculpture to date, and, moreover, Egypt seems to have chiefly relied on marble imports from eastern Mediterranean sources during Imperial Roman (and Hellenistic) times, it is nevertheless possible that sculptures carved from Gebel Rokham marble exist but have gone unnoticed, as suggested in Aston *et al*. (2000, 45) and Harrell (forthcoming). No research has been done on the use of Egyptian marble for the production of Imperial Roman sculpture to date; however, this kind of research may benefit from the fact that Gebel Rokham marble appears to be compositionally unique among the white marbles used in Antiquity (isotopic and petrological data in Brown and Harrell 1995).

305. This has ensured the success of the macroscopic methodology that is implemented in this study. While some marble varieties can be distinguished on the basis of macroscopic observations, in many cases (invasive) chemical analyses are needed which, as argued above, were not possible for the studied objects. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to identify the marble varieties from which so-called Aegyptiaca were carved. Not only could this lead to a better understanding of the ways in which these objects were understood in the Roman world (some marbles were more sought-after and held in higher esteem than others), knowledge of the different marble types of the numerous extant relief fragments could also help in reconstructing wall reliefs with originally Egyptian subject matters and executed in conceptual styles, which, as a result of their fragmented state of preservation and widely scattered nature, remain poorly understood (cf. Capriotti Vittozzi 2005, 140-141).

306. See for instance Luedtke (1992) 109. The argument of similar visual appearance of stones from different source areas owing to inter- and intra-source variability was used in Waelkens *et al*. (1988, 84 n. 13) as a general warning against relying too heavily on macroscopic analysis of Roman stones. While such remarks emphasise the need for caution, our current knowledge on the source areas of Roman coloured stones enables a more nuanced approach, as will be argued below.

307. Cf. *supra*, section II.2.2.2.

underline the importance to expand the knowledge of potential source areas beyond Egypt. This was principally done through literature study, while first-hand experience with the relevant stones was acquired during several field trips to archaeological museums and sites in Rome and different cities.[308]

The most widely used coloured stones of Pharaonic Egypt and the Imperial Roman world often had notable visual characteristics, which may have contributed to their appreciation, as demonstrated above.[309] The distinct qualities of stones like *breccia verde d'Egitto* and Imperial porphyry from Egypt, Tunisian *lumachella orientale*, *occhio di pavone* and *alabastro fiorito* from Turkey, Greek *serpentino*, and *broccatello di Spagna* from Spain, made them unique in the ancient Egyptian and Roman worlds. Consequently, they can be safely identified on the basis of visual inspection. Moreover, since only one source area is known for each of these materials, the geological provenance automatically follows from their characterisation.[310]

Things are different if stones are not unique in their visual appearance, and if they extracted from more than one locality. For example, visual ambiguity exists between some of the grey granitoid rocks that were used in Antiquity. With main extraction sites in present-day Italy, Turkey, and Egypt, and smaller quarries of mainly local importance in areas like France, Spain, and Germany, these rocks were among the most frequently used stone materials of the Roman world.[311] However, owing to their neutral colour, similar mineralogy, and frequent overlap between other macroscopic aspects, such as texture, it may be very difficult to make a positive distinction between these stones on the basis of macroscopic analysis alone. Notorious overlap exists, for instance, between *granito del foro* and *granito di Nicotera*,[312] and *marmor misium* and (some varieties of) the Tuscan Archipelago Granitoids (*granito dell'Elba*, *granito del Giglio*).[313] Other granitoid rocks that may

308. An extensive body of literature exists on the coloured stones of the Roman world, and several works include colour photographs of representative samples. Relevant studies include, first and foremost, the numerous contributions in the ten volumes of ASMOSIA-proceedings that have been published to date: *ASMOSIA I-X* (1988-2015). Many articles in these volumes deal with the characterisation and provenance determination of archaeologically attested stones, or the topography, archaeology, and petrology of specific quarries and their stones. Lazzarini (2009) provides an important synthesis that integrates a large body of (previously published and unpublished) data. Other relevant volumes, chiefly in Italian, include, in chronological order: Dworakowska (1983), Mielsch (1985), Gnoli (1988), *Il marmo e il colore* (1998), *Marmi Antichi II* (1998), *Marmi Antichi e Pietre Dvre* (2000) (in particular the contribution by Martano – Calogero 2000 in that volume), *Marmi colorati* (2002) (especially Antonelli 2002, Bruno 2002b, and Lazzarini 2002), *Marmi Antichi* (2004), *Pietre e marmi antichi* (2004) (especially Lazzarini – Sangati 2004), Lazzarini (2007), and Price (2007). Russell (2013c) gives a useful overview of known stone quarries in the Roman world with relevant bibliography.

309. See *supra*, section II.2.2. The popularity of stone materials also depended on other than visual characteristics, like availability (the rarer the more prestigious) and technical features, such as workability and durability.

310. See already Fant (1988a, 1 n. 3): "[...] most of the marbles at any Roman site can usually be assigned with a high degree of certainty", namely on the basis of macroscopy alone. While this means of positive source attribution is feasible for easily recognisable materials, it contrasts with the fundamental premise of provenance studies that rely on geochemical and petrographical approaches. Theoretically speaking, the source of archaeological materials can only be determined if all potentially relevant sources and all intra-source variation are available for comparison. However, in practice this is often not feasible and, consequently, inadequate sampling strategies of potential rock sources (both intra- and inter-variability) may be considered as a serious flaw of many provenance studies that rely on geochemical and petrographic approaches. This discrepancy between theory and practice implies that it is impossible, from a theoretical point of view, to attribute studied materials with absolute certainty to a particular source. Therefore, provenance studies work with the principle of negative exclusion: based on significant compositional differences between the archaeological material in question and studied sources, source areas can be excluded until, ideally, one source area remains, which then can be considered as the area of origin with a certain degree of certainty. See also Wilson and Pollard (2001), esp. 510.

311. See Galetti *et al*. (1992), Peacock *et al*. (1994).

312. *Granito del foro* (quarried at Mons Claudianus in Egypt's Eastern Desert) and *granito di Nicotera* (quarried on the western coast of Calabria, Italy) were used from the 1st century AD onwards for the production of pillars and columns. They are medium-grained granitoid rocks with a white/grey matrix with black patches; a positive discrimination between these rocks is only possible on the basis of modal mineralogy and chemical trace-element analysis: see Antonelli *et al*. (2009) and (2010).

313. *Marmor misium* (quarried in the area of Kozak, western Turkey) and *granito dell'Elba* (from Elba Island, Italy)/*granito del Giglio* (from Giglio Island, Italy) were particularly used from the 1st century AD onwards for architectural purposes. The typical Turkish lithotype is a fine- to medium-grained grey granite; rocks with similar appearance are common among the Tuscan Archipelago Granitoids (Poli's 'Main Facies', no. 1: Poli 1992, 42). De Vecchi *et al*. (2000) report that these rocks can be easily differentiated through the combination of petrography and geochemistry, although new discoveries from the Elba and Giglio quarries demonstrate that previous characterisations not always allow for a positive discrimination: S. Diebner, F. Capitanio, S.

be confused due to macroscopic similarities are Aswan granite and (some varieties of) *granito sardo* and Fawakhir-granite, the three main sources of pink and red granite in the Roman world.[314] Other rock types that may be easily mistaken as a result of visual ambiguity include certain famous breccias of the Roman world, for instance *africano* and *portasanta*,[315] and *breccia di Settebasi* and *pavonazzetto*.[316] Another factor that complicates the macroscopic identification of rocks is the discovery of new quarries that produced stones that were previously thought to come from one single quarry location. *Cipollino* is a marble with distinct undulating or parallel green (chlorite) impurities. The quarries near the modern city of Karystos (ancient Carystus), on the island of Euboea in Greece, were long thought to be the only source for these stones. However, in the 1990s, a quarry was discovered at Kourelos, near Cape Matapan in the southern part of the Greek Peloponnese, where another *cipollino*-marble was anciently extracted with a very similar appearance to Euboean *cipollino*. Consequently, more comprehensive analysis is now needed to positively distinguish between *cipollino* and this recently discovered *cipollino tenario*.[317]

Fulloni, *The grey-granite quarries of Cavoli and Seccheto on the Elba island. A new research project starting from the archive of Dr. J. Röder (1914-1975) at the DAI Rome*, unpublished paper delivered at the Xth International ASMOSIA Conference, Rome 2012. On granitoids from Elba Island and Giglio Island see Rocchi *et al*. (2003) and Westerman *et al*. (2003), respectively.

314. It has been noted that the appearance of *granito rosso antico*, the famous pink and red granite from the quarries at Aswan in southern Egypt, is so typical that "[…] there is almost no way that it could be mistaken for other types of granite from elsewhere in the world […] despite the quite wide range of varieties involved" (Klemm and Klemm 2008, 250). However, some authors have drawn attention to the visual overlap that may exist between certain pale pink varieties of Aswan granite and *granito sardo* from the Italian island of Sardinia (e.g., Galetti *et al*. 1992, 169, Poggi – Lazzarini 2005, and Williams-Thorpe – Rigby 2006). The similarities between Aswan granite and *granito sardo* were such that, from the early 2nd century AD onwards, the (less expensive) Sardinian granite was occasionally used as a substitute for its more famous Egyptian counterpart (Pensabene 1992, Lazzarini – Sangati 2004, 97, and Lazzarini 2009, 465). It has even been suggested that there was a certain demand for Sardinian granite for the production of "Egyptianising monuments" as a cheap substitute for Aswan granite (Wilson 1988, 110). To support his hypothesis, Wilson draws attention to a pair of sphinxes in the Cagliari Museum, and two "Egyptianizing monuments from an Isaeum at Catania, Sicily". The recent geochemical analysis of a pink granite sphinx from the Cagliari Museum suggests that this object was indeed carved from pale pink Sardinian granite (Williams-Thorpe – Rigby 2006, 104). Unfortunately no inventory numbers are given in the two aforementioned papers, but we may reasonably assume that the sphinx analysed by Williams-Thorpe and Rigby is one of the pair of sphinxes mentioned by Wilson, and this is almost certainly the pair of sphinxes that was exhibited in 2014 in Paris (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari, inv. 6111-6112). In the accompanying exhibition catalogue, these sphinxes are said to be carved from Aswan granite, which is considered as an indication of their Egyptian origin. Subsequently, they are dated to the Ptolemaic period (*Le mythe Cléopâtre* 2014, 38-39 no. 6-7). This is a telling example of the easy confusion between the two stones, and the wrong interpretations that may result from a direct equation between the origin of materials and the place of a sculpture's manufacture (for which see *supra*, section I.2). The granite quarries in Sardinia appear to have been active between the early 2nd and the first part of the 3rd century AD (Wilson 1988, 109, Poggi – Lazzarini 2005, 57), which implies a terminus post quem of the 2nd century AD for the sphinxes if they are indeed carved from *granito sardo*, and which renders an Egyptian origin very unlikely. For representative slabs of *granito sardo* see Mielsch (1985) pl. 23 no. 788-789, Lazzarini – Sangati (2004) 97 fig. 45, and Price (2007) fig. p. 218 left.

315. *Africano*, quarried at present-day Sigacik in Turkey (ancient Teos), may closely resemble *portasanta* (from the Island of Chios in Greece) when large pink clasts are present. The two can be positively set apart by the fact that *africano* is dolomitic, whereas *portasanta* is calcitic: Lazzarini (2002) 251, and 262.

316. Lazzarini (2000a, 260) reports close similarities between the appearance of *pavonazzetto*, a breccia from Íscehisar in Turkey (ancient Dokimeion), and a dolomitic variety of *breccia di Settebasi*, a metaconglomerate/-breccia from the Island of Skyros in Greece. Thin-section and isotopic analyses are needed to safely discriminate between these two rocks. Other examples of rocks that can be confused due to similar appearance include *rosso antico* from the Mani Peninsula in Greece and a uniformly red coloured variety of *cipollino rosso* from Kiyikislacik in Turkey (in which case geochemical trace-element analysis is needed to tell the two apart: Gorgoni *et al*. 2002), and *giallo antico* from Chemtou in Tunisia and the yellow breccia with violet veins from the quarries at Montagnola Senese in Italy, known as *giallo di Siena* (Lazzarini 2002, 244, and Bruno 2002b, 281-283).

317. For the quarries and the characterisation of *cipollino tenario* see Lazzarini (1998), Bruno (2002a). A similar example exists for *pavonazzetto*, the famous breccia with white marble clasts in a deep violet (hematite-rich) matrix. It was long thought that this rock was only quarried at ancient Dokimeion in Asia Minor, but recent research shows that the term *pavonazzetto* in fact covers a whole family of similar rocks rather than a single unique variety. Quarries producing *pavonazzetto* have been discovered near Aphrodisias and east of Milas, while *pavonazzetto*-like stones were anciently extracted from quarries at Kavaklıdere and Beyler, all in modern Turkey. Moreover, *pavonazzetto*-like breccias are known from the Apuan Alps in Italy (*rosso fantastico* from Vagli, and *breccia di Seravezza* from Monte Corchia). While most of the mentioned varieties can be discerned by simple visual inspection, in other cases more comprehensive analyses are needed for a safe distinction (e.g., petrographic and isotopic analysis): D. Attanasio, M. Bruno, W. Prochaska and

Visual discrimination is also difficult for materials with little or no visual variability, which were extracted from different sources. This applies, for instance, to the dark-grey to black limestones that were used in Antiquity. Grouped under the header of *neri antichi*, these materials were extracted from various localities across the Roman world, most notably Turkey (Göktepe, Adapazari and Teos), Tunisia (Ain el Ksir, Djebel Aziz, Djebel Oust, and presumably Thala), Greece (Island of Chios and Capo Tenaro in the southern Peloponnese), and Italy (Palombino). While some types of *neri antichi* may be positively distinguished by visual inspection, particularly if large fossils are present, macroscopy is generally insufficient for the provenance determination of samples that lack such 'guide-fossils', and which consequently appear as very fine-grained, homogeneous, and therefore indistinct black rocks.[318]

1.2 CONCLUSION: THE MACROSCOPIC ANALYSIS OF THE STONES OF AEGYPTIACA ROMANA

Depending on the studied materials and the desired levels of precision and accuracy, macroscopy emerges as a viable method for a positive discrimination between the most frequently used stones of ancient Egypt and the Roman world. Its successful application stands or falls on the archaeological question and a proper definition of the relevant context. This is needed to delimit the number of potentially relevant look-alikes from other formations. Of course, not every look-alike is equally important.[319] Therefore, in practice a compromise needs to be made between the necessity to extend the potential number of source-areas beyond the most likely sources and logical reasoning.

Within the framework of the present study, the confines of the Roman world were appointed as relevant context. The inter- and intra-source variability is very large in an area as outstretched as the Roman Empire and, consequently, it is likely to find certain macroscopic overlaps. However, by mainly focusing on the quarries that are known to have been worked in Pharaonic Egypt and Roman Antiquity, the number of potentially relevant sources can be substantially lowered. Considering that the materials of the studied objects generally do not belong to the problematic stone types mentioned above,[320] geological provenance hypotheses can be formulated on the basis of macroscopy. Where possible, source attributions are supported by references to relevant rock samples in reference collections or by references to relevant published slabs.[321]

B. Yavuz, *Analysis and discrimination of Phrygian and other Pavonazzetto-like marbles*, unpublished paper delivered at the Xth International ASMOSIA Conference, Rome 2012.

318. Lazzarini (2002) 265, Brilli *et al*. (2010) 994. Recent research has shown that a good discrimination between several source areas of *nero antico* is possible by adopting a multimethod approach that includes both geochemical methods and petrography: Brilli *et al*. (2010), Lapuente *et al*. (2012), Agus *et al*. (2006), and Fornaseri *et al*. (1995). It has become evident that the large majority of statuary and architectural objects of *nero antico* are made from Göktepe stone (Bruno *et al*. 2015). Besides *neri antichi*, other frequently used grey to dark-grey stones of Antiquity include *bigio antico* and *bigio morato*. The division between these stone types is ambiguous, as it mainly relies on different colourations, the latter being the darker of the two (on *bigio morato* see Cioffarelli 1989). *Bigio antico* was extracted from numerous localities across the Roman world, including several sites on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor (e.g., Izmir, Teos), other present-day Turkish sites (e.g., Iznik, Afyon, Göktepe), eastern Aegean Greek islands (most notably at Moria in Lesbos, as well as Rhodos and Chios), Saint Béat in the French Pyrenean Mountains, and Macael in south-eastern Spain. For *bigio antico* and its sources, several of which have been discovered in recent years, see Pensabene and Lazzarini (1998), Lazzarini *et al*. (1999), *Marmi Antichi* (2004) 158-159 no. 16 (M.C. Marchei), Attanasio *et al*. (2009), and Yavuz *et al*. (2009) and (2012).

319. Granite, for example, is one of the most common rock types found worldwide. Given the frequency with which these rocks occur, it would not be surprising to find close macroscopic similarities between the granites from the Egyptian quarries near Aswan and certain varieties from, say, North America. However, there is no reason whatsoever to include such remote sources in a provenance study that concerns Pharaonic Egypt or Classical Antiquity.

320. The pale pink granite of an obelisk fragment from Palazzo Valentini is a possible exception; it is not clear whether this is Egyptian granite from Aswan or *granito sardo* (see *infra*, 292-293 no. 140).

321. AESC is used as an abbreviation for the Ancient Egyptian Stone Collection, University of Toledo, Ohio. Polished slabs of hand specimens from this reference collection are published online at http://www.eeescience.utoledo.edu/faculty/harrell/Egypt/Quarries/Quarries_Menu.html. The numbering system is similar to that used on the website.

2. Object parameters: selection and definitions

Theoretically speaking, there is an infinite number of object parameters that, by itself or in relation to others, can contribute to the particular impact of artefacts. This implies that, in order to assess the question how the objects that we call Aegyptiaca were able to evoke particular associations, and how this effected the ways in which these objects were used and perceived by Roman viewers, ideally all potentially relevant parameters and the relations between them should be taken into account. However, this requires a level of data completeness that is not available for the selected objects,[322] and analytical (ontological) models that are beyond the scope of the present study.[323] Therefore, on the basis of the discussions in the preceding sections, four object parameters were selected that may have contributed to the impact of so-called Aegyptiaca and the ways in which these objects were perceived. These are style, object category, subject matter, and date. Each of these parameters will be studied in relation to the aforementioned material aspects and one another later on. The remainder of this section defines and explains these parameters. This is preceded by an explanation of rock colour, the second material property that will be central to this study's material analyses besides geological provenance, which was discussed in the previous section.

Colour

In the context of this study, natural colouration is meant to indicate the colour of stones as they occur in nature, without artificial treatment like painting.[324] In order to structure and analyse my data, I distinguish between naturally coloured and uncoloured stones, where white marble, limestone, and sandstone are considered to be 'uncoloured' stones. We can reasonably assume that such a division is useful from a Roman perspective, since there is evidence to suggest that Romans made a distinction between 'white' and 'coloured' stones.[325] Naturally coloured stones are subsequently divided into different colours. On the basis of the selected objects' colours, a distinction is made between the following colours: grey/black, red/pink, yellow, and green.[326]

322. As will become evident from the corpus of Aegyptiaca in section III.3 below, the selected objects are surrounded by many uncertainties, which particularly relate to the reconstruction of their Roman Imperial functional contexts. This limits the possibilities for a close contextual analysis, and hence of the ways in which these objects were used and, by extension, how they were possibly understood by Romans; cf. *infra*, n. 345 and p. 342.
323. For a general introduction to ontological modelling in archaeology see, e.g., D'Andrea *et al*. (2006). I will shortly start an ontological pilot study to assess the impact of non-local artefacts in and on Republican Rome in the context of my postdoctoral research in the NWO-funded VICI-project "Innovating objects. The agency of global connections in the Roman world (200-30 BC)" under direction of Prof. M.J. Versluys (Leiden University, 2016-2021).
324. Recent studies into the polychromy of Hellenistic and Roman marble sculpture emphasise the importance of paint and gilding, which are nowadays often lost. For polychromy on ancient sculpture see Brinkmann *et al*. (2006), Bradley (2006), Blume (2012), and various contributions in *Diversamente bianco* (2014).
325. Contemporary evidence suggests that Romans had white marbles: marbles we describe as 'white' were sought after because of their white colour (*candidus color*), while coloured materials were known by and sought after because of their respective colours, as was demonstrated in section II.2 above. However, this distinction "was not necessarily grounded in the aesthetics of colour", as Bradley (2006, 16) argues.
326. However, few stones are truly grey/black, red/pink, yellow, or green: they often have heterogeneous colours in which a particular shade dominates. These dominating shades are taken into account for the current assessment of rock colour. Moreover, seeing that modern colour descriptions not necessarily correspond to ancient colour terms and categories, since colour perception is socially and culturally constructed, and colours should be understood accordingly, I do not argue that the colours differentiated in this study necessarily reflect the way Romans would categorise the colours in question. By contrast, the distinctions made are unmistakably etic contructs, made on the basis of modern and Western categorisations of colour, which are used for the organisation and analysis of my data. On Roman colour perceptions see McCann (2015), Goldman (2013), Bradley (2009), and Bagnall and Harrell (2003); for understandings of colour in ancient societies in general see, e.g., *Colouring the Past* (2002).

Style

The concept of style is often described as one of the most fundamental yet elusive concepts in the study of art and material culture.[327] For art historians and archaeologists, style is the main heuristic device to date individual works of art, and to ascribe them to a particular artist. In archaeology, the notion of style that is most often used is that of culture style, which is the idea that certain artistic styles are characteristic for certain periods or people.[328] This idea was formulated as a central concept by Winckelmann, who, as we have seen above, added a historical dimension to the understanding of ancient art, and established a tangible method for the periodisation of works of art. The notion of culture styles and the associated method of *Stilgeschichte* remain deeply embedded in modern approaches to material culture.[329] This becomes especially apparent from modern definitions of style as the "coherence of qualities in periods or people", or "the constant form – and sometimes the constant elements, qualities, and expression – in the art of an individual or group".[330]

However, the pervasive notion of culture style is problematic for bottom-up assessments of Roman understandings of style. Acknowledging that this is a modern construct, which draws on 18th century evolutionary understandings of history in patterns of rise and decline,[331] we cannot automatically assume that Romans understood style in a similar way.[332] Indeed, as the discussion in Part II has shown, in the Roman world artistic style was *not* necessarily bound to the cultural or ethnic background of an object or its sculptor. Moreover, as Riggs argues, "the spectrum of art produced in the Egyptian and Greek worlds is too broad to be reduced to a single 'style'".[333] Seeing that the prime goal of Egyptian art was to convey timeless and eternal ideas of how people knew things to be based on knowledge and prior experience, rather than on the basis of empirical observations under ephemeral conditions, Egyptian methods of representation are typically conceptual; it has been described as a "system of symbolic representation based on the most characteristic views of parts united in a diagrammatic whole".[334] As such, 'the Egyptian style' has recently been characterised as "the way in which images are rendered in their most characteristic aspect from period to period, in combinations of frontal and profile views, plan and/or elevation".[335] However, multiple styles were used throughout the history of Egyptian art, including what modern scholars define as naturalistic styles, which are predominantly regarded as canonical of Greek art. Therefore, the interpretation of objects with 'conceptual' stylistic properties as 'Egyptian', and of objects with 'naturalistic' stylistic properties as 'Greek', as is implicit in many studies that engage with style to date, is not representative of how the totality of available styles comprises a cultural repertoire.

This suggests that current approaches to style, and the notion of culture style in particular, are too static to account for what we may call the agency of style, that is, how particular styles were able to evoke particular associations that do not necessarily relate directly to the culture they are often named after.[336] The key assumption, which underlies the prominent position of style in historical studies, is that what matters about any given work of art and what may be revealed by stylistic analysis, is when and where it was created.[337] However, for Romans, style may have done much more than merely representing fixed Egyptian, Roman, Greek, or Hellenistic meanings – if this was the case at all.

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327. See, e.g., Elkins (1996) 876: "the further the concept is investigated, the more it appears as an inherently partly incoherent concept, opaque to analysis".
328. On the distinction between 'style', defined as "sets of enduring formal characteristics shared by significant numbers of artefacts. Formal in the sense of the result of the shaping activity of a human hand. Characteristics in the sense of observable traits, resulting from choice", and 'culture style' (Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and so on), defined as "sets of common characteristics of material and design shared and displayed by large groups of artefacts, over extended geographical ranges and/or periods of time", see Van Eck *et al*. (2015) 5-6 with literature.
329. See also the discussion on the category and classification of Aegyptiaca: *supra*, section I.2.
330. Quotations from Elkins (1996) 876 and Schapiro (1994) 51, respectively; after Hartwig (2015) 39.
331. Cf. *supra*, n. 58.
332. Cf. Elsner (2003) 106: empirical analysis of style entails "a particular and […] an inevitable process of translation by which *we* understand (in a particular way) what it is *we* have been looking at" (my italics).
333. Riggs (2005) 8-9, who, on this basis, proposes to think of Egyptian art in terms of the used systems of representation, which transcend time periods.
334. Peck (1996) 799.
335. Hartwig (2015) 53; cf. Robins (2008).
336. Cf. Versluys (2013b), esp. 432-434.
337. Elsner (2003) 106.

Since the use of terms like Egyptian (and Pharaonic), Roman, or Greek to characterise a particular artistic style by definition entails notions of culture styles that are not necessarily compatible with Roman understandings of style, and, as such, implicitly maintains the dichotomy between Egyptian and Egyptianising and its associated binary oppositions, I will not use these (cultural) terms. Rather, in an attempt to move 'beyond representation', and to enable an assessment of Roman understandings of the stylistic properties of the objects that we call Aegyptiaca without predetermining their interpretation, for the purpose of the present study I define style as 'the way in which natural forms are shaped'. On the basis of this basic definition, I distinguish the following styles:[338]

Naturalistic
Representations of natural forms are as they are empirically observed, rather than in a deliberately stylised or conceptual manner.[339] The finished product obeys the rules of perspective, as a result of which one can imagine the represented image or scene taking place in the "real world".[340]

Conceptual
Representations of natural forms are more in accordance with artistic ideals or conventions than with empirical observations of objects. This often involves an emphasis on universal characteristics rather than observation of individual examples of those forms.[341]

Conceptual-naturalistic
Representations of natural forms are in accordance with both aforementioned traditions.

Object category
This is meant to indicate the general class to which the objects in question belong. In this study the following object categories are distinguished: statue, obelisk, clepsydra, stela, altar, relief, column, capital, antefix, pediment, entablature, and frieze.

Subject matter
Subject matter is defined as the substance of an object, as distinguished from its form or style.[342]

Date
The classical periodisation of Egyptian history into distinct timeframes is maintained. While derived from modern (19th century) understandings of Egyptian history as divided into periods of rise and decline, which are no longer uncritically subscribed to,[343] it is a useful way to structure the data, and to facilitate the analysis in Part IV and comparison to other research. The following timeframes are used: Middle Kingdom (Dynasties 11-13, ca. 2055-1650 BC); New Kingdom (Dynasties 18-20, ca. 1550-1077 BC); 3rd Intermediate Period (Dynasties 22-25, ca. 1069-664 BC); Late Period (Dynasties 25-31, 664-332 BC); Ptolemaic Period (sometimes called Dynasty 32, 332-30 BC); Roman Period (30 BC – 395 AD).

338. To avoid any misunderstanding, I do not argue that these (necessarily rigid) categories reflect Roman (emic) understandings of style in any way. Rather, I use them to organise and subsequently analyse my data. Therefore, I should like to emphasise once more that the distinctions made are unmistakably etic constructs. They are based on my conceptualisation, as a modern Western scholar, of style, which basically draws on different ways of representing natural forms (perspective and conceptual); cf. Schapiro (1994), esp. 76-78. It should be noted that, in the case of fragmentarily preserved objects, the stylistic categorisation is by necessity based on their current state of preservation. For instance, the head of the statue of a priest (*infra*, 214-215 no. 101) is shaped in a naturalistic way. Because only the head has been preserved, this is the only stylistic categorisation that can be made empirically. However, the head was likely part of a well-attested sculptural type in Egypt, which, when complete, would have been categorised as conceptual, based on certain features, such as the back-pillar and the figure's posture. Therefore, it is important to realise that preservation influences perception of style (etic and emic!).
339. Naturalism is not incompatible with idealisation, "for Greek sculpture may be naturalistic in its command of anatomy, but idealistic in that it sets up a standard of physical beauty remote from the everyday world": *The Oxford dictionary of art* (2004) 495; cf. Needham (1996) 685, Hartwig (2015) 44.
340. Elsner (2003) 99.
341. *Conceptual* is meant to indicate here "of or relating to mental concepts or conceptions", whereas *concept* is used in the sense of "a mental representation of the essential or typical properties of something", and *conception* in the sense of "anything conceived or imagined in the mind, an idea, a mental representation; a mental image, idea, or concept of anything" (definitions after the Oxford English Dictionary, second edition, 1989); cf. Mayer (1981) 383-384 on stylisation.
342. Definition after the Oxford English Dictionary, second edition, 1989.
343. See, e.g., Ritner (1992a), and Spalinger (2001).

3. Corpus of Aegyptiaca Romana

In the following catalogue, a selection of 140 stone objects are presented, described, and illustrated. This corpus neither intends to replace existing inventories of so-called Aegyptiaca, nor does it claim to be exhaustive. It rather aims to give a representative overview of stone artefacts from Imperial Rome, which forms the material basis for the application of the novel approach to the objects that we call Aegyptiaca in Part IV below. This has a number of implications for this corpus' scope and lay-out. The previous definition of the category of Aegyptiaca as the totality of artefacts that would have something to do with Egypt was maintained for the current selection. While this categorisation is problematic,[344] rather than including or excluding objects on the basis of my personal understanding of what is and what is not deemed Egyptian, it provides a concrete starting point for an assessment of fundamental questions of how these objects were perceived in Roman society, and how and which object parameters influenced the way they were understood. Therefore, this study maintains the selection of objects included in previous overviews of Aegyptiaca, even when the interpretation of some of those objects as Aegyptiaca is disputed.

This study's focus on stone materials implies that so-called Aegyptiaca in other media like bronze, terracotta, or wall painting were not taken into account. Although stone is the largest material category among these objects, it is important to keep in mind that this research's selective focus does not intend to present a comprehensive analysis of 'Aegyptiaca' in general. Rome was selected as principal case study because this city provides an unsurpassed dataset both in terms of quantity and diversity. Also in practical terms this choice has advantages, since the relevant material from this city has been relatively well published in comparison with similar objects from other parts of the Roman world. At the same time, however, the focus on Rome impedes on the possibilities for a detailed archaeological contextual analysis.[345] Based on the complex biographies of so-called Aegyptiaca Romana, as well as the long history of Egyptian antiquity collections in Rome, it is important to distinguish between, on the one hand, objects that were present in Imperial Rome and, on the other hand, objects that only appeared in the city in later periods.[346] Therefore, in order to keep the catalogue as reliable as possible, it was decided to exclude all artefacts without solid archaeological provenance, and to focus instead on objects with known find locations.[347]

344. See *supra*, section I.2.5 and I.3.

345. For the intricate relationship between archaeological context and Imperial Roman use-context in Rome, with a particular focus on Aegyptiaca, see Müskens (2014a); on the problem of secondary archaeological contexts of Aegyptiaca Romana see also Alfano (1992) 41. For the correlation between (secondary) find locations of material culture and ancient use-contexts in Rome in general see the work of Christine Häuber: e.g., Häuber 1990, Häuber – Schütz 1999, Häuber – Schütz 2010, and Haüber 2014.

346. While mummies had been highly valued in European countries for medical purposes as early as the 12th century, the importation of Egyptian objects to the Western world really started from the late 16th century onwards. European visitors to Egypt usually did not travel further down south than Memphis, where the necropoleis provided fertile hunting grounds for antiquities. Consequently, the majority of Egyptian objects that reached Europe from the late 16th century onwards were small, easily transportable artefacts, especially from funerary contexts, such as shabtis, amulets, statuettes, and papyri. Occasionally also larger objects, such as mummies and mummy-cases, were transported; the two mummies from Saqqara bought by the Italian traveller Pietro della Valle in 1616 are a good case in point. On the early interest in Egypt and the importation of Egyptian antiquities to the Western world see Whitehouse (1989) and (1992) 66-68, and Curran (2007) 279-287, esp. 283-284. For an overview of the most important antiquities collections in Rome (with an emphasis on Egyptian objects) see *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 93-127 (O. Lollio Barberi, M.P. Toti), and Grimm (2005c) with extensive bibliography.

347. Evidence from Reggio Emilia and Luni, where Egyptian objects were intentionally buried in the 19th century to increase their archaeological importance, indicates the importance of a careful analysis of the relation between archaeological context and ancient use-context (Gallo 1997a, 290 with bibliography; cf. Versluys 2002, 340: "The scholar searching for an explanatory model of the Egyptian and egyptianising artefacts found in Italian soil, is therefore warned"). No evidence for this practice has been reported in Rome.

The entries are principally organised by stone type. The largest material group, white marble, is presented first. Other stone types follow in descending order of frequency of occurrence. Within each material group, objects are organised according to object type, subject matter, dating, and dimensions/preservation. Objects with uncertain material classifications and/or provenance determinations are presented at the end of the corpus. For each entry a fixed set of data is given first:[348]

Material
Style
Object category
Subject matter
Date
Findspot / ancient context
(name of site or building of discovery, year of discovery if known, and proposed ancient context)
Dimensions
(H x W x D in cm, unless stated otherwise)
Preservation
(aimed at the recognisability of other parameters, particularly subject matter)
Current location
(city, museum, inventory number, etc.)

This data is followed by a general description of the object in question. In principle, a brief description of what the artefact represents and/or what is depicted is followed by a concise discussion of the object's date. Next, contextual attribution is briefly considered in relation to find location and year of discovery (if known). When inscriptions are present, the reader is referred to publications where more detailed information, like transcriptions, translations, and discussions, can be found. It is on purpose that object descriptions are kept brief and that they are explicitly based on the opinions of other scholars. As the analyses in Part IV will be principally guided by the object parameters defined in sections III.1 and III.2 above, I have endeavoured to chart the often conflicting opinions of previous scholars on aspects like subject matter, dating, and contextual attribution, in order to illustrate the numerous uncertainties that exist over this group of material culture. At the end of each entry a relevant bibliography is given. Since several artefacts have been repeatedly published without adding any new information or interpretations, cited references are selective in nature. If reliable and detailed descriptions of objects are available in previous literature, this is indicated and the reader is referred to the relevant publication. When it is evident that more than one fragment belong to a single object, the fragments are discussed as one catalogue entry. Illustrations are provided for all objects.

Considering the direct relationship between the classification of white marbles and the non-Egyptian provenance of these stones, the identification of the studied materials as white marble suffices for the present purposes, and therefore no minero-petrographic descriptions are given for these materials.[349] However, all non-white marbles in the studied sample require more detailed analysis due to existing uncertainties over these materials' classification and their geological provenance. Therefore, for all objects in naturally coloured stones, a separate page is included that focuses on their respective material characteristics. For each entry five material aspects are mentioned first:[350]

Classification
Provenance hypothesis
Colour
Magnetic attraction
Reference collection

Next, a macroscopic description of the stone in question is given on the basis of minero-petrographic criteria. This is followed by a brief discussion of the provenance hypothesis of the stone in question and relevant references. Whenever possible, scaled close-ups of representative sections of the studied materials are included, which form an integral part of the material descriptions.[351]

348. For explanations of selected parameters and definitions used see *supra*, section III.2.

349. Cf. *supra*, 73.

350. For explanations of selected parameters and definitions used see *supra*, section III.1.

351. The level of detail of the material descriptions is not always the same. This largely depends on the accessibility of the object in question. Unfortunately, it was not possible to study all objects included in this corpus in person. This particularly applies to selected objects in museums outside of Rome. Other objects were studied in person but could not be examined in detail due to practical limitations, like Rome's obelisks on their high bases. If this is the case, this is indicated in the material description of the relevant object. Moreover, it was not always possible to obtain (scaled) close-ups of the selected materials.

Fig. 3.3.1

001 Sarapis

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Sarapis

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Near the Church of Sant'Eusebio (1883) / nymphaeum near S. Eusebio

Dimensions:
H. 113

Preservation:
The arms, attributes, and headdress missing; otherwise intact

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 1288/S

Statue of Sarapis of the so-called Bryaxis-type. A depression on top of the head indicates that a headdress used to be present, probably a modius. The god is seated on a throne; the left arm is largely missing, but it was presumably originally raised and held a sceptre. A three-headed dog, identified as Cerberus, sits to his right; snakes are coiled around its body.

The statue is dated to the Roman Imperial period without further specification. It was found in 1883 near the Church of Sant'Eusebio, in the remains of what has been usually identified as a nymphaeum. This nymphaeum is generally thought to have been connected to the house of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, an initiate in the cult of Isis, but there is no conclusive evidence for this connection.

Bibliography:
NSc (1883) 129; Stuart Jones (1926) 231 no. 8; Malaise (1972a) 179 no. 332; Hornbostel (1973) 84 n. 4; Kater-Sibbes (1973) 117 no. 633; De Vos (1997) 128-129; *LIMC*, s.v. Sarapis 669 no. 10c; Bricault (2001) 164; Versluys (2002) 346

Fig. 3.3.2

002 Sarapis

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Sarapis

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Close to the Baths of Trajan (1812) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
H. 105

Preservation:
Generally well preserved; parts of the head and arms (with attributes) have been lost

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 217/S

Under-life-size statue of Sarapis of the so-called Bryaxis-type. Traces of what presumably originally was a modius remain on top of the head. The god is seated on a throne; the raised left arm is largely missing, but it presumably held a sceptre. A three-headed dog, generally identified as Cerberus, sits to his right; two snakes are coiled around its body.

The statue is invariably dated to the (first half of the) 2nd century AD; no explanation is given in support of this dating. It was found in 1812 on the Oppian Hill, close to the Baths of Trajan, or, more specifically, in the north-western corner of the substructures of the Baths of Trajan's exedra. It has been attributed to various contexts. Malaise reconstructs a sacellum in the Castra Misenatium located nearby, where Egyptian sailors resided; Coarelli believes that the statue is an indication of the presence of a sanctuary; others argue that it could have belonged to the decoration of the Baths of Trajan (Ensoli).

Bibliography:
Stuart Jones (1912) 81-82 no. 3; Malaise (1972a) 176 no. 323; Hornbostel (1973) 65-66; Kater-Sibbes (1973) 116 no. 626; Coarelli (1982) 58; *LIMC*, s.v. Sarapis no. 10b; Ensoli (1997) 317; Bricault (2001) 169; Versluys (2002) 344

Fig 3.3.3

003 Sarapis

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Sarapis

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Giovanni Lanza (1885) / lararium Late Classical domus

Dimensions:
H. 36

Preservation:
The modius is a modern restoration

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 1002/S

The subject matter of the bust has invariably been identified as Sarapis, although the characteristic modius, which in this case is decorated with olive twigs, is a modern restoration.

The bust has generally been dated to the 2nd century AD (Antonine period); no explanation is given in support of this dating. It was found in 1885 in an aedicula close to the Church of San Martino ai Monti on the Esquiline Hill. The aedicula, often interpreted as a lararium, was part of a Late Classical domus (early 4th century AD), together with a subterranean Mithraeum that was connected to it by means of stairs.

Bibliography:
Visconti (1885) 32 no. 3; Stuart Jones (1926) 229 no. 38; Malaise (1972a) 177 no. 327; Hornbostel (1973) 188; Kater-Sibbes (1973) 116 no. 628; Ensoli Vittozzi (1993) 227 no. 8; *LIMC*, s.v. Sarapis no. 83f; Leclant – Clerc (1996) 354 n. 46; *Iside* (1997) 586 VI.49 (S. Ensoli); *Aurea Roma* (2000) 518-519 no. 148 (M.P. Del Moro); Bricault (2001) 165; Versluys (2002) 346

Fig. 3.3.4

004 Sarapis

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Sarapis

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Contested / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
H. 44 (without modern modius and base)

Preservation:
The modius is a modern restoration

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 1217/S

Over-life-size head of Sarapis. The head is believed to have belonged to a colossal statue, perhaps a cult statue (Häuber and Schütz). Modern restorations include the nose, the lower part of the sculpture that represents the neck, and the modius.

The head has generally been dated to the late 2nd century AD on stylistic and typological grounds (Ensoli Vittozzi: late-Antonine period). Its findspot and contextual attribution are disputed. Häuber and Schütz believe that the head was found rebuilt into a 'statue wall' in the vigna Reinach in 1887, based on Visconti's description of statuary found on that occasion. Consequently, they attribute the head to the Iseum and Serapeum in Regio III. However, the identification of the Sarapis head from the vigna Reinach with inv. 1217/S is most likely incorrect.

According to Häuber and Schütz, inv. 1217/S would be the only head of Sarapis in the Capitoline Museum that lacks its modius and that has a flat area for its addition. These two characteristics match Visconti's description of the head from the statue wall. However, this description probably refers to inv. 1640 in the Capitoline collection, another head of Sarapis that readily matches Visconti's description and that has generally been identified as the head from the vigna Reinach (*infra*, no. 005). Alternatively, the head could have originally belonged to the aedicula close to the Church of San Martino ai Monti on the Esquiline Hill. Although it is not included in Visconti's list of objects from that aedicula (Visconti 1885), the identification of Sarapis head inv. 1217/S with the head from the aedicula near San Martino ai Monti goes back to the late 19th and early 20th century and, more recently, it was proposed again by Ensoli Vittozzi.

Bibliography:
Stuart Jones (1926) 261 no. 5; Hornbostel (1973) 109, and 250 fig. 219; Kater-Sibbes (1973) 116 no. 629; Malaise (1978) 644 no. 327a; Ensoli Vittozzi (1993) 234 no. 21; Leclant – Clerc (1996) 354 n. 49; Ensoli (1997) 576; Bricault (2001) 165; Häuber – Schütz (2010) 90

005 Sarapis

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Sarapis

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Labicana, in the vigna Reinach (1887) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
21 x 20 x 18

Preservation:
The head (of a larger statue?) is preserved; the crown has been lost

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 1640/S

Fig. 3.3.5

Under-life-size head of Sarapis of the so-called Bryaxis-type. A depression on top of the head indicates that a crown, probably a medium, was originally present.

No dating is proposed in the consulted literature, although Bricault seems to suggest a 2nd-century AD date. The statue fragment was found in 1887 in the vigna Reinach on the Via Labicana; it was rebuilt into a 'statue wall', and therefore evidently not *in situ* (on this identification see De Vos; see also Coates-Stephens 2001, 237, *contra* Häuber – Schutz 2010, for which see *supra*, no. 004). Based on the proximity of the findspot to the Church of SS. Marcellino e Pietro (approximately 100 m), where a building with Egyptian motifs was uncovered in 1653, the head has often been attributed to the so-called Iseum and Serapeum in Regio III. It is not unlikely that there was a temple for the Egyptian gods in this region, since Regio III was called 'Isis et Serapis' in Roman times. This and other 'Aegyptiaca' that have been found in this area may have belonged to that sanctuary. Alternatively, as Versluys has argued, some of the so-called Aegyptiaca from this area may have belonged to the furnishings of horti, which, in Roman Imperial times, were situated in the area where the head of Sarapis was found (cf. the synthesising discussion in Versluys 2002, 338-344 with further literature).

Bibliography:
Malaise (1972a) 173 no. 315f; Kater-Sibbes (1973) 115 no. 623; De Vos (1997) 124 with n. 302; Bricault (2001) 164; Versluys (2002) 340

Fig. 3.3.6

006 Sarapis

Material:
Material

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Sarapis

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Giovanni Lanza (1885) / lararium Late Classical domus

Dimensions:
H. 26

Preservation:
The head and arms of the deity have been lost

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 1519/S

Small statuette of Sarapis of the so-called Bryaxis-type. The three-headed dog Cerberus sits to the right of the deity with a snake coiled around its body.

The statuette has been dated to the late 2nd century AD on stylistic and iconographical grounds: "Lo stile poco accurato e la lavorazione piuttosto sommaria della scultura, che emergono sopratutto dal confronto con le copie di piccolo formato diffuse in età adrianea e antonina, portano a datare la statuetta a partire dalla fine del II secolo d.C." (Ensoli Vittozzi). For the findspot and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 003.

Bibliography:
Visconti (1885) 32 no. 2; Malaise (1972a) 177 no. 326; Kater-Sibbes (1973) 116 no. 627; Ensoli Vittozzi (1993) 226-227 no. 6; Leclant – Clerc (1996) 354 n. 49; *Iside* (1997) 585 VI.48 (S. Ensoli); *Aurea Roma* (2000) 520-521 (M.P. Del Moro); Bricault (2001) 165; Versluys (2002) 346

Fig. 3.3.7

007 Sarapis

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Sarapis

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Mithraeum S. Prisca (1954) / Mithraeum S. Prisca

Dimensions:
H. 31

Preservation:
Weathered condition, two arms missing; subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Unknown (stolen in 1969)

Small statuette of Sarapis in contrapposto stance. The identification with the originally Egyptian god relies on the modius worn on top of the head. Remains of an animal, perhaps the three-headed dog Cerberus that often accompanies Sarapis, can be seen to the deity's right.

The statuette is dated to the Roman Imperial period without further specification. It was found in 1954 in the Mithraeum under the Church of S. Prisca on the Aventine Hill. It was stolen in 1969 and has since been lost. Based on its findspot, the statuette has invariably been attributed to the Mithraeum of S. Prisca.

Bibliography:
Vermaseren and Van Essen (1965) 435 no. 11; Malaise (1972a) 229 no. 416; Kater-Sibbes (1973) 122 no. 659; Tran Tam Tinh (1983) 245-246 no. V 3; Bricault (2001) 167; Versluys (2002) 367

Fig. 3.3.8

008 Isis

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Isis

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via di Porta Latina 11 (1938) / Roman Imperial building

Dimensions:
H. 112

Preservation:
The attributes that the goddess once held are lost; the theme remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, inv. 125412

Under-life-size statue of Isis of the so-called Iside del Catajo-type. The goddess is shown in contrapposto stance and is recognisable by the fringed mantle, which is knotted at the chest, the characteristic long corkscrew locks, and the crown, which consists of a crescent moon, solar disc, and (the remains of) feathers or plumes. A depression on top of the head indicates that an attribute was originally present. The attributes, which the goddess once held in her hands, are lost; remains of what appears to be a situla can be observed in her left hand. The right hand is generally believed to have held a sistrum. Traces of red pigment are visible on the hair.

The statue has generally been dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD on stylistic grounds (Antonine period); however, Eingartner proposes an early 3rd century AD date. It was found in 1938 on the Via di Porta Latina 11, in the remains of a building that dates from Roman Imperial times. The character of this building is unclear.

Bibliography:
Castagnoli (1948) 183 (K. Caprino); Tran Tam Tinh (1972) 33 n. 2b; Eingartner (1991) 121-122 no. 3; *Roma 1000 Anni di Civiltà* (1992) 111 no. 155 (D. Candilio); *Iside* (1997) 407 V.25 (D. Candilio); Manera – Mazza (2001) 116 no. 85; Bricault (2001) 167; Malaise (2004a) 29 no. 433d; *LIMC*, s.v. Isis 766 no. 34 (V. Tran Tam Tinh)

Fig. 3.3.9

009 Isis

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Isis

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Labicana, in the vigna Reinach (1887) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
74 x 48 x 27

Preservation:
Upper part of a larger statue is preserved (head, and parts of right shoulder and arm)

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 2978/S

Upper part of a life-size statue of Isis. The goddess is veiled and has characteristic long corkscrew locks. The remains of a crown are visible on the top of the head (crescent moon?).

No dating is proposed in the consulted literature, although Bricault seems to suggest a 2nd-century AD date. The statue fragment was found in 1887 in the vigna Reinach on the Via Labicana; it was rebuilt into a 'statue wall', and therefore evidently not *in situ* (cf. Coates-Stephens 2001, 237). For the contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 005.

Bibliography:
Malaise (1972a) 172 no. 315b; De Vos (1997) 124; Bricault (2001) 164; Versluys (2002) 340

Fig. 3.3.10

010 Isis

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Isis

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Labicana, in the vigna Reinach (1887) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
29 x 22 x 25

Preservation:
The head (of a larger statue?) is preserved, with parts of a veil and crown

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 1770/S

Life-size head of Isis. The head is veiled, and the remains of a crescent moon are visible on the top of the head.

The head is generally dated to the 1st century AD (Eingartner: Flavian period) on stylistic grounds. It was found in 1887 in the vigna Reinach on the Via Labicana; it was rebuilt into a 'statue wall', and therefore evidently not *in situ* (cf. Coates-Stephens 2001, 237). For the contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 005.

Bibliography:
Malaise (1972a) 172 no. 315c; Eingartner (1991) 51 (dating), and 137 no. 80; De Vos (1997) 124; Bricault (2001) 164; Versluys (2002) 340

Fig. 3.3.11

011 Isis

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Isis

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Appia Antica / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
H. 92

Preservation:
Some damage to the headdress

Current location:
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Sala dei Busti, inv. 697

Bust of the goddess Isis. The goddess has characteristic long corkscrew locks and wears a fringed mantle, which is knotted at the chest. She wears a crown on the head that consists of a crescent moon, ureaus, and ears of corn. According to Lafaye the head may have originally been veiled.

The bust has generally been dated to the 2nd century AD (Eingartner: 150-180 AD); no explanation is given in support of this dating. There is some confusion over its identification and findspot. Bricault (2001, 167) identifies the Vatican bust with another bust of Isis in the Capitoline Museum (Sala delle Colombe, inv. 362 = *Iside* [1997] 399 no. V. 18 [S. Ensoli]); however, the Capitoline bust does not match Malaise's description, to which Bricault refers. Eingartner refers to the Vatican Isis bust, but says that it was found on the Via Labicana near Centocelle. Other authors follow Lafaye, and say that it was found on the Via Appia antica, in a neighbourhood that was formerly known as Roma Vecchia (Malaise, Versluys).

Based on its presumed findspot on the Via Appia antica, Versluys connects the bust to the Villa Quintilii, which dates from the 2nd century AD, and where "a number of objects in Egyptian style were discovered [in 1861-1862] which however nowadays have been lost". Moreover, since a mausoleum with a pyramidal shape and the remains of colossal sphinxes were found near the villa, Versluys considers the possibility that the bust may have belonged to a grave context, which contained an aedicula for Isis. Alternatively, it could have belonged to the villa itself, that may have been "partially furnished in Egyptian style". In *Le antichità egiziane*, the presence of so-called Aegyptiaca close to the Villa Quintilii, including this Isis bust, is explained through the alleged affinity of emperor Commodus, who owned the villa at the end of 2nd century AD, with Egyptian cults.

Bibliography:
Lafaye (1884) 274-275 no. 35; Malaise (1972a) 233 no. 432; Eingartner (1991) 135 no. 74; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 231; Versluys (2002) 372

Fig. 3.3.12

012 Isis

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Isis

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Mithraeum under S. Stefano Rotondo / Mithraeum under S. Stefano Rotondo

Dimensions:
22 x 13 x 12

Preservation:
The head is nearly intact

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, inv. 205833

Head of the goddess Isis. The goddess has characteristic corkscrew locks, and wears a headdress with sun-disc and the remains of ears of corn (for an extensive description see Lissi-Caronna 1986).

The head has been dated to the 2nd century AD (*Le antichità egiziane*: reign of Hadrian); no explanation is given in support of this dating. It was found in the Mithraeum under the Church of Santo Stefano Rotondo, and it has invariably been attributed to that context.

Bibliography:
Vermaseren (1975) 95 n. 23; Malaise (1978) 644 no. 312a; Lissi-Caronna (1986) 38-39; ibid. (1993); *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 55; Bricault (2001) 164; Versluys (2002) 337; Alvar (2008) 154 n. 166

Fig. 3.3.13

013 Isis-Fortuna

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Isis-Fortuna

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Giovanni Lanza (1885) / lararium Late Classical domus

Dimensions:
H. 146

Preservation:
Nearly intact

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 928/S

Under-life-size statue of Isis-Fortuna. The goddess wears a diadem on her head with a solar-disc, which is flanked by two small uraei, and corns of ear. She holds a cornucopia and a rudder in her left and right hand, respectively (see Ensoli Vittozzi for a detailed description).

The statue has been dated to the 2nd century AD on the basis of stylistic and iconographic criteria (Ensoli Vittozzi proposes an early Antonine date). For the findspot and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 003. The statue of Isis-Fortuna occupied the central niche in the lararium and, therefore, it seems to have been the most important statue.

Bibliography:
Visconti (1885) 29-32 no. 1; Stuart Jones (1926) 94 no. 31; Malaise (1972a) 177 no. 324; Ensoli Vittozzi (1993) 222-224 no. 1; Leclant – Clerc (1996) 354 n. 49; *Iside* (1997) 584 VI.47 (S. Ensoli); *Aurea Roma* (2000) 518 no. 147 (M.P. Del Moro); Bricault (2001) 165; Versluys (2002) 345

Fig. 3.3.14

014 Bes

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Bes

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Close to the San Vitale / attributed to the Serapeum on the Quirinal

Dimensions:
H. 156

Preservation:
Largely intact

Current location:
Rome, Piazza Vittorio, in front of the Porta Magica

Statue of the Egyptian god Bes. The figure stands on the remains of a small base. A support runs from the base through the buttocks, which presumably should be regarded as a reinforcement of the statue, in view of its function (see below), rather than a back-pillar. A rectangular plinth is sculpted on top of the head. Based on a study of its stylistic and anatomical characteristics, Capriotti Vittozzi concludes that this statue was carved by an Egyptian craftsman, while she believes that its counterpart (*infra*, no. 015) was made by a Roman craftsman.

Visconti, who mistakenly identified the sculptures as the Egyptian god Seth, considers both statues of Bes as modern creations. This thesis has been accepted by subsequent scholars; Rockwell, for instance, concludes on the basis of a technical analysis that these sculptures were likely created between the 16th and 18th centuries. Alternatively, Capriotti Vittozzi considers these statues to date from the Roman Imperial period, and she dates them to the Severan period on iconographical grounds.

The statues were found in 1888 on the slopes of the Quirinal Hill, close to the Church of San Vitale (probably behind the Palazzo delle Esposizioni, between the Via Genova and the Via Milano). Based on the proximity of the findspot to the Serapeum on the Quirinal Hill, Capriotti Vittozzi attributes the Bes sculptures to that sanctuary. Moreover, on the basis of iconographical analogies to depictions on oil lamps and a stela, which portray two Bes-figures as supports of small temples, she forwards the hypothesis that the sculptures with plinths on top originally functioned as architectonic supports of a small sacellum of the Serapeum.

Bibliography:
Visconti (1888) 185-186; Masini – Santangelo Valenzani (1990); Rockwell (1990b); Capriotti Vittozzi (1999a) 159-160 (‘Bes I’); ibid. (2005) 138; ibid. (2013) 117-118

015 Bes

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Bes

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Close to the San Vitale / attributed to the Serapeum on the Quirinal

Dimensions:
H. 125

Preservation:
Preserved from head through knees; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Piazza Vittorio, in front of the Porta Magica

Fig. 3.3.15

Statue of the Egyptian god Bes. The sculpture is typologically similar to its more completely preserved counterpart (*supra*, no. 014). However, whereas that statue is said to be more true to Egyptian iconography, this specimen, with its athletic rendering of the abdomen, would have been carved by a Roman craftsman (Capriotti Vittozzi; differences in workmanship are also noted by Masini and Santangelo Valenzani). For the dating and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 014.

Bibliography:
Visconti (1888) 185-186; Masini – Santangelo Valenzani (1990); Rockwell (1990b); Capriotti Vittozzi (1999a) 160-162 (‘Bes II’); ibid. (2005) 138; ibid. (2013) 117-118

Fig. 3.3.16

016 Nile

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Nile

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via del Piè di Marmo, corner of Via S. Stefano di Cacco) (1513) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
310 x 147 x 162

Preservation:
Small parts of the Nile figure and bodies of the putti are modern restorations

Current location:
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo, inv. 2300

The over-life-size statue depicts a reclining figure of the god Nile, who holds ears of wheat and a cornucopia in his hands. The deity leans with his left arm on a sphinx, and he is surrounded by sixteen putti. Reliefs around the base of the statue depict Nilotic scenes including, among other things, crocodiles, hippopotami, ibises, and barques with pygmies (see Lembke for a detailed description).

The statue has been dated to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD: 1st century AD (Lembke: time of Domitian, on stylistic grounds; Fuchs in Helbig: Flavian period); 2nd century AD (Le Gall, Malaise: time of Hadrian). It was excavated in 1513 in the Via del Piè di Marmo, on the corner of Via S. Stefano di Cacco; Lafaye says that the statue was first discovered in the time of Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459), but that it was reburied again. The statue was on display in the Vatican Belvedere between 1523 and 1797, when it was exported to France, following the treaty of Tolentino. It was brought back to Rome in 1815, and it has since been on display in the rotunda of the Braccia Nuovo (cf. Lembke). Based on its findspot, the statue has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Lanciani (1883) 39-41; Lafaye (1884) 217-218; Le Gall (1953) 3-22; Helbig (1963) 338-339 no. 440 (W. Fuchs); Bonneau (1964) 337-342, and 351; Malaise (1972a) 194 no. 348; Lembke (1994) 214-216 E1

Fig 3.3.17

017 Kneeling statuette

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Dedicant

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Sanctuary Jupiter Dolichenus (1935) / sanctuary Jupiter Dolichenus

Dimensions:
H. 16

Preservation:
The head is missing; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini (?), inv. Ant. Com. 9748

Headless statuette of a kneeling dedicant. The figure holds an offering plate in his hands, a so-called *hetep* (Malaise). The offerings are carved into this plate in low relief, and they include lotus flowers, bread (?), and two water jars.

The statuette has been dated to the Roman Imperial period without further specification. It was found in 1935 in the Dolicheneum to the east of the Church of S. Sabina, close to the Church of S. Alessio. Based on its findspot, the relief has invariably been attributed to the sanctuary for Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine Hill.

Bibliography:
Colini (1935) 151 no. 11; Kan (1943) 105 no. 168; Merlat (1951) 206 no. 212; Bosticco (1952) 32-33 no. 30; Malaise (1972a) 228 no. 414; Roullet (1972) 115 no. 201; Hörig – Schwertheim (1987) 258 no. 396; Sorrenti (1996) 403 no. 50; Versluys (2002) 366

Fig. 3.3.18

018 Kneeling statuette

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Dedicant

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Sanctuary Jupiter Dolichenus (1935) / sanctuary Jupiter Dolichenus

Dimensions:
H. 16

Preservation:
The head and upper body are missing; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. Ant. Com. 9746

The statuette is typologically similar to *supra*, no. 017. The upper part of the kneeling figure is lost. For the dating and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 017.

Bibliography:
Colini (1935) 151 no. 11; Kan (1943) 105 no. 168; Merlat (1951) 206 no. 212; Bosticco (1952) 32-33 no. 30; Malaise (1972a) 228 no. 414; Roullet (1972) 115 no. 201; Hörig – Schwertheim (1987) 258 no. 396; Sorrenti (1996) 402-403 no. 49; Versluys (2002) 366

019 Boy with Horus-lock

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Boy with Horus-lock

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Funerary context on the Via Latina / funerary context

Dimensions:
44 x 34 x 17

Preservation:
Minor damage to dress; the nose is restored. The theme remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 992/S

Fig. 3.3.19

Bust of a boy with a so-called Horus- or youth-lock, a lock of hair that is usually associated with initiates in the cults of Isis (for which see Von Gonzenbach).

The bust has generally been dated to the (mid-)3rd century AD; no explanation is given in support of this dating. It was found in a tomb along the Via Latina, near Tor Fiscale. Based on its findspot, the bust has invariably been attributed to a funerary context. On the basis of the association of Horus-locks with initiates in the cults of Isis, it has generally been assumed that an initiate of Isis would have been buried in this tomb.

Bibliography:
Stuart Jones (1926) 277 no. 32; Von Gonzenbach (1957) 145-146 no. k 13; Helbig (1966) 34 no. 1186 (E. Simon); Malaise (1972a) 233 no. 433; Bricault (2001) 167; Versluys (2002) 372

Fig. 3.3.20

020 Boy with Horus-lock

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Boy with Horus-lock

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via xx Settembre (1872-3) / no context proposed

Dimensions:
H. 18

Preservation:
Minor damage to the head; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 4192

Head of a boy with a so-called Horus- or youth-lock, a lock of hair that is usually associated with initiates in the cults of Isis (see also *supra*, no. 019).

The head has generally been dated to the first quarter of the 3rd century AD on stylistic grounds. It was found in 1872-1873 between the Via xx Settembre and the Via Cernaia, during the construction of the Ministero delle Finanze. No Imperial Roman functional context has been proposed.

Bibliography:
Von Gonzenbach (1957) 140-141 no. k 9; *Iside* (1997) 169 IV.18; Manera – Mazza (2001) 107 no. 75; *Scultura antica in Palazzo Altemps* (2002) 292 (L. Sist Russo); *Palazzo Altemps* (2011) 331 (L. Sist Russo)

Fig. 3.3.21

021 Isis priestess

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Isis priestess

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Tiburtina, Settecamini (1985?) / no context proposed

Dimensions:
H. 185

Preservation:
The surface is eroded, minor parts missing; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, inv. 372547

Over-life-size statue of a veiled woman, who holds a sistrum in her right hand. The statue's irregular appearance in recent inventories of Aegyptiaca presumably relies on the presence of the sistrum, which has generally been considered as an indication that statue portrays an Isis priestess.

No dating is proposed in the consulted literature; according to the museum inventory, the sculpture dates from the 3rd century AD (no explanation is given to support this dating). The statue was probably found in 1985 during rescue excavations in Settecamini, at the intersection of the Via Tiburtina and the Via di Casal Bianco. No Imperial Roman functional context has been proposed.

Bibliography:
Leclant – Clerc (1986) 317-318; Bricault (2001) 167; Malaise (2004a) 29 no. 433f

Fig. 3.3.22

022 Isis priestess

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Isis priestess

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Tripoli (1952) / no context proposed

Dimensions:
H. 66

Preservation:
Lower arms and attribute missing; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 128073

Statuette of a standing female with veiled head. The lower arms and the attribute are missing, but from the irregularities near the woman's lips it is evident that she once held a double flute in her hands. The knotted cloak indicates that the subject matter is a priestess of Isis. The fact that she is playing the double flute has generally been considered as a reference to the festival of Navigium Isidis, which was held in honour of Isis on the 5th of March to mark the start of the seafaring season: this festival included a procession of singers, dancers, and musicians.

The statuette has been dated to the 2nd century AD (Manera – Mazza: Antonine period) on technical and stylistic grounds. It was found in 1952 at the corner of the Via Tripoli and the Via Nomentana. No Imperial Roman functional context has been proposed.

Bibliography:
Tran Tam Tinh (1964) 96-97; Manera – Mazza (2001) 117 no. 86; *Scultura antica in Palazzo Altemps* (2002) 268 (L. Sist Russo); *Palazzo Altemps* (2011) 342 (L. Sist Russo)

Fig. 3.3.23

023 Isis priest

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Isis priest

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Recovered from the Tiber / no context proposed

Dimensions:
H. 33

Preservation:
The head is nearly intact

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo, inv. 1184

Life-size head of a man with a shaved head and a vertical scar on his forehead. The shaved head and the vertical scar are usually considered as indications that the head represents a priest of Isis (Nista, Manera – Mazza). This is based on a passage in Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris* 4 (*Moralia* 352c), and analogies with depictions of Egyptian priests in other media, like the painting of a lamp-bearing priest from the Iseum at Pompeii (Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, inv. 8969: *Cleopatra of Egypt* 2001, 324 no. 342). However, although the shaved head emerges as a characteristic of Egyptian priests from both written and material sources, the vertical scar is neither referred to by Plutarch nor attested in the cited visual media.

The head has generally been dated between the late 1st century BC/early 1st century AD and the late 1st/early 2nd century AD (Flavian-Trajanic reign) on the basis of typology and stylistic grounds. It was recovered from the Tiber; no Imperial Roman functional context has been proposed.

Bibliography:
Cleopatra of Egypt (2001) 329 no. 348 (L. Nista); Manera – Mazza (2001) 55 no. 13; Versluys (2002) 371

Fig. 3.3.24

024 Isis priest(-ess)/Sabina

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual-naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Isis priest(-ess) / Sabina Augusta?

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Close to the Villa Mattei/Santa Maria in Domnica / Iseum Metellinum

Dimensions:
H. 185

Preservation:
Intact, head with *nemes* and water-jar are modern restorations

Current location:
Liverpool, World Museum, inv. 1959.148.54

The subject matter of the life-size statue is contested. In the literature on Aegyptiaca Romana, the statue has invariably been designated as an Egyptian priestess with a hydria in her hands (Lafaye, Malaise, Bricault, and Versluys). The statue is also discussed in several other works, not mentioned in the above-mentioned studies, where other interpretations have been forwarded. In the late 18th century, the subject matter was identified as Sabina Augusta, emperor Hadrian's wife (Venuti – Amaduzzi; the print on pl. 87 shows the statue with a female head). Several authors have subsequently argued that the head and the water jar are modern restorations. In 1882 Michaelis said that "when in the Villa Mattei the upper part of the body was still without any Egyptian attributes and without the vase, both hands were crossed before the paunch. Hence Winckelmann following the prevalent opinion of his time took the statue for a "woman far advanced in pregnancy, probably a patroness of women in pregnancy and child-birth", and assigned it to the oldest Etruscan style […] But the head was modern, the body is decidedly male, and there was a hollow for the vase made in the front of the paunch. Consequently the statue was restored afresh for Blundell under the advice of E.Q. Visconti, founded on a relief and a painting". This interpretation was later followed by Ashmole and, most recently, by Bartman.

Bricault dates the statue to the Roman Imperial period. It was allegedly found in the vicinity of the Villa Mattei, close to the Santa Maria in Domnica. It remained in the Villa Mattei until it was acquired by Henry Blundell in the early 19th century (?) and transferred to the Ince Blundell Hall in England. It has been in the World Museum in Liverpool since the late 1950s. On the basis of its findspot, the statue has invariably been attributed to the so-called Iseum Metellinum in the literature on Aegyptiaca Romana.

Bibliography:
Venuti – Amaduzzi (1779) 86-87, and pl. 87 (reconstruction as Sabina Augusta); *Engravings* (1809) 13; De Clarac (1826-1853) vol. V, no. 2588B; Michaelis (1882) 355 no. 55; Lafaye (1884) 201; Ashmole (1929) 29 no. 54; Malaise (1972a) 167 no. 307; Bricault (2001) 164; Versluys (2002) 336; Bartman (2011) 173-174

Fig. 3.3.25

025 Isis/Isis priestess

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Isis / Isis priestess?

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Close to the Villa Mattei/Santa Maria in Domnica / Iseum Metellinum

Dimensions:
121 (incl. modern plinth) x 30 x 28

Preservation:
Nearly intact. The head and arms are modern; ancient plinth is let into modern one

Current location:
Liverpool, World Museum, inv. 1959.148.55

Under-life-size statue of standing female figure in contrapposto stance. In the absence of the original head and attributes, the association with Isis relies on the knotted costume (for the costume of Isis see Walters 1988 and Eingartner 1991). However, the exact interpretation of the statue is debated. It has been variously thought to represent the goddess Isis and a priestess of Isis.

The dating of the statue is disputed. Ashmole dates it to the 2nd century AD (probably reign of Hadrian), while Eingartner proposes a date in the early 3rd century AD (210-230 AD); no explanations are given in support of these datings. It was allegedly found in the vicinity of the Villa Mattei, close to the Santa Maria in Domnica. The statue remained in the Villa Mattei until it was acquired by Henry Blundell in the early 19th century (?) and transferred to the Ince Blundell Hall in England. In the late 1950s (presumably 1959, based on its current inventory number) it entered the collection of the World Museum in Liverpool. On the basis of its findspot, the statue has invariably been attributed to the so-called Iseum Metellinum.

Bibliography:
Account (1803) 20 no. 27, and 294 no. 8; *Engravings* (1809) pl. 21; De Clarac (1826-1853) vol. V, 290 no. 2574D; Michaelis (1882) 355 no. 55; Lafaye (1884) 201; Reinach (1906) 612; Ashmole (1929) 29 no. 55; Malaise (1972a) 167 no. 306; Eingartner (1991) 122 no. 34; Bricault (2001) 164; Versluys (2002) 336

Fig. 3.3.26

026 Isis/Isis priestess/queen

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Isis / Isis priestess / Egyptian queen?

Date:
Hellenistic / Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Domus Augustana (1920s?) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
H. 8

Preservation:
Fragmentarily preserved; original subject matter partly recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Palatino, inv. 475905 (12501)

The identification of the under-life-size head is debated. It has been variously thought to represent the goddess Isis, a priestess of Isis, and a (Ptolemaic) royal person in the guise of Isis (Cleopatra VII?). The association with Isis relies on the headdress, which would have been decorated with a uraeus according to some authors, while others think it is some kind of emblem.

The dating of the sculpture fragment is contested. Some authors date it to the Hellenistic period (Roullet; Bartoli and Botti with reservation; cf. *infra*, 313-315 n. 366), although Roman Imperial datings prevail. Tomei believes that the head dates from the Augustan period on stylistic grounds; this date is accepted in the recent catalogue entry by Caso. It was probably found in the Domus Augustana in the 1920s (for the excavation history see Müskens). The head has been attributed to various contexts. Several authors connect it to an Egyptian sanctuary in the Domus Flavia (e.g., Malaise and Bricault), while Roullet believes it belonged to an Egyptianising building in the Domus Flavia, perhaps the Hermaeum. For a critical deconstruction of all previous hypotheses see Müskens.

Bibliography:
Bartoli – Botti (1957) 43-44 no. 4; Malaise (1972a) 220 no. 399; Roullet (1972) 48 n. 1; Tomei (1997) 120-121 no. 96; Bricault (2001) 166; Müskens (2014a) 113 no. 3; *Museo Palatino* (2014) 276 no. 93 (M. Caso)

Fig. 3.3.27

027 Isis/Egyptian queen

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Isis / Egyptian queen?

Date:
Ptolemaic/Hellenistic

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Labicana, in the vigna Reinach (1887) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
H. 40

Preservation:
The head (of a composite statue?) is nearly intact; the crown has been lost

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 1154/S

Life-size female head with a tripartite wig and vulture headdress; the head of the vulture has been lost. The roughly worked lower part of the neck has been taken as an indication that the head was originally part of a full-body statue. A depression on top of the head indicates that a crown (undetermined character) was originally present. The subject matter of the head is debated. Some authors identify the woman as the goddess Isis, while others think that she represents a Ptolemaic queen who wanted to identify herself with the goddess (Berenike II or Cleopatra VII?).

The head has been variously dated to the 3rd, 2nd, and 1st centuries BC on stylistic and iconographic (physiognomic?) criteria. It has generally been considered to be of Alexandrian workmanship, and is thought to have been manufactured in either Alexandria or Rome. The head was found in 1887 in the vigna Reinach on the Via Labicana; it was rebuilt into a 'statue wall', and therefore evidently not *in situ* (cf. Ashton in *Cleopatra of Egypt*, Coates-Stephens 2001, 237). For the contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 005.

Bibliography:
Stuart Jones (1926) 63; Malaise (1972a) 173 no. 315d; Roullet (1972) 109 no. 182; De Vos (1997) 124; *Iside* (1997) 396-397 V.15 (S. Ensoli); Ashton (2001) 118 no. 70; *Cleopatra of Egypt* (2001) 217 no. 194 (S.-A. Ashton); Bricault (2001) 164; Versluys (2002) 340; *Ägypten Griechenland Rom* (2005) 624-625 no. 206 (A. Krug); Tyldesley (2009) 68-69

Fig. 3.3.28

028 'Venus Esquilina'

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Cleopatra / (Drusilla)Isis-Aphrodite / Venus?

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Ugo Foscolo (1874) / Horti Lamiani

Dimensions:
H. 155

Preservation:
Except for the arms the statue is nearly intact

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 1141/S

The statue portrays a nude woman, perhaps in preparation for a bath. This may be suggested by the woman's nudity and the towel, which hangs from the support that stands next to her. The arms are lost, but the remaining fingers of the left hand suggest that the woman is shown while tying her hair back. A part of the support is carved in the form of a vase; a snake winds around it. The identification of the statue's subject matter is heavily debated. The statue was first published by Visconti, who believed that it represented the goddess Venus. This identification has ensured the name by which the statue has since been generally known. Glori first suggested Cleopatra VII; this identification was particularly revived in recent years (e.g., Andreae, Moreno). According to another opinion (followed, for instance, by Malaise), the woman would be Isis-Aphrodite, or Drusilla-Isis-Aphrodite as Köberlein suggested.

The statue has generally been dated to the Imperial Roman period on stylistic grounds. Malaise and Bricault suggest a (mid-)2nd century AD date, while an earlier dating is proposed in more recent studies (e.g., Moreno: early Imperial period; Balch: reign of Claudius). It was found in 1874 in the Via Ugo Foscolo on the Esquiline Hill in an underground room with other statues, which is thought to have belonged to a villa in the Horti Lamiani.

Bibliography:
Visconti (1875); Glori (1955); Köberlein (1962) 29-31; Malaise (1972a) 179-180 no. 333; Andreae (1998) 245-250; Bricault (2001) 164; Higgs (2001) 208-209; Versluys (2002) 347-348; Andreae (2006a); Weill Goudchaux (2006); Moreno (2009); Balch (2015) 358

Fig. 3.3.29

029 Harpocrates?

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Harpocrates?

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Giovanni Lanza (1885) / lararium Late Classical domus

Dimensions:
H. 25

Preservation:
The upper part is missing; the subject matter cannot be identified with certainty

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 1671/S

The small statuette of a squatting figure has been preserved until its waist. The identification of the subject matter is problematic as a result of its fragmentary preservation. It is usually thought to represent Harpocrates because of the preserved iconographical (squatting) scheme – an identification which is presumably strengthened by the fact that it was found together with other objects that we call Aegyptiaca. However, since conclusive iconographic details are lost (such as an index finger pointing to the lips), this identification is generally made with reservations.

The statuette has been dated on typological grounds to the second half of the 2nd century AD (e.g., Ensoli Vittozzi, Del Moro). For the findspot and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 003.

Bibliography:
Visconti (1885) 35 no. 13; Malaise (1972a) 177 no. 325; Ensoli Vittozzi (1993) 226 no. 5; Leclant – Clerc (1996) 354 n. 49; *Aurea Roma* (2000) 521 no. 155 (M.P. Del Moro); Bricault (2001) 165; Versluys (2002) 346

030 Harpocrates?

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Harpocrates / Eros / musician / child?

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Underneath Domus Flavia (1950) / attributed to an Egyptian shrine in the Domus Flavia

Dimensions:
H. 18

Preservation:
Head of a larger statue; the theme is not well recognisable because of its preservation

Current location:
Rome, Museo Palatino, inv. 475880 (12466)

Fig. 3.3.30

Head of a young boy. Traces of red and yellow pigment are visible on the hair and hair-band, respectively. The subject matter of the head is disputed. The various opinions result from different identifications of the damaged portion of stone between the lips of the young boy. In most studies on Aegyptiaca Romana the head is identified as that of the child-god Harpocrates. This identification relies on the reconstruction of an index finger that points to the lips, which is usually associated with the Egyptian god. This possibility is not entirely rejected by other authors, but they present additional identifications: Carettoni and Malaise, for instance, consider the possibility that the head could belong to Eros or a musician, while Kenner thinks the head belongs to a laughing child.

The head has generally been dated to the (mid-)2nd century AD on stylistic grounds. It was found in 1950 underneath the remains of the Domus Flavia, in the south-western section near the Casina degli Zuccari. When found, the head was put together with other sculptural fragments on a base of brickwork, perhaps as a result of an earlier research campaign in the area; it was evidently not *in situ*. The head has generally been attributed to a supposed Egyptian shrine in the Domus Flavia (e.g., Malaise, Bricault, and Versluys); this hypothesis is questioned by Müskens.

Bibliography:
Carettoni (1950) 68-69; ibid. (1951) 165-166; Kenner (1960) 91 n. 470; Helbig (1966) 879-880 no. 2099 (K. Parlasca); Malaise (1972a) 220 no. 401; Tomei (1997) 117 n. 90; Bricault (2001) 166; Müskens (2014a) 115 no. 13; *Museo Palatino* (2014) 270 no. 87 (M. Caso)

Fig. 3.3.31

031 Horus/falcon

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Horus / falcon?

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Vicus Caprarius (1999-2001) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
H. 35 (estimation, no data)

Preservation:
Some parts are missing; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Area Archeologica del Vicus Caprarius, without inv. number

The subject matter of the statuette has been variably identified as a falcon and as the Egyptian god Horus in falcon form.

Insalaco dates the statuette to the late 2nd/early 3rd century AD (Severan period) on the basis of its presumed belonging to, and hence contemporaneity with, the Serapeum on the Quirinal Hill. It was found during reconstruction work of the Cinema Trevi between 1999 and 2001, in the archaeological area known as the Vicus Caprarius. Based on the proximity of the findspot to the Serapeum and the presumed religious character of the statuette, it has been attributed to that sanctuary. In addition, Capriotti Vittozzi takes its modest dimensions as an indication that it could have belonged to a private cult place.

Bibliography:
Insalaco (2002) 41; Capriotti Vittozzi (2013) 128 and 144

032 Pharaoh/sphinx

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Pharaoh / sphinx?

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Labicana (1875) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
H. 24

Preservation:
Head of a larger statue preserved; nose missing (antique restoration?)

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 23/S

Fig. 3.3.32

The head wears a *nemes*-headdress with a uraeus, traces of which remain. The nose has been lost. The hole for the insertion of a pin that would have joined two pieces together has been taken as an indication of its antique restoration. Thanks to its fragmentary preservation the subject matter is debated. Some authors identify the head as a fragment of a pharaoh statue, while others reconstruct the original theme as a sphinx. The latter reconstruction is based on the specific form of the *nemes*' back, which continues in a horizontal plane. This is a common feature of lying sphinxes, as opposed to standing figures where this horizontal continuation is not present.

The head has invariably been dated to the Roman Imperial period. More specifically, Ensoli proposes a 1st century AD date on the basis of iconographical and stylistic features, like the execution of the eyeballs (Ensoli in *Iside*). It was found in 1875 on the Via Labicana. For the contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 005.

Bibliography:
Lafaye (1884) 208 with n. 2; Stuart Jones (1912) 358 no. 7; Bosticco (1952) 24 no. 2; Malaise (1972a) 173 no. 316; Roullet (1972) 103 no. 155; *Iside* (1997) 399 V.17 (S. Ensoli); Bricault (2001) 164; Versluys (2002) 339 with n. 463

Fig. 3.3.33

033 Geb

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Geb

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Between Via degli Astalli and Via di San Marco (1910) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
58 x 25 x 8

Preservation:
A fragment of a larger relief is preserved; the subject matter is well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, inv. 3283

The fragment is part of a larger relief scene. It shows a male figure seated on the remains of a throne. The identification of the figure with the Egyptian god Geb relies on the crown, which consists of the red crown of Upper Egypt and an *atef*-crown.

The relief has been dated to the late 1st century AD (reign of Domitian) on stylistic grounds. It was found in 1910 during the reconstruction of the Palazzetto Venezia, between Palazzo Venezia, Via degli Astalli and Via di San Marco; the character of the Roman Imperial building in which it was found is not clear. On the basis of its findspot and presumed religious character, Capriotti Vittozzi attributes the relief to a nearby Egyptian sanctuary – the Iseum Campense or the presumed temple of Isis Capitolina.

Bibliography:
Capriotti Vittozzi (2005); ibid. (2013) 117, and 129

Fig. 3.3.34

034 Isis *pelagia*?

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Isis *pelagia*?

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Near the Theatre of Marcellus / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
72 x 53 x 7

Preservation:
Fragment of a larger relief; the subject matter can hardly be identified with certainty

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 2448/S

The fragment is part of a larger relief scene. It shows the upper part of a female figure that turns her head backwards, and the extremities of two millet stalks. The knotted costume and the cobra snake on the diadem have led to the generally accepted identification of the female figure as the goddess Isis, but the fragmentary preservation of the relief poses limitations to the exact interpretation of the iconographical scheme. Based on the presence of the millet stalks and the find of a dedication to Isis *frugifera* in the proximity of this relief fragment's findspot (see below), some authors believe that Isis *frugifera* is depicted (Ensoli). Other interpretations include Isis-Demeter, either shown standing upright with a torch in her right hand, an ear of corn in her left and a modius on the head (Lipka), or holding the reins of a chariot (La Rocca), and Isis *pelagia*, striding to the right, holding an extended sail in both hands and with one foot (Bricault).

The relief has been dated to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD (Ensoli: Julio-Claudian period on stylistic and iconographical grounds; mid-2nd century AD/Antonine period?: Malaise, Parlasca; 1st-2nd century AD copy of a 2nd century BC original: Bricault). It was found in the vicinity of the Theatre of Marcellus. Based on its presumed religious character, the relief has been attributed to an Isis sanctuary; since it was found close to the Capitol, several authors have tentatively connected it to the so-called temple of Isis Capitolina (Parlasca, Malaise, Ensoli, and Bricault). La Rocca attributes the relief to Claudius' triumphal arch in the Via Lata.

Bibliography:
Parlasca (1964); Malaise (1972a) 214 no. 392; Coarelli (1982) 64; La Rocca (1994) 271-272; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 78; *Iside* (1997) 400-402 V.19 (S. Ensoli); Versluys (2002) 352; Bricault (2006) 98-99; Lipka (2009) 92; *LIMC*, s.v. Isis 769 no. 93

035 Jupiter-Ammon

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Jupiter-Ammon

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Forum of Augustus / portico of the Forum of Augustus

Dimensions:
62 x 32 (diam. x thickness), inv. 2513

Preservation:
Fragmentarily preserved; the theme remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Mercati di Traiano, inv. 2513, 3201, 4673

Fig. 3.3.35

Clipei (circular forms that evoke shields, so-called imagines clipeatae) with male heads in their centre. Based on the presence of rams-horns, the subject matters have generally been identified as depictions of the god Jupiter-Ammon. This identification has ensured the occasional appearance of these clipei in overviews of Aegyptiaca. One head has been preserved nearly intact (inv. 2513); fragments of at least two other heads show that there were several identical clipei (inv. 3201, 4673).

The heads have been variously dated to the Augustan and Hadrianic periods, namely, either contemporaneously with the construction of Augustus' Forum, or with its restorations during the reign of Hadrian (see, e.g., Van Aerde and Leclant and Clerc in *LIMC*, respectively). They were found during the excavations of the Forum of Augustus and are believed to have decorated the attic of the portico of the Forum of Augustus (see the reconstruction in Ungaro 2007a, 120-121, fig. 144). The images of Jupiter-Ammon, set on shields in square panels, are thought to have recalled the Roman tradition of ancestral heads on shields, while the image of Jupiter-Ammon has been understood as a reference to Egypt and, more specifically, Alexander the Great, since Alexander was told of his divinity at the shrine of Ammon in Siwa. Through the images of Jupiter-Ammon on his Forum, Augustus would present himself as the new Alexander (Galinsky). Alternatively, La Rocca (in *Il foro di Augusto*) believes that the heads of Jupiter-Ammon had an apotropaic function, and suggests that the shields of the portico of Augustus' Forum alternately showed images of Jupiter-Ammon and Medusa, similar to examples from the provinces.

Bibliography:
Ricci (1930) 23; *Il foro di Augusto* (1995) 42-47 no. 12-13 (E. La Rocca); Galinsky (1996) 207-208; Ungaro (2007b) 152-157; Van Aerde (2015) 274-277; *LIMC* I, s.v. Ammon 672-673 no. 38 (J. Leclant and G. Clerc)

Fig. 3.3.36

036 Pharaoh

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Pharaoh

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Borgo Santo Spirito (1925) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
63 x 67 x 8

Preservation:
A fragment of a larger relief is preserved; the subject matter is only partly recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 106548

The relief is a fragment of an originally larger scene. It shows a part of a pharaoh figure with what may the remains of a *nemes*-headdress (?) from which a cobra emerges. The subject matter is generally believed to represent a Roman emperor in the guise of a pharaoh; no attempts have been made to identify a particular emperor.

The relief is dated to the Roman Imperial period without further specification. It was found in 1925 near villa Cecchini, between Borgo Santo Spirito and the Via dei Penitenzieri. Based on its large dimensions, the relief is generally considered to have functioned in an important context. On the basis of its findspot and presumed Egyptian character, Sist Russo connects the relief to the Ager Vaticanus, perhaps the Circus of Caligula where the Vatican obelisk was erected (see *infra*, no. 088), or the Phrygian sanctuary known as Phrygianum.

Bibliography:
Manera – Mazza (2001) 111 no. 80; *Scultura antica in Palazzo Altemps* (2002) 287 (L. Sist Russo); *Palazzo Altemps* (2014) 309 (L. Sist Russo)

037 Pharaoh?

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Pharaoh?

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Due Macelli (1880) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
43 x 43 x 17

Preservation:
A fragment of a larger relief is preserved; the subject matter is only partly recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Egizio, inv. 22850

Fig. 3.3.37

The relief is a fragment of an originally larger scene. It shows a part of an enthroned male figure, perhaps a pharaoh or a god. The decoration of the throne presumably shows the remains of a *sema-tawy* motif symbolising the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt (remains of papyrus plants on top of the god Hapy's head, and the upper part of the trachea entwined with the remains of either papyrus or lily plants).

The relief fragment has been dated to the Roman Imperial period; no further specification is given. It was found in 1880 in the remains of a small church on the Via Due Macelli (in the foundations of Villa Ruspoli). When found it was re-cut into a Ionic capital. Based on the presumed proximity of its findspot to the Quirinal, Malaise tentatively associates the relief with the Serapeum on the Quirinal Hill. Alternatively, Grenier connects the relief-block to two similar relief fragments from the Vatican Museum that depict the Egyptian god Thoth, and which according to him would have belonged to the decoration of the temple of Thoth-Hermes that was erected by Marcus Aurelius (for which see Capriotti Vittozzi 2013, 129-130 with relevant bibliography).

Bibliography:
Botti – Romanelli (1951) 122 no. 198; Malaise (1972a) 184 no. 339; Roullet (1972) 63 no. 42; Grenier (1994) 674

Fig. 3.3.38

038 Pharaoh?

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual?

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Pharaoh?

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
South of the Via del Seminario (1991-1993) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
H. 30

Preservation:
The relief is too fragmented to identify the subject matter with certainty

Current location:
Unknown (Alfano: Camera dei Deputati)

Relief fragment that depicts the lower part of a male figure in profile, perhaps a pharaoh (like no. 037?).

Alfano tentatively dates the relief fragment to the late 1st century BC/early 1st century AD on stylistic grounds. It was found between 1991 and 1993 during reconstruction work of the so-called Insula Domenicana, just south of the Via del Seminario, in the Large Courtyard of the former Dominican convent. On the basis of its findspot, it has been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Alfano (1998) 204-205

Fig. 3.3.39

039 Isis priestess Galatea

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Isis priestess

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Close to the Villa Mattei/Santa Maria in Domnica / Iseum Metellinum

Dimensions:
170 x 126 x 20

Preservation:
The main scene is overall well preserved; the frame with inscription is damaged

Current location:
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Clementino, Loggia Scoperta, inv. 840

Funerary relief of Galatea, who is represented in the guise of an Isis priestess as attested by the fringed veil and narrow stole, the situla in her left hand, and the crescent moon with lotus that she wears on the head (see Walters on this emblem in general). A bearded man on the right burns incense on a thymaterion in honour of the deceased; some authors believe that this man is an Isis priest (Malaise, Bricault, and Versluys). For the fragmentarily preserved Latin inscription see Malaise.

The relief has generally been dated to the mid-2nd century AD (early Antonine period) or slightly earlier (130-140 AD, on the basis of the hairstyle). It was allegedly found in the vicinity of the Villa Mattei, close to the Santa Maria in Domnica. On the basis of its findspot, the relief has been attributed to the so-called Iseum Metellinum, at least in studies on Aegyptiaca in the Roman world. However, this is presumably a private funerary relief, which, therefore, is not likely to have functioned in a sacral context.

Bibliography:
Lafaye (1884) 299 no. 115; Malaise (1972a) 143 no. 107 = 168 no. 309; Walters (1988) 54; Eingartner (1991) 163-164 no. 135; Bricault (2001) 164; Versluys (2002) 336

040 Winged scarab

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Winged scarab

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via dei Fori Imperiali (ca. 1930) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
59 x 83 x 16

Preservation:
One block of a larger scene is preserved; a part of the block is missing

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 22/S

Fig. 3.3.40

The block is a fragment of an originally larger scene. It depicts an image of a winged scarab carved in relief.

The white marble from which the relief-block is carved has been erroneously characterised as yellow limestone in the older literature (Bosticco, Malaise, and Roullet). Ensoli Vittozzi dates the relief to the 1st century AD or slightly later on stylistic grounds. It was found around 1930, during excavations of the Imperial Fora for the construction of the Via dei Fori Imperiali; De Vos says that it was found in a building where it was reused as building material. Based on its findspot and presumed religious character, Malaise attributes the relief to the so-called temple of Isis Capitolina or the Iseum and Serapeum in Regio III; Roullet suggests that it could have belonged to the supposed Isiac shrine in the Domus Flavia (for which see Müskens); Ensoli believes that the block belongs to the soffit of a wall decoration in a monumental building on the Fori Imperiali (Templum Pacis or Forum of Augustus).

Bibliography:
Bosticco (1952) 27; Malaise (1972a) 177-178 no. 329; Roullet (1972) 62 no. 40; Ensoli Vittozzi (1990) 50-51 no. 10; De Vos (1997) 133; Ensoli (1997) 313; *Musei Capitolini* (2010) 90-91 no. 8 (N. Agnoli); Müskens (2014a) 109-110, 114 no. 11

041 Relief with Isis and Sarapis

Fig. 3.3.41

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Votive scene

Date:
Hellenistic / Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Sanctuary Jupiter Dolichenus (1935) / sanctuary Jupiter Dolichenus

Dimensions:
66 x 133

Preservation:
Nearly intact

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. Ant. Com. 9747

Votive relief dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus, Iuno Dolichena, and Isis and Sarapis. Jupiter Dolichenus and Iuno Dolichena stand on a bull and horse, respectively. A burning altar is shown between them; above the altar, on the outstretched wings of an eagle, are busts of Sarapis and Isis. The Egyptian deities are recognisable by the modius and basileion on their heads. Busts of the Dioscuri are depicted in the left and right corners of the relief (for an elaborate description see Hörig – Schwertheim). See *RICIS* 501/0128 for the Latin inscription.

The relief has generally been dated to the (second half of the) 2nd century AD; however, Roullet believes that the relief dates from the Hellenistic period (cf. *infra*, 313-315 n. 366). It was found in 1935 in the Dolicheneum to the east of the Church of S. Sabina, close to the Church of S. Alessio. Based on its findspot, the relief has invariably been attributed to the sanctuary for Jupiter Dolichenus on the Aventine Hill.

Bibliography:
Colini (1935) 152 no. 16; Kan (1943) 107 no. 174; Merlat (1951) 166-168 no. 185; Malaise (1972a) 141 no. 101 = 228 no. 412; Roullet (1972) 40; Hornbostel (1973) 225; Kater-Sibbes (1973) 123-124 no. 664; Hörig – Schwertheim (1987) 230-232 no. 365; Sorrenti (1996) 379-380 no. 9; Bricault (2001) 167; Versluys (2002) 366; *LIMC*, s.v. Isis 776 no. 206

042 Relief with Isis and Sarapis

Fig. 3.3.42

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Votive scene

Date:
Hellenistic / Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Sanctuary Jupiter Dolichenus (1935) / sanctuary Jupiter Dolichenus

Dimensions:
56 x 58

Preservation:
Nearly intact

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. Ant. Com. 9750

Votive relief dedicated by P. Egnatius Fructus with images of Jupiter Dolichenus and Iuno Dolichena standing on a bull and a doe/heifer (?) respectively, plus Sol and Luna, and the Dioscuri. Sarapis and Isis stand in the centre of the lower part and wear a modius and basileion on their heads, respectively. Colini believes that the small holes along the edges served for the attachment of stars or sunrays to underline the astrological meaning of the relief (see Tran Tam Tinh for a detailed description). See *RICIS* 501/0129 for the Latin inscription.

The relief has generally been dated to the (early to mid-)3rd century AD on stylistic grounds; however, Roullet believes that the relief is of Hellenistic age (cf. *infra*, 313-315 n. 366). For the findspot and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 041.

Bibliography:
Colini (1935) 152 no. 17; Kan (1943) 107-108 no. 175; Merlat (1951) 202-205 no. 206; Malaise (1972a) 141 no. 102 = 228 no. 412; Roullet (1972) 40; Hornbostel (1973) 307; Kater-Sibbes (1973) 124 no. 665; Tran Tam Tinh (1983) 174-175 no. IVB 1; Hörig – Schwertheim (1987) 253-254 no. 386; Sorrenti (1996) 387-388 no. 17; Bricault (2001) 166; Versluys (2002) 366; *LIMC*, s.v. Isis 776 no. 207

a *b*

Fig. 3.3.43a-b

043 Two relief fragments

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Offering scene

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Underneath S. Giovanni in Laterano (1876) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
113 x 48 x 17 / 96 x 50 x 16

Preservation:
The fragments are too fragmented to identify the subject matters with certainty

Current location:
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Magazzino ex Ponteggi (deposito), inv. 22845-22846

The two fragments are part of a larger relief scene. One fragment shows the remains of an offering scene (?): a deity, generally identified as Isis, addresses a bovine figure which has been variably interpreted as Hathor and Apis. These two figures are separated by plants, which have generally been identified as stems of papyrus plants. The other fragment depicts a part of what has generally been identified as an Egyptian temple, but what may rather be a shrine on a pedestal.

The relief fragments have been dated to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD (Flavian period: Spinola, on stylistic grounds; first half 2nd century AD/Hadrianic reign: Malaise; second half 2nd century AD: Kater-Sibbes). It is generally assumed that they were found in 1876 in a house of the clergy of the San Giovanni in Laterano, near the Church of SS. Marcellino e Pietro. However, Spinola recently corrected this information and argued that the fragments were found in 1876 underneath the San Giovanni in Laterano during the construction of the new apse of Vespignani, after which they were exhibited in the house of the clergy of San Giovanni in Laterano. They were donated in 1912 to the Vatican Museum. For the contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 005. Spinola notes that the relief slabs show signs of reuse and that their findspot is therefore not necessarily similar to their original functional context.

Bibliography:
Schneider Graziosi (1916); Botti – Romanelli (1951) 120-121 no. 193-194; Malaise (1972a) 173-174 no. 317; Roullet (1972) 62 no. 35-36; Kater-Sibbes (1975) vol. II, 11 no. 280; *Iside* (1997) 405 V.22-23 (A. Amenta) (descriptions and illustrations reversed); Bricault (2001) 164; Spinola (2001) 92-95, and 98-99; Versluys (2002) 339-340

044 Relief with Egyptian gods

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Composition (unspecified)

Date:
Ptolemaic/Hellenistic / Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via della Conciliazione (1941) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
79 x 126 x 30

Preservation:
Minor parts of the relief are missing; the themes remain well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 2425/S

Fig. 3.3.44

Relief showing various Egyptian gods and a priest. In the centre, the enthroned figure of Sarapis of the so-called Bryaxis-type can be observed. A three-headed dog sits to his right, and Harpocrates stands to his left with a cornucopia in his hands and an index finger pointed to his mouth. This central scene is flanked by the figures of two standing female goddesses, who have generally been identified as Isis-Demeter (to the right) and Isis-Persephone (to the left); the headless male body of a priest/dedicant (?) stands to the right of Isis-Demeter. Snakes decorate the side panels of the relief (for an elaborate description see Ensoli in *Iside*).

The dating of the relief is disputed. Some authors believe that it dates from the Ptolemaic/Hellenistic period (2nd century BC) (e.g., Malaise, *Le antichità egiziane*; cf. *infra*, 313-315 n. 366), others favour a Roman Imperial dating (2nd century AD) on stylistic grounds. Because of the syncretistic forms of Isis on the relief an Alexandrian background or production is usually presumed (e.g., Malaise, Ensoli; cf. Versluys).

It was found in 1941 in the Via della Conciliazione, close to the Piazza Pia. The relief has been attributed to various contexts. Based on its presumed religious character, Malaise reconstructs an Egyptian temple or sacellum in Regio XIV, the region where the relief was excavated; this hypothesis found some acceptance in subsequent studies (e.g., Coarelli, *Le antichità egiziane*). Taking the proximity of the findspot to the Vatican necropolis into account, and considering the fact that some tombs in that cemetery contained wall paintings with Egyptian themes, Ensoli (in *Iside*) proposes a funerary context for the relief and presumes that it most likely belonged to an Egyptian priest.

Bibliography:
Parlasca (1964) 203 n. 42; Helbig (1966) 33-34 no. 1185 (E. Simon); Malaise (1972a) 229-230 no. 420; Hornbostel (1973) 229-230; Kater-Sibbes (1973) 119 no. 644; Malaise (1978) 647 no. 394; Coarelli (1982) 65; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 78; *Iside* (1997) 403 no. V.20 (S. Ensoli); Bongrani *et al*. (1998) 566; *Aurea Roma* (2000) 516-517 no. 144 (S. Ensoli); Versluys (2002) 352, and 368; *LIMC*, s.v. Harpokrates 441 no. 396, s.v. Isis 781 no. 262

a

b

c

045 Relief with Egyptian crowns

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Composition (unspecified)

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Eastern slope of the Palatine Hill (1936-37) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
146 x 25 x 8

Preservation:
The upper part of a larger relief is preserved; the themes are only partially recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Palatino, inv. 12500

Fig. 3.3.45a-c

The upper part of an originally larger relief is preserved in two fragments and shows remains of various Egyptian crowns and hieroglyphic signs. Malaise asserts that these hieroglyphs approximate the name of Ptah, a reading that is not accepted by Prof. Kaper (pers. comm.). Based on the crowns and hieroglyphs, some authors believe that the relief scene would have originally depicted, among other things, Ptah, Isis and Harpocrates.

The relief fragments are dated to the Flavian period (reign of Domitian) by Bartoli and Botti on stylistic grounds. They were found in 1936-37 on the eastern slope of the Palatine Hill, near the gardens of S. Bonaventura. When found the fragments were reused as steps, which may have belonged to a nymphaeum that dates to the early 4th century AD (cf. Müskens). For the contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 026.

Bibliography:
Bartoli – Botti (1957) 18-19, 38-40 no. 2, and 43; Helbig (1966) 864-865 no. 2081 (K. Parlasca); Malaise (1972a) 219-220 no. 397; Roullet (1972) 62 no. 38; Bricault (2001) 166; Versluys (2002) 361; Müskens (2014a) 114 no. 12

Fig. 3.3.46

046 Relief fragments

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Composition (unspecified)

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Peristyle courtyard Domus Flavia (1912) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
120 x 90 x 4

Preservation:
Several fragments of a larger relief are preserved

Current location:
Rome, Museo Palatino, inv. 12502

Several fragments of an originally larger relief have been preserved. The lowest of two registers shows two seated gods facing left with wigs on their heads (according to Malaise these are *nemes*-headdresses), which are crowned by solar discs and uraeus snakes. They hold *was*-sceptres in their hands, and they are seated on so-called *nb*-baskets. The preserved parts of the upper register show three (Malaise: four; these are not specified) hieroglyphic signs, which have generally been identified as imitation hieroglyphs (e.g., Parlasca in Helbig). These are, from left to right: the remains of a *mś*-hieroglyph, a bird, and a serpent (Parlasca). A seated figure with an attribute in its hands is depicted on the reverse of the relief fragments; it was either carved away, as Parlasca suggests, or it was left in an initial stage of the carving process.

The relief fragments are dated to the Flavian period (reign of Domitian) on stylistic grounds by Bartoli and Botti. They were excavated in 1912 in the drainage system in the north-western part of the large water basin in the peristyle courtyard of the Domus Flavia; they were evidently not found *in situ*. The fragments have been attributed to various contexts. The excavator of the fragments, Boni, believed that the plates once decorated an Egyptian honorary monument in the peristyle courtyard of the Domus Flavia, which would date from the reign of emperor Hadrian. Subsequent authors have attributed the relief fragments to an Egyptian shrine in the Domus Flavia (e.g., Malaise, Bricault, and Versluys). Roullet connects the fragments to an Egyptianising building in the Domus Flavia, perhaps the Hermaeum known from a passage from Suetonius (for a critical deconstruction of all previous hypotheses see Müskens).

Bibliography:
Marella Vianello (1947) 6; Bartoli – Botti (1957) 18, 36-38 no. 1, and 43; Helbig (1966) 864 no. 2080 (K. Parlasca); Malaise (1972a) 219 no. 396; Roullet (1972) 62 no. 39; Bricault (2001) 166; Versluys (2002) 361; Parlasca (2004) 413-415; Müskens (2014a) 114 no. 10

Fig. 3.3.47

047 Relief fragment

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Composition (unspecified)

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Hippodrome Garden, Palatine Hill (1893) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
31 x 18 x 6

Preservation:
A small fragment has been preserved; original themes are no longer recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Palatino, inv. 12498

Small relief fragment, which depicts a hand with the remains of a sceptre in a hand, an egg like sign, and a bull, which is lying on the remains of a standard. Some authors believe that the hand with sceptre would belong to a female figure. The egg-shaped sign has been identified as the hieroglyphic determinative sign for female deities. Taken together, it has been suggested that the hand would belong to a deity. The lying bull is sometimes identified as Apis, an identification that is supported by the crescent moon decoration on its flank (cf. Müller 1969, 86-87 no. 280; *Egittomania* 2006, 141 no. II.98).

Bartoli and Botti date the relief fragment to the Flavian period (reign of Domitian) on stylistic grounds; this date is accepted by Bricault (without further explanation). It was found in 1893 on the Palatine Hill, near the central entrance to the Hippodrome Garden, underneath the gardens of the convent of S. Bonaventura. For the contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 026.

Bibliography:
NSc (1893) 161 (G. Gatti); Bartoli – Botti (1957) 40-42 no. 3, 43; Helbig (1966) 865 (K. Parlasca); Malaise (1972a) 220 no. 398; Roullet (1972) 62 no. 37; Kater-Sibbes (1975) vol. II, 11 no. 281; Bricault (2001) 166; Müskens (2014a) 114 no. 9

048 Relief fragment

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Composition (unspecified)

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
South of the Via del Seminario (1991-1993) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
H. 30

Preservation:
The relief is too fragmented to identify the subject matter with certainty

Current location:
Unknown (Alfano: Camera dei Deputati)

Fig. 3.3.48

The fragment is part of a larger relief scene. It depicts a hand with the remains of a sceptre.

Alfano tentatively dates the relief fragment to the late 1st century BC/early 1st century AD on stylistic grounds. For the findspot and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 038.

Bibliography:
Alfano (1998) 204

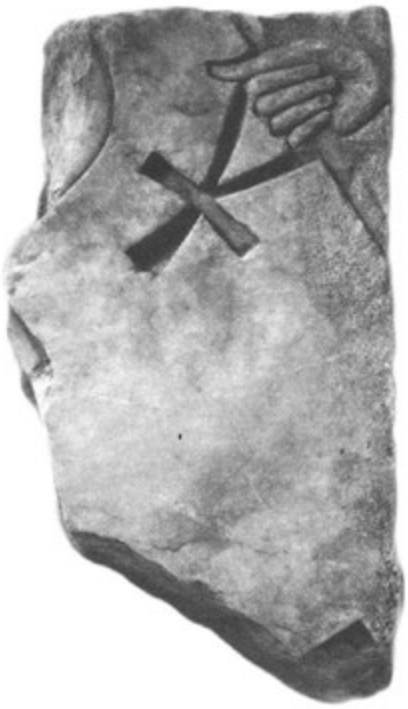


Fig. 3.3.49

049 Relief fragment with *ankh*

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Composition (unspecified)

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Between Via Labicana – Via di S. Giovanni in Laterano / Iseum and Serapeum (Regio III)

Dimensions:
33 x 17 x 7

Preservation:
The relief is too fragmented to identify the themes with certainty

Current location:
Unknown (Parlasca 2004: depository of the Musei Comunali)

The fragment is part of an originally larger relief scene. It depicts a hand with the remains of a sceptre and an *ankh*-sign. Parlasca presumes that the hand belongs to a deity. Traces of another depiction are visible to the left; too little has been preserved to identify this image.

Parlasca dates the relief fragment to the late 1st century AD (reign of Domitian) on stylistic grounds. It was found during the excavations of the Ludus Magnus, the gladiatorial training complex near the Colosseum, between the Via Labicana and the Via di S. Giovanni in Laterano. On the basis of its findspot, and the presumed existence of Egyptian sanctuaries in the vicinity, it has been attributed to the Iseum and Serapeum in Regio III.

Bibliography:
Colini – Cozza (1962) 60 no. 7; Parlasca (1977) 61; De Vos (1997) 132-133; Parlasca (2004) 413

050 Relief fragment

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Isis / winged sun-disc?

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
South of the Via del Seminario (1991-1993) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
Unknown

Preservation:
The relief is too fragmented to identify the subject matter with certainty

Current location:
Unknown (Alfano: Camera dei Deputati)

Fig. 3.3.50

Relief fragment that depicts the remains of feathered wings. On the basis of a parallel relief from Benevento, Alfano suggests that the wings may have belonged to a depiction of a winged goddess, presumably Isis; alternatively, they may have been part of a pediment with the motif of a winged sun-disc, examples of which have been found nearby (see *infra*, no. 064-065).

Alfano tentatively dates the relief fragment to the late 1st century BC/early 1st century AD on stylistic grounds. For the findspot and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 038.

Bibliography:
Alfano (1998) 205-206

Fig. 3.3.51

051 Hathor capital

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Capital

Subject matter:
Hathor-iconography

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Domus Flavia (?) (1862-67) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
45 x 23 x 14

Preservation:
Superficial damage; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Palatino, inv. 12499

Hathor capital (for an elaborate description and an in-depth discussion of the type in general see Müskens); counterpart to *infra*, no. 052.

The capital is generally dated to the 1st century AD on stylistic grounds. More specifically, an Augustan age has recently been proposed on the basis of a comparison to similar capitals on an Augustan relief scene in the archaeological museum of Velletri (*Le mythe Cléopâtre*, Petrilli). It was found between 1862 and 1867 during the excavations of the Domus Flavia (see Müskens for a reconstruction of the find location). For the contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 026. In addition, the Domus Tiberiana has recently been forwarded as a possible context, without further explanation (*Le mythe Cléopâtre*).

Bibliography:
Weber (1910) 13 n. 50; Bartoli – Botti (1957) 44-46 no. 5; Von Mercklin (1962) 9 n. 1; Helbig (1966) 863-864 no. 2079 (K. Parlasca); Malaise (1972a) 220-221 no. 400; Roullet (1972) 56 no. 7; Versluys (2002) 361; Müskens (2014a) 112 no. 2; *Le mythe Cléopâtre* (2014) 297 no. 181; *Museo Palatino* (2014) 206-207 no. 26 (R. Petrilli); *LIMC*, s.v. Hathor 454 no. 19

Fig. 3.3.52

052 Hathor capital

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Capital

Subject matter:
Hathor-iconography

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Domus Flavia (?) (1862-67) / attributed to the Domus Tiberiana

Dimensions:
45 x 27 x 13

Preservation:
Superficial damage; the subject matter is well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Palatino, inv. 486972+591

Hathor capital (for a detailed description and an extensive discussion of the type in general see Müskens); counterpart to *supra*, no. 051.

The capital is generally dated to the 1st century AD on stylistic grounds. Like its counterpart, this capital has recently been dated to the Augustan period on the basis of similar capitals depicted on an Augustan relief scene in the archaeological museum of Velletri (*Le mythe Cléopâtre*, Petrilli). For the findspot and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 51. There is no conclusive evidence to attribute the capital to any of the suggested Roman Imperial contexts (Müskens).

Bibliography:
Manera – Mazza (2001) 98 no. 66; Parlasca (2004) 419; Müskens (2014a) *passim*; *Le mythe Cléopâtre* (2014) 297 no. 181; *Museo Palatino* (2014) 206-207 no. 26 (R. Petrilli)

053 Hathor capital

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Capital

Subject matter:
Hathor-iconography

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via della Consolazione (1935) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
50 x 58 (diam. top)

Preservation:
Superficial damage, but the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 2854/S

Fig. 3.3.53

Hathor capital (for an elaborate description and an in-depth discussion of the type in general see Müskens).

The capital has generally been dated to the Roman Imperial period without further specification (Malaise, Versluys). It was found in 1935 in the Via della Consolazione. Based on its presumed religious character, the capital has been attributed to an Isis sanctuary; as it was found close to the Capitoline Hill, several authors have tentatively connected it to the so-called temple of Isis Capitolina (Parlasca, Malaise).

Bibliography:
Parlasca (1964) 203; Malaise (1972a) 215 no. 393; Roullet (1972) 56 no. 6; *LIMC*, s.v. Hathor 454-455 no. 21; Versluys (2002) 352; *Ägypten Griechenland Rom* (2005) 716 no. 330 (J.F. Quack); Müskens (2014a) 98 n. 16

054 Papyrus capital

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Capital

Subject matter:
Papyrus

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via del Beato Angelico 18 (1853) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
68 x 84 (diam.)

Preservation:
Intact

Current location:
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Egizio, inv. 22859

Fig. 3.3.54

Papyrus capital (Roullet: vegetal capital).

Lembke tentatively dates the capital to the Severan period on stylistic grounds. It was found in 1853 in the Maison Silvestrelli (Via del Beato Angelico 18), together with a papyrus column (*infra*, no. 060), to which it may have belonged. Based on its findspot, the capital has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Lanciani (1883) 47; Lafaye (1884) 218; Botti – Romanelli (1951) 125 no. 207; Malaise (1972a) 196 no. 356; Roullet (1972) 57 no. 15; Lembke (1994) 192 D21

055 Capital

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Capital

Subject matter:
Palm?

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via del Beato Angelico 23 (1856) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
53 x 115 (diam.)

Preservation:
The largest part of the object is lost; enough remains to secure its identification as capital

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 25/S

Fig. 3.3.55

Fragment of a capital with vegetal decoration. The identification of the floral leaves, and hence of the capital type, is disputed. Opinions are divided between lotus (Roullet), papyrus (Malaise, Lembke), and palm (Ensoli Vittozzi, Agnoli); based on the iconography, the latter identification is perhaps the most probable (for an elaborate description and discussion of the capital type see Agnoli). It was found together with a relief column (*infra*, no. 113). Since the objects have comparable original diameters they are generally considered to have belonged together.

The capital fragment has generally been dated to the Domitianic period (on the basis of the presumed contemporaneity of the capital with the column mentioned above: Ensoli Vittozzi and Lembke; on stylistic grounds: Parlasca). It was found in 1856 in the Maison Tranquilli (Via del Beato Angelico 23). Based on its findspot, the column shaft has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Henzen (1856) 180; Lanciani (1883) 49; Stuart Jones (1912) 360 no. 15; Malaise (1972a) 197-198 no. 363; Roullet (1972) 57 no. 9; Ensoli Vittozzi (1990) 52 no. 11; Lembke (1994) 192-193 D22; Parlasca (2004) 411; *Musei Capitolini* (2010) 89 no. 7 (N. Agnoli)

056 Papyrus capital

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Capital

Subject matter:
Papyrus

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Forum Romanum / no context proposed

Dimensions:
44 x 53 (diam.)

Preservation:
Incomplete & recomposed from many fragments; theme remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Palatino, inv. 593505

Fig. 3.3.56

Fragmentarily preserved papyrus capital; recomposed from many fragments.

The capital was found on the Forum Romanum, perhaps together with similar capital fragments. In the absence of further details, it is not clear to which context it belonged.

Bibliography:
Unpublished

Fig. 3.3.57

057 Column base

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Column

Subject matter:
Nilotic scene

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Close to the Villa Mattei/Santa Maria in Domnica / Iseum Metellinum

Dimensions:
68 x 43 (diam.)

Preservation:
Minor damage to the upper part; the figures remain well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria dei Candelabri, inv. 2599

The cylindrical column base is decorated with a continuous relief scene that appears to represent the feeding of the holy crocodiles. Ancient texts inform us that this took place in Egypt, at Arsinoë-Krokodeilopolis. Depicted are, among other things, the goddess Isis with a cornucopia in her hands, a sphinx on a base, an Apis bull (a Hathor cow according to *LIMC*), an Egyptian priest standing on a platform with a candelabrum in his hands, another priest who feeds crocodiles that rise from the water, and the reclining god Nile (a detailed description is given by Versluys, who defines the relief as a Nilotic scene).

The base, which may be the base of an altar or the lower part of a decorated column, has generally been dated to the mid-3rd century AD; no explanation is given to support this dating. It was allegedly found in the vicinity of the Villa Mattei, close to the Santa Maria in Domnica. On the basis of its findspot, the relief has been attributed to the so-called Iseum Metellinum.

Bibliography:
Lafaye (1884) 295-296 no. 107; Bonneau (1964) 354-355; Malaise (1972a) 168-169 no. 310; Kater-Sibbes (1975) vol. II, 13-14 no. 282; Meyboom (1995) 346 n. 33; Versluys (2002) 58-59 no. 9, and 336; Bricault (2001) 164; cf. *LIMC*, s.v. Hathor 456 no. 41

Fig. 3.3.58

058 Column base

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Column

Subject matter:
Nilotic scene

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Found during the construction of the Palazzo delle Esposizioni (1880) / Serapeum

Dimensions:
37 x 33 (diam.)

Preservation:
Minor damage to the top of the base; the relief scenes remain well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 931/S

The cylindrical column base is decorated with a continuous relief scene that represents what has been identified as a Nilotic scene (Bonneau, Versluys). Depicted are, among other things, the reclining god Nile, a hippopotamus, four putti, a crocodile, and date palms (Versluys gives a detailed description).

The object, which may be the base for a detachable vase, has been dated to the 2nd century AD; no explanation is given in support of this dating. It was found in 1880 during the construction of the Palazzo delle Esposizioni on the Quirinal Hill, and subsequently reused in the nearby Church of San Vitale. On the basis of its findspot, the column base has been attributed to the Serapeum on the Quirinal Hill; in addition to this attribution, Versluys suggests that the object was perhaps connected to a domus, remains of which were found close to its findspot.

Bibliography:
Caetani Lovatelli (1880); Stuart Jones (1926) 92 no. 28; Bonneau (1964) 355; Malaise (1972a) 181-182 no. 336; Dräger (1994) 229-230 no. 62; Versluys (2002) 63-65 no. 12

Fig. 3.3.59

059 Column base

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Column

Subject matter:
Composition (unspecified)

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Close to the Villa Mattei/Santa Maria in Domnica / Iseum Metellinum

Dimensions:
66 x 48 (diam.)

Preservation:
Well preserved

Current location:
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria dei Candelabri, inv. 2547

The cylindrical column base is decorated with a continuous relief scene, which depicts Isis and Heracles (Osiris according to Lafaye) after the cleaning of the Augean stables. The inclusion of the base in inventories of Aegyptiaca relies on the depiction of several Egyptian elements, including the enthroned Isis, an Apis bull, and a Horus falcon (see Malaise for a detailed description).

The base, which may be the base of an altar or the lower part of a decorated column, has generally been dated to the mid-3rd century AD; no explanations are given in support of this dating. It was allegedly found in the vicinity of the Villa Mattei, close to the Santa Maria in Domnica. On the basis of its findspot, the relief has been attributed to the so-called Iseum Metellinum.

Bibliography:
Lafaye (1884) 296 no. 108; Malaise (1972a) 169 no. 311; Bricault (2001) 164; Versluys (2002) 59

Fig. 3.3.60

060 Papyrus column (shaft)

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Column

Subject matter:
Papyrus

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via del Beato Angelico 18 (1853) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
65 x 50 (diam.)

Preservation:
The lower part of the column has been preserved

Current location:
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Egizio, inv. 22858

Lower part of a papyrus column.

Lembke tentatively dates the column to the Severan period. It was found in 1853 in the Maison Silvestrelli (Via del Beato Angelico 18), together with a papyrus capital (*supra*, no. 054), to which it may have belonged. Based on its findspot, the column shaft has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Lanciani (1883) 47; Lafaye (1884) 218; Botti – Romanelli (1951) 125 no. 206; Malaise (1972a) 196 no. 356; Roullet (1972) 58 no. 20; Lembke (1994) 191-192 D19

061 Antefix

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Antefix

Subject matter:
Cobra

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Sanctuary Jupiter Dolichenus (1935) / sanctuary Jupiter Dolichenus

Dimensions:
24 x 29

Preservation:
Some superficial damage; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 9941

Fig. 3.3.61

Antefix. Two cobra snakes with remains of crowns on top of their heads flank a central motif that consists of two stems of plants bound together (a lotus flower?); the motif is surmounted by a sun-disc. The serpents are generally assumed to refer to Isis Thermouthis and Sarapis Agathodaimon or related deities (see Spinola 2001, 80-85; cf. Alfano).

The antefix is dated to the Roman Imperial period without further specification. For the findspot and contextural attribution see *supra*, no. 017.

Bibliography:
Colini (1935) 156; Kan (1943) 109 no. 181b; Merlat (1951) 206-207 no. 213; Malaise (1972a) 228 no. 413; Roullet (1972) 55 no. 3; Hörig – Schwertheim (1987) 258 no. 397; Sorrenti (1996) 403 no. 51; Alfano (1998) 203; Versluys (2002) 366

Fig. 3.3.62

062 Antefix

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Antefix

Subject matter:
Cobra

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
South of the Via del Seminario (1991-1993) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
H. 12

Preservation:
Enough has been preserved to recognise the subject matter

Current location:
Unknown (Alfano: Camera dei Deputati)

Fragment of an antefix, which shows a part of a cobra snake with a sun-disc on its head. The preserved height of 12 cm indicates that the antefix would have originally had a considerable size.

Alfano dates the antefix to the 1st-2nd century AD on stylistic grounds. For the findspot and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 038.

Bibliography:
Alfano (1998) 202-203

Fig. 3.3.63

063 Antefix

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Antefix

Subject matter:
Cobra

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
South of the Via del Seminario (1991-1993) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
45 x 22

Preservation:
Enough has been preserved to recognise the subject matter

Current location:
Unknown (Alfano: Camera dei Deputati)

Fragment of an antefix, which shows a part of the undulating body of a cobra snake. The dimensions of the preserved fragment indicate that the antefix would have originally had a considerable size (larger than antefix *supra*, no. 061).

Alfano dates the antefix to the Roman Imperial period without further specification. For its findspot and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 038.

Bibliography:
Alfano (1998) 203-204

Fig. 3.3.64

064 Pediment

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Pediment

Subject matter:
Winged sun-disc

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Campo Marzio / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
26 x 58

Preservation:
The central part of the pediment with winged sun-disc has been preserved

Current location:
Lost (formerly Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, inv. 16785)

Fragment of a rounded pediment ("Nischenbekrönung" according to Weber, followed by Roullet and Parlasca). It shows a winged sun-disc, which is flanked by two uraei.

Parlasca (1977) dates the pediment to the Flavian period on stylistic grounds; Roullet gives a terminus post quem of the 2nd century AD on typological grounds. It was found in the Via Campo Marzio (Weber), together with a similar pediment (*infra*, no. 065), a frieze with cobras (*infra*, no. 067), and perhaps other architectural 'Aegyptiaca' (discussed in Parlasca 1977). This group of objects was sold in 1903 to the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin. The pediment and its documentation have been lost since the Second World War. Based on its findspot, the pediment fragment has been attributed to the Iseum Campense; however, it was not included in Lembke's work on that sanctuary.

Bibliography:
Weber (1910) 13 no. 2; Malaise (1972a) 208 no. 390; Roullet (1972) 59 no. 22; Parlasca (1977) 59-61 no. 1; Parlasca (2004) 419

Fig. 3.3.65

065 Pediment

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Pediment

Subject matter:
Winged sun-disc

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Campo Marzio / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
27 x 39

Preservation:
The central part of the pediment with winged sun-disc has been preserved

Current location:
Lost (formerly Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, inv. 16786)

Fragment of a rounded pediment depicting a winged sun-disc and two uraei. For a general description, dating, and contextual attribution see the typologically similar pediment *supra*, no. 064. Like its counterpart, this pediment has been lost since the Second World War.

Bibliography:
Weber (1910) 13 no. 2; Malaise (1972a) 208 no. 390; Roullet (1972) 59 no. 23; Parlasca (1977) 59-61 no. 2; Parlasca (2004) 419

Fig. 3.3.66

066 Entablature

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual-naturalistic

Object category:
Entablature

Subject matter:
Horus / falcon?

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Pantheon (1874) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
202 x 72 x 58

Preservation:
Three original faces are preserved; some damage, the themes remain well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, to the west of the Pantheon

Corinthian entablature with relief scenes on three sides. The inclusion of the entablature in inventories of Aegyptiaca mainly relies on two falcon figures that are shown on one of its short sides. The falcons are shown in profile and stand on either side of a caduceus, which is sometimes identified as a reference to Hermanubis/Anubis. The falcons wear crowns on top of their heads that are interpreted by some authors as the double-crown of Lower and Upper Egypt (e.g., Lembke; *contra* Malaise: crescent moon and solar disc). The figures have been variously identified as depictions of falcons and the god Horus in falcon-form. The scene on the entablature's long side shows lions drinking from craters. Some authors associate this relief scene with Egypt: Visconti believes the lions are a personification of the sun, while Lembke and Lafaye see a connection to the Nile water.

Lembke dates the entablature to the 1st century AD (reign of Domitian) on stylistic grounds. It was found in 1874 in the Pantheon; when it was found, it was reused as a step. Based on its findspot, the entablature has generally been attributed to the Iseum Campense. More specifically, some authors believe that it belonged to a small shrine situated along the presumed dromos within the temple precinct (Visconti, Lafaye); Lembke suggests the entablature was part of a porticus of the temple. Besides the Iseum Campense, Roullet asserts that the entablature may have belonged to the temple of Thoth-Hermes erected by Marcus Aurelius, since its decor would stress "the relation between the Egyptian cults and Hermes".

Bibliography:
Visconti (1876); *NSc* (1882) 262; Lanciani (1883) 49; Lafaye (1884) 222; Malaise (1972a) 201-202 no. 381; Roullet (1972) 60 no. 28; Lembke (1994) 193-195 D29

067 Frieze with cobras

Material:
Marble

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Frieze

Subject matter:
Cobras

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Campo Marzio / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
19 x 46

Preservation:
Nearly intact

Current location:
Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, inv. 16784

Fig. 3.3.67

Architectural block with a frieze of cobra snakes with sun-discs on their heads; "Portalbekrönung" according to Weber, an interpretation which is followed by Roullet and Parlasca.

Parlasca (1977) dates the frieze to the Flavian period on stylistic grounds. It was found in the Via Campo Marzio (Weber), together with two marble pediments with winged sun-discs and uraei (*supra*, no. 064-065), and perhaps with other architectural 'Aegyptiaca' (discussed in Parlasca 1977). These objects were sold in 1903 to the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin. The documentation was destroyed during the Second World War, but in contrast to an earlier presumption, the frieze itself has survived. Based on its findspot, the pediment fragment has been attributed to the Iseum Campense. Like the fragments of the two rounded pediments, the frieze was not included in Lembke's work on that sanctuary. A fragment of a similar frieze was allegedly found in the early 1990s during restoration works in the Palazzo del Seminario (Alfano 1998).

Bibliography:
Weber (1910) 11 n. 1; Roullet (1972) 58-59 no. 21; Malaise (1978) 647 no. 390b; Parlasca (1977) 60 no. 4; Parlasca (2004) 415-419

a *b*

Fig. 3.3.68a-b

068 Altar Cantinea Procla

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Altar

Subject matter:
Isis priestess, cista mystica

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Ostiensis, near San Paoli fuori le Mura (1898) / no context proposed

Dimensions:
117 x 64.5 x 48.5

Preservation:
Nearly intact; most notably, the priestess' right arm and attribute are missing

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, inv. 125406

Funerary altar of Cantinea Procla, dedicated by her husband, C. Iulius Hermes. The deceased woman is shown veiled, in contrapposto stance, as a priestess of Isis with ears of corn on her head and a situla and (probably) sistrum in her hands. Images of a cista mystica with a serpent cover the two side panels of the altar. Its back side is unworked; a decoration of acroteria with floral motifs and birds is visible along the altar's upper side. See *CIL* 6.34776 for the Latin inscription.

The altar has generally been dated to the 1st century AD (Flavian period) on stylistic and typological grounds (explicitly in Eingartner; cf. Jucker, Malaise, Boschung). It was found in 1898 on the Via Ostiensis during work in the Church of San Paoli fuori le Mura. No ancient context has been proposed.

Bibliography:
NSc (1898) 185-191 (L. Borsari); Altmann (1905) 237; Helbig (1913) 198-199; Paribeni (1932) 73; Jucker (1961) 22; Malaise (1972a) 133 no. 70; Boschung (1987) 35; Eingartner (1991) 160-161 no. 132; *Iside* (1997) 161 IV.3; *Cleopatra of Egypt* (2001) 330 no. 349 (C. Mazza); Manera – Mazza (2001) 58 no. 16

a *b*

Fig. 3.3.69a-b

069 Altar

Material:
Marble

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Altar

Subject matter:
Harpocrates, Anubis, cista mystica

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via di Sant'Ignazio 52 (1719) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
87 x 52 x 52 (H x W x D)

Preservation:
Intact

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 1526/S

The altar is decorated on all four sides. The front panel shows a cista mystica with a snake lying on top of it. The side panels show images of Harpocrates with a cornucopia in his hands, and Anubis, in contrapposto stance, with anthropomorphic body and animal head, and with a caduceus, situla, and palm branch in his hands, respectively. Ritual tools are shown on the back panel (urceus, patera, culter). See *CIL* 6.344 and 6.30744 for the Latin inscription.

The altar has generally been dated to the mid-2nd century AD (on stylistic/iconographical grounds by Lembke). It was found in 1719 in the foundations of the Bibliotheca Casanatense (Via di Sant'Ignazio 52). Based on its findspot, the altar has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Lanciani (1883) 46-47; Lafaye (1884) 293 no. 103; Marucchi (1912) 12 no. 12; Stuart Jones (1912) 359 no. 12; Malaise (1972a) 113 no. 5 = 200 no. 373; Grenier (1977) 145 no. 222; Lembke (1994) 141 B5 = 245 E49; *Iside* (1997) 386-387 V.2 (Cecilia Ricci); Bricault (2001) 165; *Ägypten Griechenland Rom* (2005) 639-640 no. 223 (M. Bommas)

Fig. 3.3.70a

070 Statue of Thoth

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Thoth

Date:
Late Period

Findspot / ancient context:
Via del Beato Angelico (1883) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
152 x 61 x 76 (H x W x D)

Preservation:
Parts of the base and the baboon missing; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 26/S

Statue of a squatting baboon on a rectangular base. The front paws are perched on the bent knees; the tail lies to the right side of the body. The snout (restored) and ears are largely missing, as is a large part of the plinth. The front panel of the base bears a hieroglyphic inscription, which indicates that the statue was dedicated to Thoth (Lembke gives a transcription and German translation of the inscription: no. E20).

The inscription gives the name of Nectanebo II, which allows the statue to be dated to the 30th Dynasty (Schiaparelli erroneously reads Nectanebo I). It may have originally come from the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis Parva, as several authors have suggested (Roullet, Lembke); alternatively, based on one of Thoth's epithets mentioned in the inscription, Gallo believes that the statue originates from Busiris. It originally formed a pair with *infra*, no. 071. Since these statues' hieroglyphic inscriptions are opposites, it may be suggested that the statues originally stood opposite each other. This statue was found during Lanciani's excavations in 1883 in the Via del Beato Angelico. On the basis of its findspot, it has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Lanciani (1883) 58, and 68-71 (E. Schiaparelli); Marucchi (1912) 9-10 no. 3; Stuart Jones (1912) 357-358 no 4; Porter and Moss (1951) 415; Bosticco (1952) 17-19 no. 11; Malaise (1972a) 198 no. 366; Roullet (1972) 125 no. 244; Ensoli Vittozzi (1990) 36 no. 4; Gallo (1991); Lembke (1994) 228-229 E21; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 161-162 no. 21 (M.P. Toti); *Musei Capitolini* (2010) 82 no. 4 (N. Agnoli)

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Greyish

Magnetic attraction:
0-1

Reference collection:
~ *Marmi colorati* (2004) 225 no. 74b

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.70b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a gneissoid, non-porphyritic, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium- to mostly fine-grained and consists of alkali feldspar, plagioclase, quartz, and biotite. The feldspar crystals reach up to ca. 4 mm; in some of the larger crystals a zoned structure can be observed. Other minerals are usually below 1 mm. The rock exhibits foliation, as is evident from the parallel arrangement of the biotite flakes. Local variations in the ratio between dark-coloured minerals and feldspars account for the differences in the rock colour, which varies from overall light grey (~ N7; base of the statue) to medium grey (~ N5). Mineralogy, texture, and (gradations in) overall rock colour allow for the rock to be classified as a fine- to medium-grained granitoid rock, which may classify more specifically as granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and fine-grained granite from Aswan. The majority of these rocks are equigranular, and their dark-coloured component mainly consists of biotite, which commonly exhibits foliation (Aston *et al*., El-Shazly, and Meneisy *et al*.). The biotite content sometimes exhibits local variations (Attia), as a result of which the overall colour of the rock may vary over small distances; the greyish fine-grained granite from Aswan ranges in colour from light grey to dark bluish grey (Attia). The feldspar crystals in these rocks are often zoned and reach up to 5 mm, quartz and biotite crystals are usually well below 1 mm across (Klemm and Klemm speak about feldspar phenocrysts in a fine-grained rock). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and fine-grained granite from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan (cf. Müskens *et al*.). Schiaparelli (in Lanciani) and Marucchi mistakenly characterise the rocks as basalt, all other authors correctly identify it as grey granite.

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 14-15; Attia (1955) 50-51; Meneisy *et al*. (1979) 125; Aston *et al*. (2000) 35; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 265-266, section 7.14; Müskens *et al*. (2017)

Fig. 3.3.71a

071 Statue of Thoth

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Thoth

Date:
Late Period

Findspot / ancient context:
Via del Beato Angelico (1883) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
152 x 61 x 76 (H x W x D)

Preservation:
Parts of the baboon figure missing; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 32/S

Statue of a squatting baboon on a rectangular base. The front paws are perched on the bent knees; the tail lies to the right side of the body. The snout (restored) and ears are largely missing, as is the end of the tail. The front panel of the base bears a hieroglyphic inscription which indicates that the statue was dedicated to Thoth (see Lembke for a transcription and German translation of the inscription: no. E21).

For previous opinions on its dating, Egyptian provenance, findspot, and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 070 (which is the counterpart of this statue).

Bibliography:
Marucchi (1912) 10-11 no. 4; Stuart Jones (1912) 357-358 no. 5; Porter and Moss (1951) 415; Bosticco (1952) 17-19 no. 11; Malaise (1972a) 198 no. 366; Roullet (1972) 125 no. 243; Ensoli Vittozzi (1990) 38 no. 5; Lembke (1994) 228-229 E20; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 161-162 no. 21 (M.P. Toti); *Iside* (1997) 393 V.10 (S. Ensoli); *Musei Capitolin*i (2010) 84-86 no. 5 (N. Agnoli)

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Greyish

Magnetic attraction:
0-1

Reference collection:
~ *Marmi colorati* (2004) 225 no. 74b

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.71b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a gneissoid, non-porphyritic, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium- to mostly fine-grained and consists of alkali feldspar, plagioclase, quartz, and biotite. The feldspar crystals are up to 4 mm; in some of the larger crystals a zoned structure can be observed. Other minerals are usually below 1 mm. The feldspar and biotite crystals show a parallel arrangement. Dark-coloured patches appear as a streak on the front of the statue base and as a wavy band on the right shoulder of the baboon. These biotite schlieren, which follow the direction of foliation, are richer in dark-coloured biotite than the surrounding rock, which accounts for their darker colour (dark grey to greyish black, N3–N2). A greyish orange pink (5YR 7/2) granitic vein, which is richer in felsic minerals than the surrounding rock, appears on the front of the statue base and is also arranged in the general direction of foliation. Local variations in the amount of biotite give the rock its overall medium dark grey (~ N4) to medium light grey (~ N6) colour. Mineralogy, texture, and (gradations in) overall rock colour allow for the rock to be classified as a fine- to medium-grained granitoid rock, which may classify more specifically as granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and fine-grained granite from Aswan. The majority of these rocks are equigranular, and their dark-coloured component mainly consists of biotite, which commonly exhibits foliation (Aston *et al*., El-Shazly, and Meneisy *et al*.). Biotite content may exhibit local variations (Attia), as a result of which the overall rock colour may vary over small distances; the greyish fine-grained granite from Aswan ranges in colour from light grey to dark bluish grey (Attia). The feldspar crystals in these rocks are often zoned and reach up to 5 mm, quartz and biotite crystals are usually well below 1 mm (Klemm and Klemm). The biotite schlieren and granitic vein are fully consistent with an Aswan origin (Gindy, Higazy and Wasfy). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and fine-grained granite from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan (cf. Müskens *et al*.). For previous classifications see *supra*, no. 070.

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 14-15; Attia (1955) 50-51; Gindy (1956); Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 216-217; Meneisy *et al*. (1979) 125; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 265-266, section 7.14; Müskens *et al*. (2017)

Fig. 3.3.72a

072 Naophoros fragment

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Dedicant

Date:
Late Period / Ptolemaic

Findspot / ancient context:
Esquiline Hill (19th century) / Iseum and Serapeum in Regio III

Dimensions:
37 x 21 x 15 (H x W x D)

Preservation:
Preserved from upper legs through base; subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 2384/S

Lower part of a statue of a standing male figure, presumably a priest, who is dressed in a long wrap-around gown that reaches to his ankles. The hands have been preserved; they hold a rectangular naos, which is supported by a receding trapezoidal pillar. An image of a falcon, which wears an Egyptian double- or so-called *pschent*-crown, is depicted in the naos' interior. Based on the crown, the animal can be identified as the Egyptian god Horus. The statue has an uninscribed back-pillar (*contra Le antichità egiziane*: iscritto). The back-pillar is unusual in that it is not sculpted perpendicular to the standing figure but at an oblique angle instead, and therefore differs from the strict frontal scheme that is often maintained in Egyptian statuary. The statue typologically belongs to the group of naophoros statues, which occur with kneeling and standing subjects.

Standing naophoros statues were particularly produced during the Late Period. This date has usually been proposed for the statue fragment in question, although suggested datings occasionally extend into the Ptolemaic period (Roullet, Malaise 2004b). It was found in the 19th century during construction works on the Esquiline Hill; no further details are known. Yet, despite this unspecific find location, the fragment has been tentatively attributed to the so-called Iseum and Serapeum in Regio III (Malaise 1972a).

Bibliography:
Marucchi (1912) 11 no. 6; Stuart Jones (1912) 356 no. 2; Porter and Moss (1951) 413; Bosticco (1952) 21-22 no. 4; Malaise (1972a) 175 no. 320; Roullet (1972) 111-112 no. 190; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 165 no. 24 (M.P. Toti); Bricault (2001) 164; Versluys (2002) 340 n. 466; Malaise (2004b) 64-65 no. 2

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pinkish-grey

Magnetic attraction:
0-1

Reference collection:
AESC 5 (d) variety 2, sample 1

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.72b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a gneissoid, non-porphyritic, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium- to mostly fine-grained and consists of alkali feldspar, plagioclase, quartz, and biotite. The feldspar crystals reach up to ca. 4-5 mm; the other minerals are considerably smaller (usually below 1 mm). The feldspar and biotite flakes show a parallel arrangement. Mineralogy, texture, and overall medium grey to medium light grey rock colour (~ N5–N6) allow for the rock to be classified as a fine- to medium-grained granitoid rock, which may classify more specifically as granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and fine-grained granite from Aswan. The majority of these rocks are equigranular, and their dark-coloured component mainly consists of biotite, which commonly exhibits foliation (Aston *et al*., Meneisy *et al*.). The feldspar crystals are often arranged in the direction of foliation (El-Shazly, Attia). The feldspar component in fine-grained Aswan granite reaches up to 5 mm, quartz and biotite crystals are usually well below 1 mm across (Klemm and Klemm speak about feldspar phenocrysts in a fine-grained rock). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan (cf. Müskens *et al*.). The rock has generally been correctly identified as grey granite (e.g., Malaise, Roullet).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 14-15; Attia (1955) 50-51; Meneisy *et al*. (1979) 125; Aston *et al*. (2000) 35; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 265-266, section 7.14; Müskens *et al*. (2017)

Fig. 3.3.73a

073 Statue fragment

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Pharaoh / Ramesses II?

Date:
New Kingdom

Findspot / ancient context:
Piazza del Collegio Romano (1923) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
30 x 44 x 28 (H x W x D)

Preservation:
A small fragment is preserved; the subject matter cannot be recognised with certainty

Current location:
Turin, Museo Egizio, inv. Suppl. 17136

Fragment of a base of an Egyptian statue, which preserves a part of a right foot. Based on the dimensions of the preserved fragment, the statue is considered to have been just under life-size in its original state. The subject matter cannot be determined with certainty as a result of the fragmentary preservation. Nevertheless, on the basis of the human foot and the character of the hieroglyphic inscription on the base, which mentions the deeds of the depicted figure, the subject matter has generally been identified as a pharaoh. Based on the palaeography, the fragment has invariably been dated to the New Kingdom (19th Dynasty). The inscription mentions the "Place of Splendour", which indicates that the statue originates from Heliopolis. Its 19th Dynasty date and Heliopolitan origins have led some authors to believe that it concerns a statue of Ramesses II (e.g., Malaise). This interpretation is presumably based on the fact that this pharaoh dedicated several monuments in Heliopolis. Lembke gives a transcription and German translation of the hieroglyphic inscription.

The fragment was found in 1923 in the court of a building near Piazza del Collegio Romano. On the basis of its findspot, it has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Marucchi (1924); Malaise (1972a) 195 no. 354; Roullet (1972) 120 no. 221; Lembke (1994) 236 E32; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 179-180 no. 34 (O. Lollio Barberi); *Iside* (1997) 395 V.14 (M. Borla); Raue (1999) 360; Malaise (2004a) 27 no. 390j

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Reddish

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
~ AESC 5 (d) variety 1, sample 1

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.73b

Not examined in person. It is evident from photographs that this is an igneous, phaneritic plutonic rock with an equigranular, holocrystalline texture. Its overall ~ reddish colour results from a high concentration of alkali feldspar and relatively small amounts of dark-coloured minerals (undetermined character). Other minerals in the matrix include transparent quartz and light-greyish plagioclase. The macroscopic characteristics allow for the rock to be classified as fine-grained granite.

Macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and fine-grained granite from Aswan. These rocks occasionally take a striking reddish colour due to the oxidation of its magnetite component to hematite (Klemm and Klemm, Aston *et al*.). Considering its macroscopic characteristics, the studied rock is very likely to originate from the quarries at Aswan.

Bibliography:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) 265; Aston *et al*. (2000) 35

074 Temple relief

Fig. 3.3.74a

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Offering scene

Date:
Late Period

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Santa Caterina di Siena (ca. 1856) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
129 x 157 x 48 (H x W x Th)

Preservation:
One block of a larger relief is preserved; damage along the left and right faces

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 52045

The block is part of a larger relief scene. Two registers with a decoration in sunken relief have been preserved. The upper register depicts three enthroned gods facing left and the remains of a fourth, now largely lost. The thrones are set on rectangular pedestals. From left to right, the following deities can be recognised: the falcon-headed god Horus, the anthropomorphic gods Anedjti (venerated in Busiris) with *heka*-sceptre and *ankh*, Osiris with *was*-sceptre and *ankh*, and a fourth (unrecognisable) deity with a *was*-sceptre. The figurative scene is accompanied by hieroglyphic texts in the upper section, of which parts remain. The lower register is separated from the upper section by a row of five-pointed stars. It shows (remains of) hieroglyphic inscriptions in vertical columns, written under the wings of the falcon-god Horus and vulture-goddess Nechbet.

The relief is part of an offering scene, which would have originally shown a row of enthroned deities in the upper register, and the king, undoubtedly Nectanebo II, officiating in front of Osiris in the lower register, as can be inferred from the hieroglyphic inscription in the lower section. The name of Nectanebo II allows to date the relief to the 30th Dynasty (all authors). Moreover, the inscription indicates that the relief originates from the Iseum in Behbeit el-Hagar, more specifically from a chapel dedicated to Osiris Hemag, which was constructed during the reign of Nectanebo II (for the inscription see Favard-Meeks). This attribution was first proposed by Capart (in *Travels in Egypt*) and has generally been followed since. Similar reliefs, that supposedly belonged to the same chapel, are in Baltimore (inv. WAG 22.201) and Montreal (inv. 941 B.1). It was found around 1856 in the foundations of a house in the Via Santa Caterina da Siena (Lembke: Via del Beato Angelico). On the basis of its findspot, it has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Lanciani (1883) 57; Farina (1919) 5-6 no. 2; Porter and Moss (1934) 40; *Travels in Egypt* (1936) 257; Kienitz (1953) 219 no. 33; Malaise (1972a) 202 no. 384bis; Roullet (1972) 60 no. 27; Myśliwiec (1988) 71 no. B.1.a; Favard-Meeks (1991) 240-241; Lembke (1994) 195-197 D31; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 131-132 no. 1 (M.P. Toti), and 230 (Roman discovery); Manera – Mazza (2001) 48 no. 7; *Palazzo Altemps* (2011) 322-323 (L. Sist Russo)

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Greyish-pink

Magnetic attraction:
0-1

Reference collection:
~ AESC 5 (d) variety 1, sample 2

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.74b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a fairly equigranular, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium- to mostly fine-grained and consists of alkali feldspar, plagioclase, quartz, and biotite. The feldspar crystals reach up to ca. 4 mm; the other minerals are considerably smaller (usually below 1 mm). A fine- to mostly medium-grained greyish orange pink (5YR 7/2) strip of ca. 5-8 cm wide runs over the entire width of the relief-block. The different colouration appears to result from an increased amount of alkali feldspar and corresponding lower biotite content in this part of the rock. In the lower left part of the relief-block, a sharp transition to considerably coarser, coarse- to medium-grained granite is just visible, as well as a small quartz veinlet. Mineralogy, texture, and overall medium greyish-pink rock colour allow for the rock to be classified as a fine- to medium-grained granitoid rock, which may classify more specifically as granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and fine-grained granite from Aswan. The dark-coloured component in these rocks mainly consists of biotite, which is reported to exhibit local variations (Attia), as a result of which the overall colour of the rock may shift from pinkish to greyish tints. The feldspar component in fine-grained Aswan granite reaches up to 5 mm, quartz and biotite crystals are usually well below 1 mm across (Klemm and Klemm). These rocks occur as veins cutting coarse-grained granites and granodiorites; as a result, the boundary between the fine-grained granite and the rocks through which it cuts is not gradational but sharp (El-Shazly, Attia; cf. Klemm and Klemm, pl. 9). The observations regarding mineralogy, texture, and the internal compositional gradation in the block of stone from which this relief is carved, are fully consistent with fine-grained granite from Aswan. The sharp transition to coarser granite that remains just noticeable in this block may well represent the boundary between the fine- and coarse-grained granites. Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan.

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 14-15; Attia (1955) 50-51; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 265-266, section 7.14

Fig. 3.3.75a

075 Hathor suckling king

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Hathor & pharaoh

Date:
New Kingdom / 3rd Intermediate Period

Findspot / ancient context:
Via del Beato Angelico 23 (1856) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
103 x 70 x 74 (H x W x D)

Preservation:
Posterior portion has been preserved; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Museo Egizio, inv. 5419

The posterior portion of a statue of a cow has been preserved. The cow stands on a rectangular base, which bears a hieroglyphic inscription (for which see *Le antichità egiziane*), and is suckling a kneeling figure that is visible on the right side of the statue. The scene has generally been identified as the goddess Hathor in bovine form, who is suckling a young king; Hathor is mentioned in the inscription and confirms the attribution. Henzen erroneously believes that the statue represents the goddess Isis and her son Horus. The specific identification of the kneeling royal figure relies on the reading of the hieroglyphic inscription and is, in turn, closely connected to the dating of the statue.

The name in the cartouche has been identified by some authors as that of Horemheb, the last king of the 18th Dynasty (e.g., Lanciani, Malaise, and Lembke); other authors read the name of the 22nd Dynasty king Osorkon I (e.g., Roullet, Lollio Barberi). According to Lollio Barberi, the statue may originate from Tanis. This presumtion is undoubtedly based on the attribution of the statue to king Osorkon I, who ruled from that city in the Delta; the inscription does not provide any other indication on its original provenance. The statue fragment was found in 1856 during restoration works in the Maison Tranquilli (Via del Beato Angelico 23). On the basis of its findspot, it has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Henzen (1856) 180-181; ibid. (1858) 46; Lanciani (1883) 48; Lafaye (1884) 218; Malaise (1972a) 196 no. 359; Roullet (1972) 129 no. 266; Lembke (1994) 227-228 E18; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 186-187 no. 38 (O. Lollio Barberi), 251 (inscription), and 247 (Italian translation of the inscription)

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pink

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 73

~10 cm

Fig. 3.3.75b

Not examined in person. It is evident from photographs that this is an igneous (medium- to coarse-grained?), phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix, in which quartz and dark-coloured minerals can be distinguished, is dominated by pinkish alkali feldspar phenocrysts (mostly anhedral?), which give the rock its overall pinkish colour. The macroscopic characteristics allow for the rock to be classified as porphyritic granite.

Macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and coarse-grained, porphyritic granites from Aswan (El-Shazly, Attia, and Klemm and Klemm); based on these analogies the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan. This is consistent with earlier classifications as pink (Aswan) granite (e.g., Malaise).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10; Attia (1955) 43; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 250-251, section 7.5

Fig. 3.3.76a

076 Ptolemy II

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Ptolemy II

Date:
Ptolemaic

Findspot / ancient context:
Villa Verospi (1714) / Horti Sallustiani

Dimensions:
H. 266

Preservation:
Nearly intact

Current location:
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Egizio, inv. 22681

Over-life-size statue of a standing male figure on a square base, who is identified by the hieroglyphic inscription as king Ptolemy II. The king is depicted in traditional pose with left leg forward and both arms stretched along the sides with his fists clenched. He wears a banded *nemes* on his head from which a cobra emerges. A depression on top of the head indicates that a crown was originally present. The back-pillar is inscribed with hieroglyphs; another inscription is carved on the belt of the *shendyt*-kilt (for an Italian translation of the inscription, see Botti – Romanelli).

The inscription dates the statue to the reign of Ptolemy II (285-246 BC) (all authors). It formed a pair with the statue of Arsinoe II (*infra*, no. 077), and originates from Heliopolis, as can be inferred from the reference to Heliopolitan deities in the inscription on the back-pillar (*contra* Arnold 1999, 342 n. 72). It was discovered in 1714 in the Villa Verospi in Rome, that is, the location of the Horti Sallustiani in Roman times, together with three other statues (*infra*, no. 077, 095, and 098). A fifth sculpture that was found at the same time is now lost; it may have been used for the restoration of the statue of queen Tuya (no. 098, according to Toti). The Trinità dei Monti obelisk (*infra*, no. 091) was also recovered from these horti. These finds may have been part of the decoration of an Egyptian shrine or garden gallery, which was erected during the reign of Caligula (Toti), Domitian (Roullet), or Hadrian (Malaise), while Coarelli reconstructs an Isis sanctuary on the basis of these finds.

Bibliography:
Botti – Romanelli (1951) 24-25 no. 32; Porter and Moss (1934) 63; Malaise (1972a) 183 no. 338c; Roullet (1972) 102 no. 153; Grenier (1993) 51 V.12; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 154-149 no. 12 (M.P. Toti); Ashton (2001) 84 no. 6; Versluys (2002) 349-350; Stanwick (2002) 98 no. A3

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pinkish

Magnetic attraction:
1

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 75-76

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.76b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a weakly developed gneissoid, porphyritic, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium- to coarse-grained and consists of alkali feldspar (typically greyish orange pink, 5YR 7/2), very light grey (N8) plagioclase, transparent (very) light grey (~ N8–N7) quartz, and near black (~ N1) biotite. Densely packed, large (typically 10-25 mm, up to max. 35 mm across), an- to subhedral, alkali feldspar phenocrysts, which rarely exhibit a rapaviki texture (i.e., they are enveloped by thin plagioclase mantles), give the rock its overall pinkish colour. The biotite flakes and feldspar phenocrysts exhibit a subparallel arrangement. On the basis of its macroscopic characteristics, the rock can be classified as medium- to coarse-grained, porphyritic (biotite) granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and coarse-grained granites from Aswan. The gneissoid texture is commonly observed in Aswan granites (Aston *et al*., cf. Klemm and Klemm), especially near the contact between coarse-grained granites and metamorphic schist and gneisses (El-Shazly, Attia). The rapaviki texture, which is occasionally observed in the studied rock, is fully consistent with an Aswan origin (Meneisy *et al*.). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granites from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan. The rock has previously been correctly classified as pink/red granite (e.g., Malaise, Roullet).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10-11; Attia (1955) 43-44; Meneisy *et al*. (1979) 126-127; Aston *et al*. (2000) 35; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 251, sections 7.5.2-7.5.3

Fig. 3.3.77a

077 Arsinoe II

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Arsinoe II

Date:
Ptolemaic

Findspot / ancient context:
Villa Verospi (1714) / Horti Sallustiani

Dimensions:
H. 270

Preservation:
Nearly intact

Current location:
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Egizio, inv. 22682

Over-life-size statue of a standing female figure on a square base, attributed by its hieroglyphic inscription to queen Arsinoe II, the wife of Ptolemy II. The queen is depicted in traditional pose with left leg forward and the right arm stretched along her side with her fist clenched. The left hand under the breasts clenches a *menat* (Stanwick) or the remains of a flagellum (Toti). The queen wears a striated, tripartite wig, from which two cobras emerge. A depression on top of the head indicates that a crown was originally present. The back-pillar is inscribed with hieroglyphs; another line of hieroglyphic text runs perpendicular to the left foot on top of the base (for an Italian translation of the inscription, see Botti – Romanelli).

The inscription dates the statue to the reign of Arsinoe II (died 270 BC) (all authors). It formed a pair with the statue of Ptolemy II (*supra*, no. 076), and originates from Heliopolis, as can be inferred from the reference to Heliopolitan deities in the inscription on the back-pillar. For the findspot and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 076.

Bibliography:
Botti – Romanelli (1951) 22-23 no. 31; Porter and Moss (1934) 63; ibid. (1951) 413; Malaise (1972a) 183 no. 338b; Roullet (1972) 109 no. 180; Grenier (1993) 51 V.13; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 150 no. 13 (M.P. Toti); Ashton (2001) 100 no. 35; Versluys (2002) 349-350; Stanwick (2002) 98-99 no. A4

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pinkish

Magnetic attraction:
1

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 74

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.77b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium- to coarse-grained and consists of greyish orange pink (5YR 7/2 to 10R 8/2) alkali feldspar, very light grey (N8) plagioclase, transparent (colourless) quartz, and black (~ N1) biotite. Densely packed, large (typically 15-30 mm long), an- to subhedral, alkali feldspar phenocrysts, several of which exhibit a rapaviki texture (i.e., they are enveloped by thin plagioclase mantles) give the rock its overall pinkish colour. On the basis of its macroscopic characteristics, the rock can be classified as medium- to coarse-grained, porphyritic (biotite) granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and porphyritic granites from Aswan (El-Shazly, Attia, Aston *et al*., cf. Klemm and Klemm). The classical rapaviki texture, characterised by tabular-shaped pink potassium feldspar phenocrysts with white plagioclase mantles, is fully consistent with an Aswan origin (Meneisy *et al*.; cf. Klemm and Klemm). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granites from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan. The rock has previously been correctly characterised as pink/red granite (e.g., Malaise, Roullet).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10; Attia (1955) 43; Meneisy *et al*. (1979) 126-127; Aston *et al*. (2000) 35; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 251, section 7.5.1

Fig. 3.3.78a

078 Sphinx (of Domitian?)

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Sphinx (Domitian?)

Date:
Late Period / Ptolemaic / Roman

Findspot / ancient context:
Via del Beato Angelico 23 (1856) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
67 x 133 x 45 (H x L x W)

Preservation:
Nearly intact

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 33/S

Statue of a human-headed sphinx, which reclines on a rectangular base. The plinth is left unpolished; therefore, some authors believe that the statue was originally inserted into another base (Ensoli Vittozzi, Agnoli). The figure wears a *nemes*-headdress from which a cobra emerges, and a stylised *usekh*-collar hangs around the neck. The eyes were originally inlaid with a different material. The statue is uninscribed, and therefore the identification of the subject matter and dating rely on stylistic and iconographic criteria. Lembke considers the empty eye-sockets as an indication of a Roman dating, and based on physiognomic similarities to a statue from Benevento, which is usually considered to portray Domitian, she tentatively identifies the figure of the sphinx with Domitian. This hypothesis is accepted by Quack and Agnoli, while none of the other authors have attempted to identify the sphinx with a specific individual.

Proposed dates, based on stylistic criteria, range from the Late Period (Porter and Moss) to the Ptolemaic and Roman Imperial periods (Ptolemaic: Lanciani; Ptolemaic or Roman: Bosticco, Malaise, Ensoli Vittozzi; Roman: Roullet; specifically Domitianic: Lembke, Agnoli). The statue was found in 1856 in the Maison Tranquilli (Via del Beato Angelico 23). On the basis of its findspot, it has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Henzen (1858) 47; Lanciani (1883) 49; Marucchi (1912) 11 no. 5; Stuart Jones (1912) 358 no. 6; Porter and Moss (1951) 414; Bosticco (1952) 23-24 no. 16; Malaise (1972a) 197 no. 362; Roullet (1972) 133-134 no. 280; Ensoli Vittozzi (1990) 35 no. 3; Lembke (1994) 241-242 E44; *Ägypten Griechenland Rom* (2005) 712-713 no. 324 (J.F. Quack); *Musei Capitolini* (2010) 78-79 no. 2 (N. Agnoli)

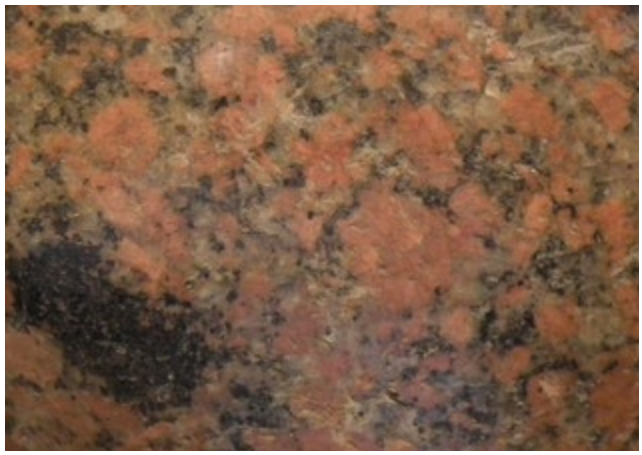
Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Red-pink

Magnetic attraction:
1

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 78



2 cm

Fig. 3.3.78b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a gneissoid, porphyritic, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium- to mainly coarse-grained and consists of alkali feldspar (typically moderate reddish brown, 10R 4/6), very light grey to ~ yellowish grey (N8–5Y 7/2) plagioclase, transparent (colourless) to transparent light grey (~ N7) quartz, and near black (~ N1) minerals (especially biotite, also some hornblende). Densely packed, moderately sized (typically 8-15 mm, rarely up to max. 30 mm across), an- to subhedral, alkali feldspar phenocrysts give the rock its overall red-pinkish colour. The feldspar phenocrysts exhibit a distinct foliation. Dark-coloured patches appear as oval lenses on the right side of the face and the left hind paw of the sphinx (diam. ca. 7 and 5 cm, respectively). These lenses are richer in biotite than the surrounding rock, which accounts for their darker colour (near black, ~ N1). On the basis of its macroscopic characteristics, the rock can be classified as gneissoid, medium- to coarse-grained, porphyritic granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and coarse-grained granites from Aswan. The gneissoid texture is commonly observed in Aswan granites (Aston *et al*.), especially near the contact between coarse-grained granites and metamorphic schist and gneisses (El-Shazly, Attia). Biotite schlieren can often be found in distinctly parallel-textured, porphyritic granites at Aswan with a red/pink colour (Klemm and Klemm). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granites from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan. The rock has previously been correctly classified as pink/red granite (Malaise, Roullet) and red granite from Aswan (Caprotti Vittozzi, Agnoli).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10-11; Attia (1955) 43-44; Aston *et al*. (2000) 35; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 252, section 7.6.3

079 Crocodile

Material
Granite

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Crocodile

Date:
Ptolemaic / Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via del Beato Angelico (1883) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
30 x 170 x 53 (H x L x W)

Preservation:
Nearly intact

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 24/S

Fig. 3.3.79a

Statue of a crocodile, which lies stretched out on a rectangular plinth. The animal raises its closed snout; its tail is turned to the left.

The statue is uninscribed. It has been variably dated on stylistic grounds to the Late Ptolemaic and to the Roman Imperial period (Late Ptolemaic: Sist; Late Ptolemaic or Roman: e.g. Malaise, Ensoli; Roman: Roullet, Lembke). It was found during Lanciani's excavations in 1883 in the Via del Beato Angelico. On the basis of its findspot, it has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense. When found, the statue lay in a marble-coated channel, which has generally been understood as an indication of the existence in the Iseum Campense of a water-channel. The connection of the statue with water has been used to explain the fact that the plinth, on which the animal lies, leans forward, as if the crocodile is about to slide into the water.

Bibliography:
Lanciani (1883) 131; Marucchi (1912) 12 no. 11; Stuart Jones (1912) 358 no. 11; Porter and Moss (1951) 415; Bosticco (1952) 23 no. 13; Malaise (1972a) 198 no. 365; Roullet (1972) 127 no. 254; Ensoli Vittozzi (1990) 42-43 no. 8; Lembke (1994) 239-240 E39; *Iside* (1997) 394 V.11 (S. Ensoli); Sist (1998) 510; *Musei Capitolini* (2010) 80-81 no. 3 (N. Agnoli)

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pink

Magnetic attraction:
1

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 73

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.79b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium- to mostly coarse-grained and consists of alkali feldspar (typically moderate reddish orange, 10R 6/6), ~ very light grey (N8) plagioclase, transparent (very) light grey (~ N8–N7) quartz, and black (~ N1) minerals (biotite and hornblende). Densely packed, large (up to max. 35 mm across), an- to subhedral, alkali feldspar phenocrysts. On the basis of its macroscopic characteristics, the rock can be classified as medium- to coarse-grained, porphyritic granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and porphyritic granite from Aswan (El-Shazly, Attia, Klemm and Klemm). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granites from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan. The rock has previously been correctly classified as red granite (Roullet, Lembke) and pink granite from Aswan (Caprotti Vittozzi, Agnoli).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10; Attia (1955) 43; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 250-251, section 7.5

Fig. 3.3.80a

080 Pharaoh

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual-naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Caesarion / Nero / Caracalla?

Date:
Ptolemaic / Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Giustiniana (1930) / Roman villa

Dimensions:
H. 133

Preservation:
Right hand and some parts of the base are missing, otherwise nearly intact

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 129270

Under-life-size statue of a standing male figure with a small female figure to his left on an approximately round base. The male figure leans forward. He is depicted with the left leg forward and right arm stretched along his side. The left arm is bent at the elbow; the hand is broken. The figure is nude except for the *nemes*-headdress from which a cobra emerges (now largely lost), and a cloak over his shoulders. The *nemes* and cobra snake indicate that the male figure represents a pharaoh. His genitals and musculature are well indicated. Some authors argue that the cloak is a lionskin, which, in combination with his nudity, would portray the pharaoh as a Classical hero, and connect him with Heracles. The female figure wears a knotted costume and holds a situla in her left hand. The specific identification of the man and woman is disputed. Roullet believes that the statue represents Caracalla in the guise of a pharaoh. More recently, Andreae identified the male figure as Caesarion, and the small female figure at his side as his mother Cleopatra VII. On the basis of particular facial details, however, most authors believe that the pharaoh figure represents emperor Nero, and the female figure a member of the Imperial family in the guise of Isis. This hypothesis was first formulated by Curto and is followed in most recent literature.

The uncertainties over the identification of the subject matter carry over into the dating of the statue, which has been variably dated to the second half of the 1st century BC (Caesarion and Cleopatra VII), the mid-1st century AD (Nero and Imperial family member), and the early 3rd century AD (Caracalla). The statue has presumably been re-cut from an older column, the round shape and polished surface of which remain at the base. By contrast, the surface of the sculpture is left unpolished. This, in combination with the crude workmanship and the reuse of an older column, does not correspond with the presumed Imperial character of the sculpture. It was found in 1930 in Tor Vergata in Populo on the Via Giustiniana, between the Via Trionfale and the Via Cassia, in the remains of a Roman villa.

Bibliography:
Roullet (1972) 4 n. 5; Curto (1978b); Manera – Mazza (2001) 112 no. 81; *Scultura antica in Palazzo Altemps* (2002) 284 (L. Sist Russo); Andreae (2006b) 66-68; *Palazzo Altemps* (2011) 311 (L. Sist Russo); Capriotti Vittozzi (2013) 122-123

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pink

Magnetic attraction:
1

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 75

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.80b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a weakly developed gneissoid, porphyritic, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium- to coarse-grained and consists of greyish orange pink (5YR 7/2) alkali feldspar, very light grey (N8) plagioclase, transparent (colourless) to transparent light grey (~ N7) quartz, and near black (~ N1) minerals (especially biotite, also some hornblende). Densely packed, large (typically 15-25 mm, rarely up to max. 30 mm across), mostly an- to subhedral, alkali feldspar phenocrysts, which rarely exhibit a rapaviki texture (i.e., they are enveloped by thin plagioclase mantles). The feldspar phenocrysts and dark-coloured minerals exhibit a subparallel arrangement. On the basis of its macroscopic characteristics, the rock can be classified as medium- to coarse-grained, porphyritic granite.

The rock has previously been classified as pink granite from Aswan (Sist Russo). Strong macroscopic analogies indeed exist between this rock and coarse-grained granites from Aswan. The gneissoid texture is commonly observed in Aswan granites (Aston *et al*.), especially near the contact between coarse-grained granites and metamorphic schist and gneisses (El-Shazly, Attia; cf. Klemm and Klemm). The rapaviki texture that is occasionally observed in the studied rock is fully consistent with an Aswan origin (Meneisy *et al*.). However, Curto believes that the sculpture is carved "in granito rosa di un tipo simile a quello di Assuan, ma, ci sembre, piuttusto di cava italiana". Given its pink colour, he likely refers to *granito sardo*, which indeed may overlap with pale pink varieties from Aswan. This Italian granite is a non-foliated, medium-grained (maximum grain-size 26 mm) rock with abundant alkali feldspar phenocrysts, which are typically euhedral and about 1 cm across (Poggi – Lazzarini 2005, 58-59). The macroscopic characteristics of the studied rock, however, in particular its medium to coarse grain-size, its larger maximum grain-size, its slightly parallel texture, the typically subhedral crystal habit of the feldspar phenocrysts, their larger average size, plus the rapaviki texture that they occasionally exhibit, makes the case for this rock as originating from the quarries at Aswan highly plausible.

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10-11; Attia (1955) 43-44; Aston *et al*. (2000) 35; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 251, section 7.5.2

Fig. 3.3.81a

081 Statue fragment

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Egyptian idol / woman / pharaoh?

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
In a well in Trastevere / no context proposed

Dimensions:
31 x 21 x 17.5 (H x W x D)

Preservation:
Preserved from head through waist; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Liverpool, World Museum, inv. 1959.148.61

Upper part of an under-life-size statue. The subject matter is disputed. In the older literature the torso is considered as an Egyptian idol (e.g., *Engravings*), in later studies it has been identified as a representation of a pharaoh (Roullet, Malaise). However, according to the Liverpool museum inventory, it may also represent an Egyptian woman; this hypothesis likely results from the 'breasts' that appear to be slightly visible. The figure wears a banded *nemes*-headdress with a lotus flower (?) on top. The left arm is bent in front of the chest; the remains of a crook (?) are held in the left hand. The right arm is broken at the elbow. It was probably originally stretched along the side. *Nemes* and crook are both royal attributes, which make an identification of the figure as a representation of a pharaoh most likely. It has an uninscribed back-pillar with pyramidal top.

No dating is proposed in the consulted literature; however, according to the museum inventory the torso dates from the Roman Imperial period (no explanation is given to support this dating). It was found in a well in Trastevere; further details concerning its find location and find circumstances are unknown. It has not been attributed to a specific context.

Bibliography:
Engravings (1809) 71 no. 191; Michaelis (1882) 356 no. 61; Ashmole (1929) 30 no. 61; Roullet (1972) 104-105 no. 162; Malaise (1978) 648 no. 421b; Bongrani *et al*. (1998) 565

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pinkish

Magnetic attraction:
1

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 75

~2 cm

Fig. 3.3.81b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a weakly developed gneissoid, porphyritic, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium- to coarse-grained and consists of greyish orange pink (5YR 7/2) alkali feldspar, very light grey (N8) plagioclase, transparent (colourless) to transparent light grey (~ N7) quartz, and near black (~ N1) biotite. Densely packed, large (typically 12-20 mm, up to max. 30 mm across), an- to subhedral, alkali feldspar phenocrysts, which give the rock its overall pinkish colour. The biotite flakes minerals and feldspar phenocrysts exhibit a subparallel arrangement. On the basis of its macroscopic characteristics, the rock can be classified as gneissoid, medium- to coarse-grained, porphyritic (biotite) granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and coarse-grained granites from Aswan. The gneissoid texture is commonly observed in Aswan granites (Aston *et al*., cf. Klemm and Klemm), especially near the contact between coarse-grained granites and metamorphic schist and gneisses (El-Shazly, Attia). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granites from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan. The rock has previously been correctly classified as red granite (Michaelis, Roullet).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10-11; Attia (1955) 43-44; Aston *et al*. (2000) 35; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 251, section 7.5.2

082 Laterano obelisk

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Obelisk

Subject matter:
Hieroglyphs, offering scene

Date:
New Kingdom

Findspot / ancient context:
Circus Maximus (1587) / Circus Maximus

Dimensions:
H. 32.2 m

Preservation:
Some parts are modern restorations

Current location:
Rome, Piazza di San Giovanni in Laterano

Fig. 3.3.82a

This obelisk is the tallest standing specimen worldwide. It bears hieroglyphic inscriptions in three columns on all sides. These are accompanied by figurative scenes near its apex, which depict traditional scenes of a king offering to Egyptian deities. The names of Tuthmose III and Tuthmose IV are mentioned in the inscription, which allow the obelisk to be dated to the 18th Dynasty (all authors). Work on the obelisk started under Tuthmose III, and it was finished by his grandson Tuthmose IV, who dedicated the obelisk in honour of his grandfather in the temple of Karnak in Thebes.

Ammianus Marcellinus' text is the principal source of the Roman history of the obelisk (see *infra*, Appendix C). It was moved from its original location in Thebes to Alexandria in the early 4th century AD by order of emperor Constantine (306-337 AD). According to the inscription on the obelisk's Roman base, it may have originally been destined for the newly built capital of the Eastern empire, Constantinople. However, Constantine died before the completion of its transport overseas, and the obelisk was left lying in Alexandria until Constantine's son, Constantius II (337-361 AD), took it to Rome and set it up in the Circus Maximus to mark his visit to that city in 357 AD. The obelisk, first rediscovered in the late 15th century, was fully excavated in 1587 by order of Sixtus V, who had it set up one year later in front of the San Giovanni in Laterano.

Bibliography:
Iversen (1968) 55-64; Roullet (1972) 70-71 no. 70, and 44 (context); Versluys (2002) 363; Curran *et al*. (2009) 23, 53-56, and 136-137

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pink

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 75-76

Fig. 3.3.82b

No detailed examination was possible. It is evident from photographs that this is an igneous (medium- to coarse-grained?), phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a gneissoid, porphyritic, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix, in which quartz, plagioclase, and dark-coloured minerals can be distinguished, is dominated by large pink alkali feldspar phenocrysts (up to several cm across, an- to subhedral?), which give the rock its overall pinkish colour. The dark-coloured minerals and feldspar phenocrysts exhibit a parallel arrangement. Several dark-coloured lenses and streaks, most likely biotite schlieren, stand out against the overall pink colour of the rock. The macroscopic characteristics allow for the rock to be classified as coarse porphyritic granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and coarse-grained porphyritic granites from Aswan. The gneissoid texture is commonly observed in Aswan granites (Aston *et al*., cf. Klemm and Klemm), especially near the contact between coarse-grained granites and metamorphic schist and gneisses (El-Shazly, Attia). The inclusion of biotite schlieren is fully consistent with an Aswan origin (Gindy, Higazy and Wasfy). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granites from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan. The rock has previously been correctly classified as red granite (e.g., Roullet).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10-11; Attia (1955) 43-44; Gindy (1956); Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 216-217; Aston *et al*. (2000) 35; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 251, sections 7.5.2-7.5.3

Fig. 3.3.83a

083 Medici obelisk

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Obelisk

Subject matter:
Hieroglyphs

Date:
New Kingdom

Findspot / ancient context:
Near Santa Maria sopra Minerva (ca. 1550) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
H ca. 6 m

Preservation:
Nearly intact

Current location:
Florence, Amphitheatre of the Boboli Gardens

Small obelisk with hieroglyphic inscriptions in one column on all sides. The inscription mentions the name of Ramesses II, which dates the obelisk to the 19th Dynasty (all authors), and furthermore indicates that it originates from Heliopolis (Lembke gives a transcription and German translation of the inscription).

It was found around 1550 near the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva (Lembke: presumably Via del Beato Angelico). On the basis of its findspot, it has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Lanciani (1883) 41-44; Porter and Moss (1951) 407-408; Malaise (1972a) 199 no. 370; Roullet (1972) 75 no. 75; Lembke (1994) 204 D50; Raue (1999) 345-346 no. XIX.3-3.4

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pink

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 73

Fig. 3.3.83b

Not examined in person. It is evident from photographs that this is an igneous (medium- to coarse-grained?), phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix, in which quartz, plagioclase, and dark-coloured minerals can be distinguished, is dominated by large pinkish alkali feldspar phenocrysts (up to several cm across, mostly anhedral?), which give the rock its overall (dark) pinkish colour. The macroscopic characteristics allow for the rock to be classified as coarse porphyritic granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and coarse-grained, porphyritic granites from Aswan (El-Shazly, Attia, Klemm and Klemm). Based on these analogies the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan. The rock has previously been correctly classified as red granite (e.g., Roullet).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10; Attia (1955) 43; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 250-251, section 7.5

Fig. 3.3.84a

084 Dogale obelisk

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Obelisk

Subject matter:
Hieroglyphs

Date:
New Kingdom

Findspot / ancient context:
Via del Beato Angelico (1883) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
H. 6.34 m

Preservation:
Lower part is missing

Current location:
Rome, Viale delle Terme

Small obelisk with hieroglyphic inscriptions in one column on all sides. The inscription mentions the name of Ramesses II, which allows the obelisk to be dated to the 19th Dynasty (all authors), and furthermore indicates that it originates from Heliopolis (Lembke gives a transcription and German translation of the inscription).

The obelisk was reportedly first rediscovered in 1719 under the Bibliotheca Casanatense (Roullet), but it was not until 1883 that it was excavated, during Lanciani's campaign in the Via del Beato Angelico. On the basis of its findspot, it has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Lanciani (1883) 58-59, 72-103 (E. Schiaparelli); Porter and Moss (1951) 409-410 no. 4; Iversen (1968) 174-177; Malaise (1972a) 199 no. 369; Roullet (1972) 75-76 no. 76; Lembke (1994) 202 D48; Raue (1999) 345 no. XIX.3-3.3

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pinkish

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 75

Fig. 3.3.84b

No detailed examination was possible. It is evident from photographs that this is an igneous (medium- to coarse-grained?), phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a weakly developed gneissoid, porphyritic, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix, in which quartz, plagioclase, and dark-coloured minerals can be distinguished, is dominated by large pink alkali feldspar phenocrysts (up to several cm across, mostly anhedral?), which give the rock its overall pinkish colour. The dark-coloured minerals and feldspar phenocrysts exhibit a subparallel arrangement. The macroscopic characteristics allow for the rock to be classified as coarse porphyritic granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and coarse-grained granites from Aswan. The gneissoid texture is commonly observed in Aswan granites (Aston *et al*., cf. Klemm and Klemm), especially near the contact between coarse-grained granites and metamorphic schist and gneisses (El-Shazly, Attia). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granites from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan. The rock has previously been correctly classified as red granite (e.g., Roullet).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10-11; Attia (1955) 43-44; Aston *et al*. (2000) 35; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 251, section 7.5.2

Fig. 3.3.85a

085 Flaminian obelisk

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Obelisk

Subject matter:
Hieroglyphs, offering scene

Date:
New Kingdom

Findspot / ancient context:
Circus Maximus (1587) / Circus Maximus

Dimensions:
H. 21.9 m

Preservation:
Some parts are modern restorations

Current location:
Rome, Piazza del Popolo

The obelisk bears hieroglyphic inscriptions in three columns on all four sides. These are accompanied by figurative scenes on the obelisk's lower section, which depict traditional scenes of a king offering to Re-Harakhti and Amun. The inscription mentions the name of Seti I on three sides and of Ramesses II on the fourth, which allows the obelisk to be dated to the 19th Dynasty (all authors). Moreover, it indicates that work on the obelisk started under Seti I, and that it was completed under his successor, Ramesses II, who had it erected at Heliopolis.

Augustus had the obelisk brought from Heliopolis to Rome and installed it in 10/9 BC at the spina of the Circus Maximus, with a dedication to the sun in Latin on its new base. Together with the Montecitorio obelisk (see *infra*, no. 087), this was the first obelisk to reach Rome. Pliny and, later, Ammianus Marcellinus wrote on their transportation and re-erection in Rome (see Appendix C). At a certain point in Roman history, the Flaminian obelisk served as model for the obelisk that is now in front of the Trinità dei Monti (for which see *infra*, no. 091). The obelisk was first rediscovered in the late 15th century in the Circus Maximus, but it would not be excavated until 1587 by order of Sixtus V, who had it erected two years later on Piazza del Popolo.

Augustus' obelisks have traditionally been understood as potent symbols of the Augustan conquest of Egypt twenty years earlier, while more recent studies emphasise their multi-layered significance not only of political symbols of past victories but also, for instance, of the establishment of Rome as the centre of a new empire (see especially Swetnam-Burland).

Bibliography:
Iversen (1968) 65-75; Roullet (1972) 69-70 no. 69, and 43 (context); Raue (1999) 321-323 no. XIX.2-3, 361-363 no. XIX.3-7.2; Versluys (2002) 362-363; Schneider (2004) 161-169; Curran *et al*. (2009) 23, 37-40, and 137-138; Swetnam-Burland (2015) 65-104 (*passim*); Van Aerde (2015) 226-235

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pink

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 75

Fig. 3.3.85b

No detailed examination was possible. It is evident from photographs that this is an igneous (medium- to coarse-grained?), phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a weakly developed gneissoid, porphyritic, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix, in which quartz, plagioclase, and dark-coloured minerals can be distinguished, is dominated by large pink alkali feldspar phenocrysts (up to several cm across, an- to subhedral?), which give the rock its overall (dark) pinkish colour. The dark-coloured minerals and feldspar phenocrysts exhibit a (sub-)parallel arrangement. Several dark-coloured clots and streaks, most likely biotite schlieren, stand out against the overall pink colour of the rock. The macroscopic characteristics allow for the rock to be classified as coarse porphyritic granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and coarse-grained porphyritic granites from Aswan. The gneissoid texture is commonly observed in Aswan granites (Aston *et al*., cf. Klemm and Klemm), especially near the contact between coarse-grained granites and metamorphic schist and gneisses (El-Shazly, Attia). The inclusion of biotite schlieren is fully consistent with an Aswan origin (Gindy, Higazy and Wasfy). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granites from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan.

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10-11; Attia (1955) 43-44; Gindy (1956); Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 216-217; Aston *et al*. (2000) 35; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 251, section 7.5.2

Fig. 3.3.86a

086 Minerveus obelisk

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Obelisk

Subject matter:
Hieroglyphs

Date:
Late Period

Findspot / ancient context:
Garden of Dominican convent (1665) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
H. 5.47 m

Preservation:
Nearly intact

Current location:
Rome, Piazza della Minerva

Small obelisk with a hieroglyphic inscription in one column on all four sides. The inscription mentions the name of Apries, which allows to date the obelisk to the 26th Dynasty (all authors). It originates from Sais, as can be inferred from the inscription, which mentions the "Mention of the Bee", as the Osiris tomb that was incorporated in the temple complex of Neith as Sais was sometimes called (Arnold 1999, 71). The hieroglyphs in the cartouches on the north, south, and east sides have been partly removed. This is usually regarded as the damnatio memoriae of king Apries under his successor, Amasis (Lembke gives a transcription and German translation of the inscription).

The obelisk was found in 1665 in the gardens of the former Dominican convent. On the basis of its findspot, it has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Lanciani (1883) 45-46; Lafaye (1884) 219-220; Porter and Moss (1951) 411 no. 7; Iversen (1968) 93-100; Malaise (1972a) 200 no. 375; Roullet (1972) 76-77 no. 78; Lembke (1994) 206-207 D52

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pink

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 73

Fig. 3.3.86b

No detailed examination was possible. It is evident from photographs that this is an igneous (medium- to coarse-grained?), phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix, in which quartz, plagioclase, and dark-coloured minerals can be distinguished, is dominated by large (up to several cm across), pink, sub- to commonly anhedral, alkali feldspar phenocrysts, which give the rock its overall pinkish colour. The macroscopic characteristics allow for the rock to be classified as coarse porphyritic granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and coarse-grained, porphyritic granites from Aswan (El-Shazly, Attia, Klemm and Klemm). Based on these analogies the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan. The rock has previously been correctly classified as red granite (e.g., Roullet).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10; Attia (1955) 43; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 250-251, section 7.5

Fig. 3.3.87a

087 Montecitorio obelisk

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Obelisk

Subject matter:
Hieroglyphs, offering scene

Date:
Late Period

Findspot / ancient context:
Near San Lorenzo in Lucina (1748) / Meridian on Campus Martius

Dimensions:
H. 21.8 m

Preservation:
Fragmentarily preserved, numerous parts are modern restorations

Current location:
Rome, Piazza di Montecitorio

The obelisk bears hieroglyphic inscriptions in two columns on all four sides. The inscriptions are fragmentarily preserved, and they are accompanied by figurative scenes on the sides of the pyramidion, which show traditional scenes of a king offering to Re-Harakhti and Atum. The inscription mentions the name of Psamtik II, which allows the obelisk to be dated to the 26th Dynasty (all authors), and furthermore indicates that it originates from Heliopolis.

Augustus had the obelisk brought from Heliopolis to Rome and installed it in 10/9 BC as the gnomon of a meridian in the Campus Martius. Pliny says that a certain Novius Facundus had a gilded ball placed on top to reflect the shadow of the sun (see *infra*, Appendix C). A dedication to the sun was carved in Latin on its new base. The obelisk was first reported in the late 15th century near the Church of San Lorenzo in Lucina. Between the 16th and mid-18th century it was rediscovered several times, but it was not fully excavated until 1748. It has been at its current location in Piazza di Montecitorio since 1792. For a concise commentary see *supra*, no. 085.

Bibliography:
Iversen (1968) 142-160; Roullet (1972) 79 no. 83, and 44-45 (context); Buchner (1982); Versluys (2002) 357-358; Schneider (2004) 161-169; Curran *et al*. (2009) 37-40, 93, and 196-202; Swetnam-Burland (2010); ibid. (2015) 65-104 (*passim*); Van Aerde (2015) 235-241

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pink

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 74 & 76

Fig. 3.3.87b

No detailed examination was possible. It is evident from photographs that this is an igneous (medium- to coarse-grained?), phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a weakly developed gneissoid, porphyritic, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix, in which quartz, plagioclase, and relatively large amounts of dark-coloured minerals can be distinguished, is dominated by large (dark) pink alkali feldspar phenocrysts (up to several cm across, an- to subhedral?), which give the rock an overall pinkish colour against a relatively grey matrix. Some feldspar phenocrysts exhibit a rapaviki texture (i.e., they are enveloped by thin plagioclase mantles), and in places exhibit a parallel arrangement. The macroscopic characteristics allow for the rock to be classified as coarse porphyritic granite which is relatively rich in dark-coloured minerals.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and coarse-grained porphyritic granites from Aswan. The gneissoid texture is commonly observed in Aswan granites (Aston *et al*.), especially near the contact between coarse-grained granites and metamorphic schist and gneisses (El-Shazly, Attia). The rapaviki texture that is occasionally observed in the studied rock is fully consistent with an Aswan origin (Meneisy *et al*.; cf. Klemm and Klemm). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granites from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan.

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10-11; Attia (1955) 43-44; Meneisy *et al*. (1979) 126-127; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 251, section 7.5.1

Fig. 3.3.88a

088 Vatican obelisk

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Obelisk

Subject matter:
Latin inscription

Date:
Late Period / Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Remained visible since Antiquity / Circus Gai et Neronis

Dimensions:
H. 25.5 m

Preservation:
Nearly intact

Current location:
Rome, St. Peter's Square

The obelisk is uninscribed, except for a Latin dedication on its base (see below), and another, much later one near its apex, which commemorates the affixation of the cross on its top in 1586 (Iversen 1968, fig. 5). We know from a passage in Pliny's *Natural History* that Caligula ordered its transportation from Egypt to Rome (16.76.201-202; see *infra*, Appendix C). Upon arrival in Rome around 37 AD, it was erected on the spina of the newly built Circus Gai et Neronis in the Ager Vaticanus. This is the only obelisk that remained standing through the Middle Ages, when it was usually regarded as the funerary monument of Julius Caesar. It remained at its original location in the former Roman Circus until 1586, when it was removed to its current location on St. Peter's Square.

Around 30-29 BC the obelisk stood in the Forum Julium in Alexandria, or perhaps in the newly founded Nikopolis, a few kilometres east of Alexandria. This can be inferred from the reconstruction of the original Latin inscription, which was attached in bronze letters to its base. The inscription informs us that the obelisk was erected by Cornelius Gallus, prefect of Egypt under the first years of Augustus' reign. Tiberius had Gallus' inscription removed, and he had a dedication to Augustus and himself carved directly into the stone instead. This inscription, still visible today, was partly erased later, presumably by Caligula. The earliest history of the obelisk is disputed. Some authors believe that it was a 'new' creation, which was first erected in the Forum Julium. Others identify the Vatican obelisk with an uninscribed specimen that is described in Pliny's *Natural History*, which was erected around 270 BC by Ptolemy II in the Arsinoeion. This obelisk, Pliny says, was originally erected during the reign of Necthebis, whom most scholars have identified as the 30th Dynasty king Nectanebo I or II, perhaps at Heliopolis. However, McKenzie argues that the Arsinoeion obelisk was only moved to the Forum Julium in ca. 12/14-15 AD, because it was in the way of the dockyards, which would speak against an identification of the Vatican obelisk with the one from the Arsinoeion.

Bibliography:
Iversen (1968) 19-46; Roullet (1972) 67-69 no. 68, and 43-44 (context); Alföldy (1990); Versluys (2002) 325; Schneider (2004) 156-161; McKenzie (2007) 79; Curran *et al*. (2009) 44-46, 64-67, and 103-140 (*passim*); Alföldy (2011); Swetnam-Burland (2015) 76-77

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pink

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 75-76

Fig. 3.3.88b

No detailed examination was possible. It is evident from photographs that this is an igneous (medium- to coarse-grained?), phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a gneissoid, porphyritic, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix, in which quartz, plagioclase, and dark-coloured minerals can be distinguished, is dominated by large pink alkali feldspar phenocrysts (up to several cm across, sub- to mostly anhedral?), which give the rock its overall pinkish colour. Some feldspar phenocrysts exhibit a rapaviki texture (i.e., they are enveloped by thin plagioclase mantles). The dark-coloured minerals and feldspar phenocrysts exhibit a distinct parallel arrangement, which is accentuated by the numerous dark-coloured streaks and elongated patches, most likely biotite schlieren, which clearly stand out against the overall pink colour of the rock. The macroscopic characteristics allow for the rock to be classified as coarse porphyritic granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and coarse-grained porphyritic granites from Aswan. The gneissoid texture is commonly observed in Aswan granites (Aston *et al*.), especially near the contact between coarse-grained granites and metamorphic schist and gneisses (El-Shazly, Attia). The inclusion of biotite schlieren is fully consistent with an Aswan origin (Gindy, Higazy and Wasfy), as is the rapaviki texture that can be occasionally observed in the studied rock (Meneisy *et al*.; cf. Klemm and Klemm). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granites from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan.

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10-11; Attia (1955) 43-44; Gindy (1956); Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 216-217; Meneisy *et al*. (1979) 126-127; Aston *et al*. (2000) 35; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 251, sections 7.5.1-7.5.3

Fig. 3.3.89a

089 Domitian's obelisk

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Obelisk

Subject matter:
Hieroglyphs, figurative scenes

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Circus of Maxentius (15th century) / Circus of Maxentius & Iseum Campense?

Dimensions:
H. 16.54 m

Preservation:
Several fragments are modern restorations, incl. pyramidion

Current location:
Rome, Piazza Navona & Musei Vaticani, Magazzino ex Ponteggi, inv. 25059

Obelisk with a hieroglyphic inscription in one column on all four sides. Depictions of Domitian can be recognised on all sides of the pyramidion. The emperor, portrayed as an Egyptian pharaoh, receives various gifts from the deities that accompany him, which include Isis, Thoth, Horus, Amun-Re, and perhaps Uto (this suggestion is proposed by Lembke, who also provides detailed descriptions of and a concise commentary on the figurative scenes). The name of Domitian allows the obelisk to be dated between 81 and 96 AD. More specifically, some passages allude to Domitian's accession in 81 AD, which suggests that the obelisk was erected in the early 80s. The text is unusual in that it presents an original composition that was made specifically for Domitian, whereas most, if not all, other Roman Imperial obelisks are either uninscribed or bear inscriptions that were copied from Pharaonic obelisks in Rome. Translations of and critical commentaries on the inscription can be found in Grenier, Lembke, and Darwall-Smith.

The obelisk was found in the early 15th century in the Circus of Maxentius on the Via Appia. It is usually assumed that it was taken to the circus in the early 4th century AD, during the reign of emperor Maxentius, where it probably stood on the spina. At the time of its rediscovery, the obelisk was broken in four pieces. These fragments were restored and re-erected in 1649 on Piazza Navona, where the obelisk still stands today. The original pyramidion was only excavated in 1848 in the circus and is currently preserved in the Vatican Museum. The Circus of Maxentius was evidently not the obelisk's primary context. It is often assumed that it originally decorated the entrance court to the Iseum Campense. This hypothesis is based on a preserved fragment of the Forma Urbis Romae, the Severan marble plan of Rome, which shows a circle and a square in this section of the sanctuary that have been interpreted as a fountain and Domitian's obelisk, respectively. While the hypothesis about the obelisk's original location has found general acceptance since it was formulated by Iversen, and may be supported by the Isiac character of the figurative scenes on the pyramidion (Lembke), there is no conclusive evidence for its attribution to this sanctuary (Darwall-Smith).

Bibliography:
Farina (1908); Erman (1917) 4-10, 18-28; Marucchi (1917); Porter and Moss (1951) 411-412 no. 8; Iversen (1968) 76-92; Malaise (1972a) 203-207 no. 387; Roullet (1972) 72-73 no. 72, and 44 (context); Grenier (1987); Lembke (1994) 210-212 D55, 37-41, and 72; Darwall-Smith (1996) 145-150; Bricault (2001) 166; Versluys (2002) 372; Curran *et al*. (2009) 47-48, and 173-174

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pink

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 74 & 76

Fig. 3.3.89b

No detailed examination was possible. It is evident from photographs that this is an igneous (medium- to coarse-grained?), phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a gneissoid, porphyritic, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix, in which quartz, plagioclase, and dark-coloured minerals can be distinguished, is dominated by large pink alkali feldspar phenocrysts (up to several cm across; smaller than the phenocrysts in the rocks of most other obelisks?, sub- to mostly anhedral?), which give the rock its overall pinkish colour. Some feldspar phenocrysts exhibit a rapaviki texture (i.e., they are enveloped by thin plagioclase mantles). The dark-coloured minerals and feldspar phenocrysts exhibit a distinct parallel arrangement. Several small, irregular dark-coloured inclusions, most likely biotite schlieren, stand out against the overall pink colour of the rock. The macroscopic characteristics allow for the rock to be classified as coarse porphyritic granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and coarse-grained porphyritic granites from Aswan. The gneissoid texture is commonly observed in Aswan granites (Aston *et al*.), especially near the contact between coarse-grained granites and metamorphic schist and gneisses (El-Shazly, Attia). The inclusion of biotite schlieren is fully consistent with an Aswan origin (Gindy, Higazy and Wasfy), as is the rapaviki texture that can be occasionally observed in the studied rock (Meneisy *et al*.; cf. Klemm and Klemm). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granites from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan.

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10-11; Attia (1955) 43-44; Gindy (1956); Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 216-217; Meneisy *et al*. (1979) 126-127; Aston *et al*. (2000) 35; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 251, sections 7.5.1-7.5.3

Fig. 3.3.90a

090 Pincio obelisk

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Obelisk

Subject matter:
Hieroglyphs, offering scene

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Circus Varianus (1570) / Circus Varianus & tomb of Antinous

Dimensions:
H. 9.3 m

Preservation:
Some parts are modern restorations

Current location:
Rome, Viale dell'obelisco

The obelisk bears hieroglyphic inscriptions in two columns on all sides. The inscriptions are accompanied by figurative scenes on all four sides of the shaft near its apex, which depict traditional scenes of a king offering to Re-Harakhti, Amun, and Thoth. The king is identified by the hieroglyphic inscription as emperor Hadrian, who is shown in the guise of a pharaoh. Moreover, the inscription indicates that the obelisk was erected to celebrate the deification of Antinous, who drowned in the river Nile during Hadrian's visit to Egypt in 130-131 AD, which provides a dating for the obelisk between 130 and 138 AD.

Parts of the broken shaft were visible in the 15th and 16th centuries, and excavated in 1570 in the ruins of the Circus Varianus near the Via Labicana (for the complex history of the obelisk since its rediscovery see Iversen). It is usually assumed that the obelisk was taken to the circus in the early 3rd century AD, perhaps during the reign of emperor Elagabalus. The Circus Varianus was evidently not the obelisk's primary context. The earliest history of the obelisk is disputed. As can be inferred from the inscription, it was connected with the grave complex of Antinous. However, scholars disagree on the location of this sepulchre. Based on the translation of the hieroglyphic inscription, Grenier locates it in Rome and suggests that it could have been situated in the Horti Domitiae. Other places in Rome that have been forwarded include the precinct of an unidentified temple of Fortuna in Rome (Roullet after Iversen), and the so-called garden of Adonis on the Palatine Hill (Coarelli). According to a different interpretation, the tomb of Antinous would have been located in Egypt, most likely in Antinoopolis. In the latter opinion, the obelisk would have been transported from Egypt to Rome (e.g., Curran *et al*.).

Bibliography:
Erman (1917) 10-17, 28-47; Iversen (1968) 161-173; Roullet (1972) 82 no. 86, and 44 (context); Grenier – Coarelli (1986); Boatwright (1987) 239-260; *Der Obelisk des Antinoos* (1994); Versluys (2002) 347, and 361-362; Grenier (2008); Curran *et al*. (2009) 48-49, and 203

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pink

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 74

Fig. 3.3.90b

No detailed examination was possible. It is evident from photographs that this is an igneous (medium- to coarse-grained?), phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix, in which quartz, plagioclase, and dark-coloured minerals can be distinguished, is dominated by pink alkali feldspar phenocrysts (up to several cm across, sub- to mostly anhedral?), which give the rock an overall (dark) pinkish colour. Some feldspar phenocrysts exhibit a rapaviki texture (i.e., they are enveloped by thin plagioclase mantles). The macroscopic characteristics allow for the rock to be classified as coarse porphyritic granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and coarse-grained porphyritic granites from Aswan (El-Shazly, Attia). The rapaviki texture that can be occasionally observed in the studied rock is fully consistent with an Aswan origin (Meneisy *et al*.; cf. Klemm and Klemm). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granites from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan.

El-Shazly (1954) 10; Attia (1955) 43; Meneisy *et al*. (1979) 126-127; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 251, section 7.5.1

Fig. 3.3.91a

091 Trinità dei Monti obelisk

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual-naturalistic

Object category:
Obelisk

Subject matter:
Hieroglyphs, offering scene

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Porta Pinciana (16th century) / Horti Sallustiani

Dimensions:
H. 14 m

Preservation:
Some parts are modern restorations

Current location:
Rome, in front of the Trinità dei Monti

The origin of the obelisk is unknown. Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the obelisk among the specimens that were brought over from Egypt by one of the successors of Augustus, but it is not clear when exactly this took place (17.4.16; see *infra*, Appendix C). At some point after its arrival in Rome, it was inscribed and decorated after the direct example of the Flaminio obelisk that had been at Circus Maximus since 10 BC (*supra*, no. 085). The carving of the inscription is usually considered as crude, in particular in comparison to the aforementioned Flaminio obelisk, and this is often regarded as an indication of a late date of manufacture (late 2nd or 3rd century AD). Moreover, since not all characters are legible, several authors suggest that the inscription was copied by craftsmen who did not understand the hieroglyphic script. Other differences to the Flaminio obelisk are visible in the figurative scenes on the four sides of the obelisks's lower section. The depictions show a kneeling pharaoh offering to Re-Harakhti, a traditional decorative theme on obelisks, which is consistent with that on the Flaminio obelisk. However, these scenes were relatively enlarged, perhaps to increase their visibility for the Roman audience (Swetnam-Burland), and they deviate from the example on which they are based in terms of their stylistic execution. Hence, instead of the conceptual profile-view, Re-Harakhti is depicted in a different, naturalistic visual tradition: the deity is shown in contrapposto stance, and in one of the scenes even appears in distinctly Roman military dress (Van Aerde).

The obelisk was still standing in the 8th century AD, when the so-called Einsiedeln itinerary was written. In the 16th century it is reported to have been lying broken in a ditch at the Porta Pinciana, the location of the Hori Sallustiani in Roman times. It is usually connected with four Egyptian sculptures discovered in 1714 in the Villa Verospi (see *supra*, no. 076).

Bibliography:
Porter and Moss (1951) 412 no. 10; Iversen (1968) 128-141; Malaise (1972a) 182-183 no. 338; Roullet (1972) 71-73 no. 71; Versluys (2002) 349-350; Hartswick (2004) 52-58; Curran *et al*. (2009) 194-196; Swetnam-Burland (2015) 49-50; Van Aerde (2015) 241-249

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pink

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 73

Fig. 3.3.91b

No detailed examination was possible. It is evident from photographs that this is an igneous (medium- to coarse-grained?), phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix, in which quartz, plagioclase, and dark-coloured minerals can be distinguished, is dominated by large (up to several cm across, sub- to commonly anhedral?), pink alkali feldspar phenocrysts, which give the rock its overall pinkish colour. The macroscopic characteristics allow for the rock to be classified as coarse porphyritic granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and coarse-grained, porphyritic granites from Aswan (El-Shazly, Attia, Klemm and Klemm). Based on these analogies, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan.

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10; Attia (1955) 43; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 250-251, section 7.5

Fig. 3.3.92a

092 Quirinal obelisk

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Obelisk

Subject matter:
n/a

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Between the churches S. Rocco and S. Carlo al Corso (1519) / Mausoleum of Augustus

Dimensions:
H. 14.6 m

Preservation:
Some parts are modern restorations

Current location:
Rome, Piazza del Quirinale

Uninscribed obelisk. As it stands today, it has a flattened top; it is not clear whether this is its original shape or, as has been suggested, if a pyramidion used to be present, which was either broken off or removed on purpose in Roman times for the application of an ornament – which no longer survives (a gilt pinnacle?). The lack of inscriptions complicates the dating of the monolith. Nevertheless, it is generally considered to date from the Roman Imperial period.

The obelisk forms a pair with its twin, the so-called Esquiline obelisk (*infra*, no. 093). Together, they were erected near the Mausoleum of Augustus. Particularly in older reconstructions they are drawn at either sides of the entrance to the sepulchre, but there are indications to suggest that they stood on either flanks of the monument instead. It is unknown when the obelisks were set up at the Mausoleum. They are first mentioned in written sources from the 4th century AD (Ammianus Marcellinus, see *infra*, Appendix C). However, most authors favour a dating in the 1st century AD. More specifically, the installation of the obelisks has been variously attributed to the reigns of Claudius, Domitian, and, especially in the more recent literature, Augustus. In the latter case, they would be contemporaneous with the construction of the Mausoleum.

The Quirinal obelisk was first briefly uncovered in 1549-1550, but it was not until 1781 that the obelisk, which, like its twin, was broken in three pieces, was rediscovered again and excavated during construction works in the area between the churches of San Rocco and San Carlo al Corso. It was re-erected five years later on the Quirinal Hill.

Bibliography:
Iversen (1968) 115-127; Roullet (1972) 78 no. 82, and 45; Buchner (1996); Versluys (2002) 357; Schneider (2004) 167; Curran *et al*. (2009) 46 with n. 22, and 193-194; Swetnam-Burland (2015) 100; Van Aerde (2015) 249-254

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pink

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 75

Fig. 3.3.92b

No detailed examination was possible. It is evident from photographs that this is an igneous (medium- to coarse-grained?), phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a weakly developed gneissoid, porphyritic, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix, in which quartz, plagioclase, and dark-coloured minerals can be distinguished, is dominated by large (dark) pink alkali feldspar phenocrysts (up to several cm across, mostly anhedral?), which give the rock its overall pinkish colour. The dark-coloured minerals and feldspar phenocrysts exhibit a subparallel arrangement. The macroscopic characteristics allow for the rock to be classified as coarse porphyritic granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and coarse-grained porphyritic granites from Aswan. The gneissoid texture is commonly observed in Aswan granites (Aston *et al*.; cf. Klemm and Klemm), especially near the contact between coarse-grained granites and metamorphic schist and gneisses (El-Shazly, Attia). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granites from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan.

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10-11; Attia (1955) 43-44; Aston *et al*. (2000) 35; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 251, section 7.5.2

Fig. 3.3.93a

093 Esquiline obelisk

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Obelisk

Subject matter:
n/a

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Mausoleum of Augustus (1519) / Mausoleum of Augustus

Dimensions:
H. 14.8 m

Preservation:
Some parts are modern restorations

Current location:
Rome, Piazza dell'Esquilino

Uninscribed, typologically similar to the Quirinal obelisk, with which it formed a pair. For a general description, dating, and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 092.

The Esquiline obelisk was found in 1510, broken in three pieces, presumably at the western flank of the Mausoleum. These pieces were excavated in 1519 and left in the Via Ripetta until 1585, when they were moved to the Esquiline Hill, to be erected at the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore two years later.

Bibliography:
Iversen (1968) 47-54; Roullet (1972) 78 no. 81, and 45; Buchner (1996); Versluys (2002) 357; Schneider (2004) 167; Curran *et al*. (2009) 136, and 46 with n. 22; Swetnam-Burland (2015) 100; Van Aerde (2015) 249-254

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pink

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 76

Fig. 3.3.93b

No detailed examination was possible. It is evident from photographs that this is an igneous (medium- to coarse-grained?), phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a gneissoid, porphyritic, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix, in which quartz, plagioclase, and dark-coloured minerals can be distinguished, is dominated by large (dark) pink alkali feldspar phenocrysts (up to several cm across, an- to subhedral?), which give the rock its overall pinkish colour. The dark-coloured minerals and feldspar phenocrysts exhibit a parallel arrangement, which is accentuated by the several dark-coloured streaks and elongated, irregular patches, most likely biotite schlieren, which clearly stand out against the overall pink colour of the rock. The macroscopic characteristics allow for the rock to be classified as coarse porphyritic granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and coarse-grained porphyritic granites from Aswan. The gneissoid texture is commonly observed in Aswan granites (Aston *et al*.; cf. Klemm and Klemm), especially near the contact between coarse-grained granites and metamorphic schist and gneisses (El-Shazly, Attia). The inclusion of biotite schlieren is fully consistent with an Aswan origin (Gindy, Higazy and Wasfy). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granites from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan.

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10-11; Attia (1955) 43-44; Gindy (1956); Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 216-217; Aston *et al*. (2000) 35; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 251, section 7.5.3

094 Obelisk (fragment)

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Obelisk

Subject matter:
Hieroglyphs

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Aurelianic Wall / no context proposed

Dimensions:
30 x 22 x 23 (H x W x D)

Preservation:
Small fragment of a larger object is preserved; theme remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 2935/S

Fig. 3.3.94a

Small, inscribed obelisk fragment. The name of the Egyptian god Osiris is mentioned on one side, while traces of hieroglyphs can be discerned on a second side. However, these traces are too fragmented to be legible (Bosticco).

The obelisk fragment has invariably been dated to the Roman Imperial period on palaeographic grounds. Iversen believes that it belongs to Domitian's obelisk on Piazza Navona (see also the opposite page). It is generally assumed that the fragment was found in the Aurelianic Wall, where it was reused as building material, and therefore evidently not *in situ* (on the reuse of sculpture in the Aurelianic Wall in general see Coates-Stephens 2001, 232-234). However, Agnoli recently argued that it was found in the 1930s during the excavations of the Imperial Fora, together with the relief-block depicting a winged scarab (*supra*, no. 040; no further details are given).

Bibliography:
Bosticco (1952) 25 no. 3; Iversen (1968) 90; Malaise (1972a) 234 no. 434; Roullet (1972) 83 no. 87; *Musei Capitolini* (2010) 90 no. 8 n. 1 (N. Agnoli)

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Pink

Magnetic attraction:
1

Reference collection:
~ Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 73

~2 cm

Fig. 3.3.94b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium- to mostly coarse-grained and consists of alkali feldspar (typically moderate reddish orange, 10R 6/6), ~ very light grey (N8) plagioclase, transparent (colourless) to light grey (~ N7) quartz, and nearly black (~ N1) biotite. Abundant, large (up to max. 30 mm across), anhedral, alkali feldspar phenocrysts. On the basis of its macroscopic characteristics, the rock can be classified as medium- to coarse-grained, porphyritic granite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and porphyritic granite from Aswan (El-Shazly, Attia, Klemm and Klemmies at Aswan. Iversen's presumption that this fragment would be complementary to Domitian's obelisk on Piazza Navona should be questioned, given the gneissoid texture of the granite of that obelisk (*supra*, no. 089), which does not match the directionless texture of this fragment.

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10; Attia (1955) 43; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 250-251, section 7.5

Fig. 3.3.95a

095 Royal statue

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Ptolemaic queen / Arsinoe II / Drusilla?

Date:
Ptolemaic / Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Villa Verospi (1714) / Horti Sallustiani

Dimensions:
H. 240

Preservation:
Base and lower part of the legs are modern restorations

Current location:
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Egizio, inv. 22683

Over-life-size statue of a standing female figure on a square base. The subject matter is disputed. It has been identified as a Ptolemaic princess (Botti – Romanelli, Malaise), a queen (Roullet), and, more specifically, Drusilla, the sister of emperor Caligula (Grenier). More recently, Swetnam-Burland identified the subject matter as Arsinoe II, and interpreted the statue as a Roman-made copy of the Ptolemaic statue of the Egyptian queen (*supra*, no. 077). As she noted, this statue matches that of Arsinoe II in most respects. Indeed, the iconographic scheme and dimensions of these two statues are readily comparable. However, in contrast to the statue of Arsinoe II, this sculpture does not have a depression on top of the head for the insertion of an attribute, and the inscription on the back-pillar is not finished (for an Italian translation of the inscription see Botti – Romanelli).

The uncertainties over the identification of the subject matter carry over into the dating of the statue. Botti – Romanelli and Malaise, who identify its subject matter as a Ptolemaic princess, date the statue to the Ptolemaic period. Others see a Roman copy and propose a Roman Imperial date; following his identification of the statue as Drusilla, Grenier proposes a date of ca. 40 AD; Roullet suggests a late 1st to early 2nd century AD date; no explanation is given to support this dating. For the findspot and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 076.

Bibliography:
Botti – Romanelli (1951) 25-26 no. 33; Malaise (1972a) 183 no. 338d; Roullet (1972) 109 no. 181; Grenier (1993) 51 V.14; Versluys (2002) 349-350; Stanwick (2002) 62 n. 10; Swetnam-Burland (2015) 50-51

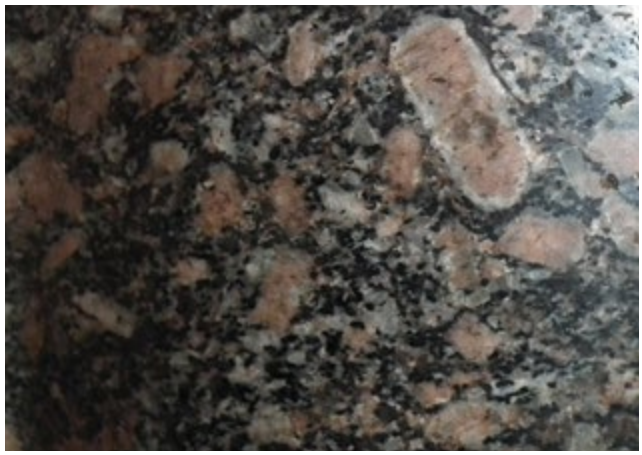
Classification:
Granite – granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Mottled pink and grey

Magnetic attraction:
2

Reference collection:
n/a



2 cm

Fig. 3.3.95b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a gneissoid, porphyritic, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix is coarse- to mostly medium-grained and consists of greyish orange pink (5YR 7/2), very light grey (N8), transparent (colourless) to transparent light grey (~ N7), and nearly black (~ N1) minerals (particularly biotite, some hornblende). Densely packed, large (typically 15-30 mm, up to max. 40 mm across), mostly subhedral alkali feldspar phenocrysts, and less abundant, smaller (on average 10 mm), an- to subhedral plagioclase phenocrysts in a distinct parallel arrangement. Some alkali feldspar phenocrysts exhibit a rapaviki texture (i.e., they are enveloped by a thin plagioclase mantle). The phenocrysts and relatively large amounts of dark-coloured constituents give the rock its typical mottled pink and grey appearance. A greyish black (N2) lense, which is richer in biotite than the surrounding rock, is visible just above the belly of the female figure. Texture and mineralogy – in particular alkali feldspar as dominant feldspar type in a matrix that is relatively rich in quartz and dark-coloured minerals – allow the rock to be classified as a granitoid rock, which is transitional between granite and granodiorite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and granitoid rocks from Aswan, which are transitional between granodiorite and coarse-grained granite. A thorough and gradational mixing between these rocks is encountered especially near the granite-granodiorite contact. Shearing along this contact produces rocks with a distinct foliation of feldspar phenocrysts and dark-coloured minerals (El-Shazly, Attia, and Higazy and Wasfy). The rapaviki texture of alkali feldspar phenocrysts (Meneisy *et al*.), and the inclusion of relic rocks, likely biotite schlieren (Gindy, Higazy and Wasfy), are fully consistent with an Aswan origin. Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan.

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10-11; Attia (1955) 43; Gindy (1956); Higazy and Wasfy (1956); Meneisy *et al*. (1979) 126-127

096 Sphinx

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Sphinx

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Flaminia / no context proposed

Dimensions:
116 x 220 x 75 (H x L x W)

Preservation:
Nearly intact; minor restorations

Current location:
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Sala a Croce Greca, inv. 239

Fig. 3.3.96a

Statue of a sphinx that reclines on a rectangular base. The figure wears a *nemes*-headdress from which a cobra emerges (now partly lost). The tail is wrapped around the right hind leg. No attempts have been made to identify the sphinx with a specific king. Uninscribed.

Roullet dates the statue to the Roman Imperial period; no explanation is given to support this dating. It was found on the Via Flaminia, just outside Porta del Popolo. It has not been attributed to a specific context.

Bibliography:
Roullet (1972) 134 no. 281; Malaise (1978) 649 no. 434e

Classification:
Granite – granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Mottled pink and grey

Magnetic attraction:
1

Reference collection:
n/a

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.96b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is coarse- to mostly medium-grained and consists of greyish orange pink (5YR 7/2 to 10R 8/2) alkali feldspar, very light grey to light grey (N8–N7) plagioclase, transparent (colourless) to transparent light grey (~ N7), and nearly black (~ N1) minerals (especially biotite, also some hornblende). Densely packed, large (up to max. 35 mm long), an- to subhedral, sometimes intergrown, alkali feldspar phenocrysts, and less abundant, smaller (typically up to ca. 15 mm across), mostly anhedral plagioclase phenocrysts. Some alkali feldspar phenocrysts exhibit a rapaviki texture (i.e., they are enveloped by a thin plagioclase mantle). The phenocrysts and the relatively large amounts of dark-coloured constituents give the rock its typical mottled pink and grey appearance. Texture and mineralogy – in particular alkali feldspar as dominant feldspar type in a matrix that is relatively rich in quartz and dark-coloured minerals – allow the rock to be classified as a granitoid rock, which is transitional between granite and granodiorite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and granitoid rocks from Aswan that are transitional between granodiorite and coarse-grained granite. A thorough and gradational mixing between these rocks is encountered especially near the granite-granodiorite contact (El-Shazly, Attia, and Higazy and Wasfy). The rapaviki texture of alkali feldspar phenocrysts is fully consistent with an Aswan origin (Meneisy *et al*.). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan.

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 10-11; Attia (1955) 43; Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 224-228; Meneisy *et al*. (1979) 126-127

Fig. 3.3.97a

097 Sphinx

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Sphinx

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
St. Peter's square (17th century) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
104 x 227 x 74 (H x L x W)

Preservation:
Nearly intact

Current location:
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Sala a Croce Greca, inv. 236

Statue of a sphinx, which reclines on a rectangular base. The figure wears a *nemes*-headdress from which a cobra emerges (now partly lost). The tail is wrapped around the right hind leg. No attempts have been made to identify the sphinx with a specific king. Uninscribed.

The sphinx is dated to the Roman Imperial period, undoubtedly on stylistic grounds (museum records: first half 1st century AD). It was found in the 17th century during the construction of the steps outside the basilica di San Pietro in Vatican City. Roullet connects the sphinx with the Circus Gai et Neronis on the basis of its findspot and, presumably, the fact that the Vatican obelisk stood in this context (*supra*, no. 088). Bongrani *et al*. argue that the sphinx could also have belonged to a sanctuary or the decoration of a garden.

Bibliography:
Roullet (1972) 134 no. 282; Malaise (1978) 648 no. 421a; Bongrani *et al*. (1998) 566

Classification:
Granite – granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
~ Medium grey

Magnetic attraction:
1

Reference collection:
n/a

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.97b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a gneissoid, porphyritic, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium-grained and consists of alkali feldspar, plagioclase, quartz, and a relatively large amount of dark-coloured minerals (especially biotite, also hornblende). Abundant, large (up to max. 30 mm long), an- to subhedral, plagioclase phenocrysts, varying in colour from white (N9) to light grey (N7). The dark-coloured minerals and the plagioclase phenocrysts show a distinct parallel arrangement and give the rock its overall ~ medium grey (N5) colour. A light brown (5YR 7/2) vein of granitic composition cuts across the left hind leg of the sphinx. Texture and mineralogy – in particular the abundance of alkali feldspar, plagioclase, and quartz in a matrix which is relatively rich in dark-coloured minerals – allow the rock to be classified as a granitoid rock, which is transitional between granite and granodiorite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and granitoid rocks from Aswan that are transitional between granodiorite and coarse-grained granite. A thorough and gradational mixing between these rocks is encountered especially near the granite-granodiorite contact. Shearing along this contact produces rocks with a distinct foliation of feldspar phenocrysts and dark-coloured minerals (El-Shazly, Attia, and Higazy and Wasfy). The pink granitic vein is fully consistent with an origin in the Aswan area (Higazy and Wasfy). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan. Roullet has previously classified the rock as grey granite.

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 6-7; Attia (1955) 40-41; Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 216-217

Fig. 3.3.98a

098 Queen Tuya

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Tuya

Date:
New Kingdom

Findspot / ancient context:
Villa Verospi (1714) / Horti Sallustiani

Dimensions:
H. 227 (incl. plinth 300)

Preservation:
Largely preserved from head through knees; base and lower legs are 18th c. restorations

Current location:
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Egizio, inv. 22678

Over-life-size statue of a standing female figure, attributed by its hieroglyphic inscription to queen Tuya, mother of Ramesses II (19th Dynasty). The queen is depicted in traditional pose with left leg forward and the right arm stretched along her side. The right hand is largely restored; it may have originally held a lotus flower (Bayer). The left arm is bent in front of the chest; a flagellum (restored) is held in the left hand. The queen wears a long wig and vulture headdress, on top of which is a modius with alternating cobra snakes with solar discs and cartouches with the name of Ramesses II. The back-pillar is inscribed; on the left side of the statue a depiction of princess Henutmire is carved in low relief (for a detailed description of the statue and a transcription and German translation of the hieroglyphic inscriptions see Bayer).

The statue has invariably been dated to the 19th Dynasty and attributed to the reign of queen Tuya. However, it was recently argued that the statue was carved in the 18th Dynasty, during the reign of Amenhotep III, perhaps for his wife queen Tiy, and usurped and modified for Tuya during the reign of Ramesses II (Kozloff, Bayer). Although the inscription does not provide any information about the statue's original provenance, Grenier believes that it may have come from the funerary temple of queen Tuya at Thebes. Prior to its usurpation, it may have stood in the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan (Bayer). For the findspot and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 076.

Bibliography:
Botti – Romanelli (1951) 18-21 no. 28; Porter and Moss (1951) 413; Malaise (1972a) 183 no. 338a; Roullet (1972) 108-109 no. 179, and 48 (on the Horti Sallustiani); Coarelli (1982) 59; Grenier (1993) 49; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 146-148 no. 11 (M.P. Toti); Kozloff (1996); Versluys (2002) 349-350; Bayer (2014) 71-76 no. 12

Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
~ Greyish black

Magnetic attraction:
1-2

Reference collection:
~ AESC 5 (b) variety 2, sample 4

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.98b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is coarse- to mainly medium-grained and consists of greyish orange pink (5YR 7/2) alkali feldspar, pale olive (10Y 6/2) and ~ dusky yellow (5Y 6/4) plagioclase, transparent (colourless) to transparent light grey (~ N7) quartz, and a relatively large amount of nearly black (~ N1) minerals (difficult to distinguish in the polished dark matrix), which give the rock its overall greyish black (~ N2) colour. Abundant, large (up to max. 40 mm across), an- to subhedral, plagioclase phenocrysts, and markedly less frequent and smaller (up to max. ca. 10 mm across) alkali feldspar phenocrysts. Several plagioclase phenocrysts exhibit a rapaviki texture (i.e., they are enveloped by thin alkali feldspar mantles). Mineralogy – in particular the abundance of dark-coloured minerals and plagioclase phenocrysts as dominant feldspar type, plus the relatively high concentration of quartz – texture, and rock colour allow for the rock to be classified as medium- to coarse-grained porphyritic granodiorite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and porphyritic granodiorites from Aswan (El-Shazly, Attia). The rapaviki texture is fully consistent with an origin in the Aswan area (Klemm and Klemm). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan. The rock has previously been characterised as grey/black granite (e.g., Malaise, Roullet) and granodiorite (Kozloff, Bayer).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 6; Attia (1955) 40; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 253

Fig. 3.3.99a

099 Female sphinx

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Hatshepsut / concubine Thutmose III?

Date:
New Kingdom

Findspot / ancient context:
Via del Beato Angelico 23 (1856) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
54 x 77 x 30 (H x L x W)

Preservation:
Forelegs and part of inscription lost; the theme cannot be identified with certainty

Current location:
Rome, Museo Barracco, inv. 13

Statue of a female sphinx, which reclines on a rectangular base. The figure wears a tripartite Hathor-wig from which a uraeus emerges, and a vulture headdress. The identification of the subject matter is disputed. The hieroglyphic inscription on the chest preserves a cartouche with the name of Tuthmose III (18th Dynasty; Henzen and Lafaye erroneously believe it concerns the name of Tuthmose IV). Since the lower part of the inscription is lost, the name of the person to whom the sphinx belonged cannot be identified with certainty (see Lembke for a transcription and German translation of the inscription).

Early scholars identified the female figure, undoubtedly a queen as indicated by the Hathor-wig and vulture headdress, as Hatshepsut, the aunt and initial co-regent of Tuthmose III (Lanciani, Barracco, Malaise, and Roullet). This identification has been rejected on stylistic and iconographic grounds by Tefnin, who instead drew attention to a series of close parallels that represent unidentified spouses of Tuthmose III, and this identification prevails in more recent literature (Lembke, Toti, and Russmann).

The cartouche with the name of Tuthmose III allows the sphinx to be dated to the 18th Dynasty (all authors). Because the chief deity of Thebes, Amon-Re, is mentioned in the inscription, some authors believe that the statue originates from Thebes (Lembke, Sist, and Nota Santi). It was found in 1856 in the Maison Tranquilli (Via del Beato Angelico 23). On the basis of its findspot, it has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Henzen (1858) 47; Lanciani (1883) 48-49, and 112 (O. Marucchi); Lafaye (1884) 218; Barracco (1910) 15 no. 13; Porter and Moss (1951) 414; Malaise (1972a) 197 no. 361; Roullet (1972) 133 no. 278; Tefnin (1979) 153-155; Lembke (1994) 225 E15; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 156-157 no. 17 (M.P. Toti); Sist (1996) 48-50; *Iside* (1997) 392 V.9 (M. Nota Santi); Alfano (2001) 277 with fig. 9.1; *Hatshepsut: from queen to pharaoh* (2005) 32-33 no. 11 (E.R. Russmann); Swetnam-Burland (2007) 120-123

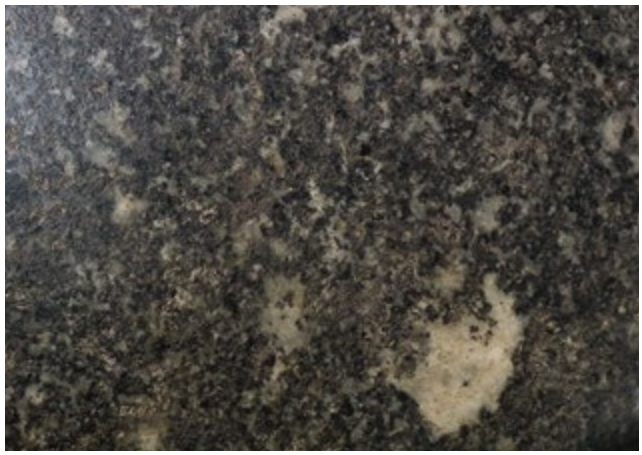
Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
~ Dark grey

Magnetic attraction:
1-2

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 81



2 cm

Fig. 3.3.99b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium-grained and consists of plagioclase, quartz, and a relatively large amount of dark/coloured minerals (particularly biotite, also hornblende), which give the rock its overall dark grey (~ N3) colour; subordinate presence of alkali feldspar. Abundant, large (typically 10-20 mm, up to max. 30 mm across), an- to subhedral, plagioclase feldspar phenocrysts that vary in colour from (very) light grey (N8–N7), greyish orange (10YR 7/4), to light olive grey (5Y 5/2). Several medium-grained, greyish orange pink (5YR 7/2) to light brown (5YR 6/4) veins of granitic composition cut across the dark coloured matrix. Mineralogy – in particular the abundance of dark-coloured minerals, plagioclase as dominant feldspar type, plus the relatively large amount of quartz – texture, and overall rock colour allow for the rock to be classified as medium-grained porphyritic granodiorite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and porphyritic granodiorites from Aswan (El-Shazly, Attia). The granitic veins are fully consistent with an origin in the Aswan area (Higazy and Wasfy). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan. The rock has previously been characterised as basalt (Marucchi in Lanciani, Alfano) and grey/black granite (e.g., Malaise, Roullet, and Lembke).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 6; Attia (1955) 40-41; Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 216-217

Fig. 3.3.100a

100 Horus

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Horus

Date:
New Kingdom

Findspot / ancient context:
Via del Seminario (1635) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
H. 163

Preservation:
Preserved from head through lower legs; base and feet are modern restorations

Current location:
München, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, inv. Gl. WAF 22

Anthropomorphic statue with falcon head of the god Horus (Lanciani and Lafaye erroneously identify its subject matter as Osiris). The god is depicted in standing position with left leg forward and both arms stretched along the sides; he holds an *ankh*-sign in his left hand and wears a *shendyt*-kilt. The back-pillar is uninscribed. The socle is inscribed, but it concerns a fragment of a Ptolemaic naophoros statue that was added during an 18th century restoration.

The statue has invariably been dated to the New Kingdom, often more specifically to the 19th Dynasty on the basis of inscribed parallels that date from the reign of Ramesses II (*contra* Malaise: 18th Dynasty; no explanation is given to support this dating). It was found in 1635 in the Via del Seminario during reparation works of the Dominican convent. On the basis of its findspot, it has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Lanciani (1883) 44-45; Lafaye (1884) 221; Porter and Moss (1951) 412; Malaise (1972a) 200 no. 377; Roullet (1972) 90 no. 113; Lembke (1994) 228 E19; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 206-207 no. 50 (O. Lollio Barberi)

Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
~ Dark grey

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
~ Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 81

~10 cm

Fig. 3.3.100b

Not examined in person. It is evident from photographs that this is an igneous, phaneritic (medium-grained?) plutonic rock with a slightly porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. Feldspar crystals and occasional phenocrysts clearly stand out from the dark coloured matrix. Several pinkish veins of granitic composition cut across the matrix, for instance on the right side of the head and on the *shendyt*-kilt. The overall rock colour (dark grey, exact colour undetermined), plus the observations on mineralogy and genetic origins, suggest that this is a granitoid rock with a felsic to intermediate (?) composition.

Macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and granodiorites from Aswan in which phenocrysts are largely absent (El-Shazly, Attia). The pink granitic veining is fully consistent with an origin in the Aswan area (Higazy and Wasfy). Based on the macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan.

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 6; Attia (1955) 40; Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 216-217; De Putter – Karlshausen (1992) 71

Fig. 3.3.101a

101 Male head

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Egyptian priest / youth?

Date:
Late Period / Ptolemaic

Findspot / ancient context:
Via del Seminario (1930) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
H. 27

Preservation:
The head of a larger statue is preserved; superficial damage to nose and ears

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 112108

Head of a bald male figure. It has been variously identified as the head of a priest (because of the completely shaved head: Sist Russo), and as the head of an idealised youth after death (Manera – Mazza).

Proposed dates range from the Late Period (29th-30th Dynasties: Sist in *Iside*) to the (early) Ptolemaic period (Malaise, Roullet, Lembke); all suggestions are made on typological and stylistic grounds in the absence of an inscription. On this type of heads in general (so-called 'egg-heads'), see Bothmer (1960, no. 85 pl. 81) and Bianchi (1982). It was found in 1930 in the Via del Seminario in the grounds of the former Dominican convent. On the basis of its findspot, it has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
NSc (1934) 101-103 (M. Pallottino); Porter and Moss (1951) 413; Malaise (1972a) 203 no. 385; Roullet (1972) 120 no. 223; Lembke (1994) 235 E30; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 137 no. 5 (M.P. Toti); *Iside* (1997) 389 V.5 (L. Sist); Bricault (2001) 166; Manera – Mazza (2001) 44 no. 3; *Scultura antica in Palazzo Altemps* (2002) 272 (L. Sist Russo); *Palazzo Altemps* (2011) 321 (L. Sist Russo)

Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
~ Dark grey

Magnetic attraction:
1-2

Reference collection:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 81

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.101b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a gneissoid, porphyritic, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium-grained and consists of plagioclase, quartz, and a relatively large amount of dark-coloured minerals (particularly biotite, as well as hornblende), which give the rock its overall dark grey (~ N3) colour; subordinate presence of alkali feldspar. Frequent occurrence of large (typically 10-20 mm, up to max. 25 mm long), mostly an- to subhedral, plagioclase phenocrysts that vary in colour from yellowish grey (5Y 7/2) to dusky yellow (5Y 6/4). The phenocrysts show a parallel alignment. Mineralogy – in particular the abundance of dark-coloured minerals, plagioclase as dominant feldspar type, and the relatively large amount of quartz – texture, and rock colour allow for the rock to be classified as medium-grained porphyritic granodiorite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and porphyritic granodiorites from Aswan (Klemm and Klemm). The gneissoid texture is fully consistent with an Aswan origin (El-Shazly, Attia). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan (cf. Müskens *et al*.). The rock has previously been characterised as grey granite (e.g., Roullet, Malaise) and granodiorite (Sist Russo).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 6; Attia (1955) 40-41; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 260-261, section 7.10.2; Müskens *et al*. (2017)

102 'Apis Brancaccio'

Fig. 3.3.102a

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Apis

Date:
Late Period / Ptolemaic / Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Found in various locations (1884-1886) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
120 x 167 x 95 (H x L x W) & 38 x 30 (H x W)

Preservation:
Recomposed from numerous fragments; the subject matter is well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 182594 & Museo Barracco, inv. 376

The subject matter of the statue is debated. Early scholars thought that the statue represents either Apis, a bull, or Hathor, a cow (e.g., Visconti, Lanciani). Both identifications have received support in later times (Müller: Apis; Roullet: Hathor), although the statue is now generally believed to portray the bull-god Apis (Curto; the male genitals that are visible support the latter identification).

Proposed dates range from the Late Period (S. de Ricci in Roullet) to the early Roman Imperial period (Curto; on stylistic grounds and on the basis of the material used, see the opposite page). The most frequently forwarded hypothesis, and the one that prevails in recent literature, is the (late) Ptolemaic period (Ensoli, Sist Russo). Several fragments of the statue were found between 1884 and 1886. The largest of them was discovered in 1884 under the Hickson Field palace on the Via Merulana. Additional fragments were found in 1886 in a statue-wall, while building the Via A. Poliziano/Via Buonarotti and the Convent of the Suore di S. Giuseppe di Cluny (cf. Coates-Stephens 2001, 237 no. 16). A complementary fragment (part of the back with start of the tail) was identified in the 1990s in the collection of Museo Barracco (inv. 376), its verso recut in the shape of a leaf in modern times (Sist 1996).

The statue has been attributed to various contexts. Shortly after the fragments were found, Visconti drew attention to the proximity of the finds to the supposed Iseum and Serapeum in Regio III, and additionally suggested its possible belonging to a lararium of a private elite residence, undoubtedly due to the fact that the area where the finds were made was occupied by horti in Roman times. The attribution to the Iseum and Serapeum in Regio III prevailed in earlier literature (Malaise, Roullet; also De Vos). Starting with Curto, the statue has since been generally attributed to the Horti Maecenati (e.g., Lollio Barberi, Ensoli, and Sist Russo).

Bibliography:
NSc (1886) 121; Visconti (1886) 208; Müller (1969) 86; Malaise (1972a) 174 no. 318; Roullet (1972) 36, and 129-130 no. 267; Kater-Sibbes (1975), vol. II, 10-11 no. 279; Curto (1978a); Lanciani (1980) 43-44; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 180-182 no. 35 (O. Lollio Barberi); Sist (1996) 91-92; De Vos (1997) 125-126, and 131-132; Ensoli (1997) 317; Bricault (2001) 164; Manera – Mazza (2001) 123 no. 92; Versluys (2002) 340 n. 466; Häuber – Schütz (2010) 86; *Palazzo Altemps* (2011) 344 (L. Sist Russo)

Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
~ Dark grey to greyish black

Magnetic attraction:
1

Reference collection:
~ AESC 5 (b) variety 2, sample 4

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.102b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is coarse- to mainly medium-grained and consists of greyish orange pink (5YR 7/2) to moderate reddish orange (10R 6/6) alkali feldspar, ~ light grey (N7) to greenish grey (5GY 6/1) plagioclase, transparent (colourless) to transparent light grey (~ N7) quartz, and an abundance of nearly black (~ N1) minerals (biotite and hornblende), which give the rock its overall dark grey to greyish black (~ N3–N2) colour. Abundant, large (up to max. 30 mm across), an- to subhedral, plagioclase phenocrysts, and less frequent, (up to ca. 15 mm, rarely 20 mm across) alkali feldspar phenocrysts, several of which exhibit a rapaviki texture (i.e., alkali feldspar phenocrysts are enveloped by thin plagioclase mantles and vice versa). A medium-grained, greyish orange pink (5YR 7/2) granitic vein cuts across the dark-coloured matrix near the right front paw. Mineralogy – in particular the abundance of dark-coloured minerals, plagioclase as dominant feldspar type, plus the relatively large amount of quartz – texture, and overall rock colour allow for the rock to be classified as medium-grained porphyritic granodiorite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and porphyritic granodiorites from Aswan (El-Shazly, Attia). The rapaviki texture (Meneisy *et al*.) and plagioclase crossing over into alkali feldspar (Klemm and Klemm) are fully consistent with an origin in the Aswan area, as is the pink granitic vein (Higazy and Wasfy, Müskens *et al*.). The rock has previously been characterised as (Egyptian) black granite (e.g., Visconti, Malaise) and granodiorite (Sist Russo). Curto (followed by De Vos) erroneously thinks this is *porfido serpentino nero*, a trachyandesite porphyry from Wadi Umm Towat (Egypt), which was quarried in small quantities during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD; he uses this material identification as a terminus post quem for the dating of the statue. However, the studied rock is of plutonic instead of volcanic origin, and the relative abundance of quartz speaks against a classification as trachyandesite (which is deficient in quartz but contains sub-equal amounts of alkali feldspar and plagioclase: Le Maitre *et al*. 2002, 150).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 6; Attia (1955) 40; Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 216-217; Meneisy *et al*. (1979) 126-127; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 253; Müskens *et al*. (2017). For *porfido serpentino nero* see Bagnall and Harrell (2003) 232-235

Fig. 3.3.103a

103 Statue fragment

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Lion / sphinx?

Date:
Not mentioned

Findspot / ancient context:
Palatine Hill (19th century) / no context proposed

Dimensions:
15 x 19 x 17 (H x W x D)

Preservation:
Minor fragment is preserved; too little remains to identify the theme with certainty

Current location:
Rome, Museo Palatino, inv. 514563

Small statue fragment that shows a paw on the remains of a base. It presumably belongs to a statue of a lion or sphinx.

The fragment was found in the 19th century during Rosa's excavations on the Palatine Hill. In the absence of further details, it is not possible to attribute the fragment to a particular context.

Bibliography:
Unpublished

Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
~ Dark grey

Magnetic attraction:
2

Reference collection:
~ AESC 5 (b) variety 1, sample 2

~2 cm

Fig. 3.3.103b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium-grained and consists of plagioclase, quartz, and a relatively large amount of dark-coloured minerals (biotite and hornblende can be distinguished under a hand lens), which give the rock its overall dark grey (~ N3) colour; subordinate presence of alkali feldspar. The rock is slightly porphyritic; the occasional plagioclase phenocrysts are up to 10 mm long. Mineralogy – in particular the abundance of dark-coloured minerals, plagioclase as dominant feldspar type, plus the relatively large amount of quartz – texture, and rock colour allow for the rock to be classified as medium-grained granodiorite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and granodiorites from Aswan in which phenocrysts are largely absent (El-Shazly, Attia, and Klemm and Klemm). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan (cf. Müskens *et al*.).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 6; Attia (1955) 40; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 261-262, section 7.10.3; Müskens *et al*. (2017)

Fig. 3.3.104a

104 Naophoros Neshor

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Dedicant

Date:
Late Period

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Flaminia (17th century) / no context proposed

Dimensions:
103 x 38 x 51 (H x W x D)

Preservation:
Several fragments missing and restored (modern); theme remains well recognisable

Current location:
Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. A90

Statue of a kneeling male figure, dressed in a *shendyt*-kilt, on a square base. The man presents a small tableau on which the Elephantine triad is seated: the ram-headed god Khnum is flanked by the anthropomorphic goddesses Anuket and Satet. The round-topped back-pillar bears a hieroglyphic inscription in seven columns, plus one column on its lateral side. In addition, the lateral sides of the base and the front face of the tableau were originally inscribed; a few inscribed fragments have been preserved.

The statue can be dated to the reign of Apries (26th Dynasty) on the basis of the inscription. It represents Neshor, overseer of the gate of the South Lands, of whom a personal biography is included. The text also indicates that the statue originates from the temple of Khnum on Elephantine-island (see Maspero for the inscription). Neshor is also known from a range of other artefacts, including fragments of a similar statue published by Vernus (1991). The statue was found in the 17th century in the Via Flaminia, just outside Rome (near Rignano). While it has not been attributed to a specific context, Ziegler suggests that it may have belonged to an imperial villa, an Isis sanctuary, or a funerary context.

Bibliography:
Maspero (1884) 88-90 (inscription); Porter and Moss (1951) 408-409; Desroches Noblecourt (1977) 42 no. 101; Malaise (1978) 637; *Mémoires d'Égypte* (1990) 46 no. H4 (M. Kanawaty); *Egyptomania* (1994) 52-53 no. 4 (C. Ziegler) (including older bibliography); *Des dieux, des tombeaux* (2004) 260-261 (O. Perdu); Malaise (2004b) 69 no. 14; Capriotti Vittozzi (2008b) 33; *Fastueuse Égypte* (2011) 48-49 no. 5 (F. Gombert-Meurice)

Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
~ Greyish black

Magnetic attraction:
1-2

Reference collection:
AESC 5 (b) variety 1, sample 2

~2 cm

Fig. 3.3.104b

Igneous, largely aphanitic plutonic rock, with a slightly porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is mostly fine-grained. Quartz and plagioclase feldspar can be distinguished under a hand lens. The rock is slightly porphyritic, with occasional small (typically 2-3 mm, up to max. 7 mm across), anhedral greyish orange (5YR 7/2) pink alkali feldspar phenocrysts and light grey (N7) plagioclase phenocrysts standing out from the dark matrix. A small, fine- to medium-grained, greyish orange pink (5YR 7/2) vein of granitic composition cuts across the dark coloured matrix near the right side of Neshor's sternum, demonstrating the plutonic origin of the rock (De Putter – Karlshausen). Considering the igneous origin of the rock and its overall greyish black (~ N2) colour, the matrix contains relatively large amounts of dark-coloured minerals. Mineralogy, texture, overall rock colour, and presence of the granitic vein allow for the rock to be classified as an igneous plutonic granitoid rock, which may classify more specifically as granodiorite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and a fine-grained variety of granodiorite from Aswan. This is a dark-grey, medium- to mostly fine-grained, equigranular to slightly porphyritic rock (Middleton and Klemm, El-Shazly, and Attia). The pink granitic vein is fully consistent with an origin in the Aswan area (Higazy and Wasfy). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan. The rock has previously been classified as basalt (e.g., Ziegler, Malaise).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 6; Attia (1955) 40; Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 216-217; De Putter – Karlshausen (1992) 71; Middleton and Klemm (2003)

105 Kneeling statue

Fig. 3.3.105a

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Dedicant

Date:
Late Period

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Lata (1923) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
34 x 34 x 53 (H x W x D)

Preservation:
A small fragment is preserved; the subject matter is partly recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, without inv. number

Small fragment of a statue of a kneeling dedicant, dressed in a *shendyt*-kilt, on an oval base. Remains of the right hand, which is perched on the right thigh, are visible, as well as the toes of the left foot. Uninscribed.

Lembke dates the statue fragment to the Late Period on iconographical and typological grounds, and convincingly identifies the statue fragment, which is currently stored in the depository of the Terme Museum, with a statue that was found in 1923 in the Via Lata and subsequently briefly described in the *Notizie degli Scavi*. Based on this identification the statue fragment is attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
NSc (1925) 236 (G. Mancini); Lembke (1994) 237 E34

Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
~ Dark grey

Magnetic attraction:
1

Reference collection:
AESC 5 (b) variety 1, sample 2

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.105b

Igneous, aphanitic rock, with an equigranular, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is mostly fine-grained. Some crystals are visible with the naked eye on the broken surfaces and at a suitable angle to catch the light on cleavage faces; feldspar crystals can be distinguished under a hand lens. The overall dark grey (~ N3) rock colour suggests the presence of relatively large amounts of dark-coloured minerals. The rock has an equigranular texture. A fine- to medium-grained, very pale orange (10YR 8/2) vein of granitic composition cuts across the dark coloured matrix, demonstrating the plutonic origin of the rock (De Putter – Karlshausen). Texture, overall rock colour and presence of the granitic vein allow for the rock to be classified as an igneous plutonic granitoid rock which may classify more specifically as granodiorite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and a fine-grained variety of granodiorite from Aswan. This is a dark-grey, medium- to mostly fine-grained, equigranular rock (Middleton and Klemm, El-Shazly, and Attia). The pink granitic vein is fully consistent with an origin in the Aswan area (Higazy and Wasfy). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan (cf. Müskens *et al*.). The rock has previously been classified as basalt (Lembke).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 6; Attia (1955) 40; Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 216-217; De Putter – Karlshausen (1992) 71; Middleton and Klemm (2003); Müskens *et al*. (2017)

106 Lion (fragment)

Fig. 3.3.106a

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Lion

Date:
Late Period / Ptolemaic

Findspot / ancient context:
Corner of Via del Seminario – Piazza S. Macuto (1986) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
92 x 55 (L x W)

Preservation:
Posterior portion has been preserved; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 362624

The posterior portion of the zoomorphic statue has been preserved (approximately one half of the original statue). The animal reclines on a base, of which some parts remain. The start of the tail can just be discerned and indicates that it was originally wrapped around the right hind leg. This is one of the "deux sphinx grandeur nature" mentioned by Leclant and Clerc (1990), and later followed by Bricault and Malaise. However, the sculpture likely represents a lion, an identification first made by Leclant and Clerc (1987), and which prevails in the most recent literature (on the confusion of this sculpture with a sphinx see *infra*, no. 108). The main argument for this identification are the similarities in terms of dimensions, material, and iconography between this fragment and the two lions that flank the foot of the stairs to Campidoglio (for the Capitoline lions see Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 71-85 and, most recently, Müskens 2014b; note that while the two lions on the stairs that lead to Capitoline Hill are usually connected with the Iseum Campense, they have been omitted from this study because their original find location is unknown).

The statue has been variably dated between the 30th Dynasty and the early Ptolemaic period (Manera – Mazza, Sist Russo), and the early Ptolemaic period (Lembke); in the absence of an inscription, all datings rely on stylistic criteria. It was found during construction work in the Palazzo del Seminario, in the Large Courtyard of the former Dominican convent, on the corner of the Via del Seminario and Piazza San Macuto, together with *infra*, no. 107 and 108; these sculptures were stacked together to strengthen the foundation of Palazzo del Seminario, and therefore evidently not *in situ*. On the basis of its findspot, it has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Leclant – Clerc (1987) 385-386; ibid. (1988) 403; ibid. (1990) 437; Lembke (1994) 223 E12; *Cleopatra of Egypt* (2001) 328-329 (C. Alfano; on find circumstances); Bricault (2001) 166; Manera – Mazza (2001) 47 no. 6; *Scultura antica in Palazzo Altemps* (2002) 277 (L. Sist Russo); Malaise (2004a) 27 no. 390h; *Palazzo Altemps* (2011) 325 (L. Sist Russo)

Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
~ Dark grey

Magnetic attraction:
1-2

Reference collection:
AESC 5 (b) variety 1, sample 2

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.106b

Igneous, largely aphanitic rock, with a fairly equigranular, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium- to mostly fine-grained. Quartz, feldspar, and biotite can be distinguished under a hand lens, especially on broken surfaces and at a suitable angle to catch the light on cleavage faces. The overall rock colour, dark grey (~ N3) in broken surfaces and greyish black (~ N2) in polished surfaces, indicates the presence of relatively large amounts of dark-coloured minerals. The texture is fairly equigranular; small (max. 5 mm) plagioclase phenocrysts rarely occur. Several medium- to coarse-grained, greyish orange pink (5YR 7/2) veins of granitic composition cut across the dark coloured matrix and demonstrate the plutonic origin of the rock (De Putter – Karlshausen). Mineralogy (in particular the abundance of dark-coloured minerals and the relatively large amount of quartz), texture, and rock colour allow for the rock to be classified as fine- to medium-grained granodiorite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and a fine-grained variety of granodiorite from Aswan. This is a dark-grey, medium- to mostly fine-grained rock with occasional small feldspar phenocrysts which may be altogether absent (Middleton and Klemm, El-Shazly, and Attia). The pink granitic veining is fully consistent with an origin in the Aswan area (Higazy and Wasfy). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan (cf. Müskens *et al*.). The rock has previously been classified as grey granite (Lembke), black stone (Manera – Mazza), and granodiorite (Sist Russo).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 6; Attia (1955) 40; Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 216-217; De Putter – Karlshausen (1992) 71; Middleton and Klemm (2003); Müskens *et al*. (2017)

107 Torso of a priest

Fig. 3.3.107a

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Priest

Date:
Ptolemaic

Findspot / ancient context:
Corner of Via del Seminario – Piazza S. Macuto (1986) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
H. 81.5

Preservation:
Preserved from shoulder through upper legs; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 362623

Torso of a nearly life-size statue of a male figure. It would have originally shown the man in traditional pose with his left leg forward. The right arm is stretched along his side with his fist clenched. The left arm is bent in front of the abdomen; with the left hand, the man grasps the fringed mantle, which is wrapped around his body and leaves his right shoulder bare; a tightly fitting half-sleeve tunic is worn under the mantle, as indicated by the V-shaped neck and the sleeve on the right arm. The statue is generally considered to represent a priest. It belongs to a group of approximately 120 sculptures of priests with comparable dresses, which date from the Late until Roman Imperial period. The characteristic mantle, Lembke says, has been attested since the mid-4th century BC and allows to date this torso to the Ptolemaic period (all authors; more specifically, Sist Russo in *Palazzo Altemps* proposes the 2nd century BC on stylistic grounds). Uninscribed back-pillar. For the findspot and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 106.

Bibliography:
Leclant – Clerc (1987) 385-386; ibid. (1988) 403; ibid. (1990) 437; Lembke (1994) 236 E31; *Iside* (1997) 390 V.7 (L. Sist); *Cleopatra of Egypt* (2001) 328-329 no. 347 (C. Alfano); Bricault (2001) 166; Manera – Mazza (2001) 47 no. 5; *Scultura antica in Palazzo Altemps* (2002) 276 (L. Sist Russo); Malaise (2004a) 28 no. 390k; *Palazzo Altemps* (2011) 324 (L. Sist Russo)

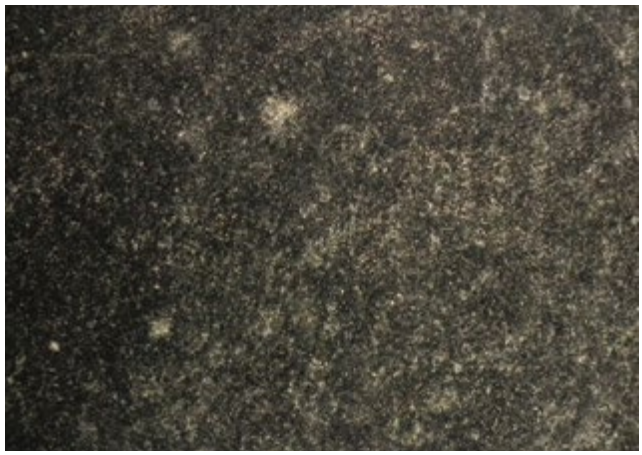
Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
~ Dark grey to greyish black

Magnetic attraction:
1-2

Reference collection:
AESC 5 (b) variety 1, sample 2



2 cm

Fig. 3.3.107b

Igneous, largely aphanitic rock, with a porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium- to mostly fine-grained. Quartz, plagioclase, and biotite can be distinguished under a hand lens; some crystals are visible with the naked eye on the broken surfaces and at a suitable angle to catch the light on cleavage faces. The overall dark grey to greyish black (~ N3–N2) colour indicates the presence of relatively large amounts of dark-coloured minerals (especially biotite?). The rock is slightly porphyritic, the feldspar phenocrysts are typically small (up to few mm. across). A fine- to medium-grained, very pale orange (10YR 8/2) vein of granitic composition cuts across the lower part of the front side of the sculpture. As a result of its fine-grained and minimally porphyritic nature and strong magnetic attraction the rock is not dissimilar to basalt or its somewhat coarser grained equivalent dolerite. However, the granitic veins, magma intrusions in earlier crystallised magma, indicate that the rock is of plutonic rather than volcanic origins: this does not occur in volcanic rocks (e.g., De Putter – Karlshausen). Mineralogy (in particular the abundance of dark-coloured minerals, plagioclase as dominant feldspar type, plus the relatively large amount of quartz), texture, and rock colour allow for the rock to be classified as fine- to medium-grained granodiorite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and a relatively fine-grained variety of granodiorite from Aswan. This is a dark-grey, medium- to mostly fine-grained rock with occasional small feldspar phenocrysts (Middleton and Klemm, El-Shazly, and Attia). The pink granitic vein is fully consistent with an origin in the Aswan area (Higazy and Wasfy). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan (cf. Müskens *et al*.). The rock has previously been classified as dark hardstone (Lembke), basalt (Ensoli), basanite/greywacke (Alfano), and granodiorite (Sist Russo).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 6; Attia (1955) 40; Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 216-217; De Putter – Karlshausen (1992) 71; Middleton and Klemm (2003); Müskens *et al*. (2017)

108 Headless sphinx

Fig. 3.3.108a

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Sphinx

Date:
Ptolemaic

Findspot / ancient context:
Corner of Via del Seminario – Piazza S. Macuto (1986) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
118 x 43 (L x W)

Preservation:
Head and forepaws missing; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 362622

Statue of a sphinx, which reclines on a rectangular base. The forelegs and head are missing. Remains of the flaps of a *nemes*-headdress have been preserved. Uninscribed. This is one of the "deux sphinx grandeur nature", mentioned by Leclant and Clerc (1990), which were discovered in the area of the Iseum Campense, and which were stored in the gardens of Museo Nazionale Romano. Since nothing is known about the discovery of other sphinxes in the 1980s in that area, and because the headless sphinx and the lion fragment (*supra*, no. 106) were in the aforementioned gardens in early 1987 (Leclant – Clerc 1988) and at the time when Lembke studied them (late 1980s/early 1990s, Lembke's study was published in 1994; by then, the male torso, *supra*, no. 107, had been moved into the museum), the lion fragment must be the second "sphinx grandeur nature".

The sphinx has generally been dated to the early Ptolemaic period on stylistic grounds. For the findspot and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 106.

The year 1987 is usually mentioned as the year of discovery, but this information is wrong. Leclant and Clerc first mentioned the find of the headless sphinx, the lion, and the male torso (*supra*, no. 106-107), in their annual report of 1985-1986 in *Orientalia* (published in 1987), where they refer to a newspaper article of 8 August 1986 in which the find was first announced.

Bibliography:
Leclant – Clerc (1987) 385-386; ibid. (1988) 403; ibid. (1990) 437; Lembke (1994) 226-227 E17; *Cleopatra of Egypt* (2001) 328-329 (C. Alfano; on find circumstances); Bricault (2001) 166; Manera – Mazza (2001) 45 no. 4; *Scultura antica in Palazzo Altemps* (2002) 271 (L. Sist Russo); Malaise (2004a) 27 no. 390h; *Palazzo Altemps* (2011) 326 (L. Sist Russo)

Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
~ Dark grey

Magnetic attraction:
1-2

Reference collection:
AESC 5 (b) variety 1, sample 2

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.108b

Igneous, largely aphanitic rock, with a fairly equigranular, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium- to mostly fine-grained. Quartz, plagioclase, biotite, and hornblende can be distinguished under a hand lens, especially on broken surfaces and at a suitable angle to catch the light on cleavage faces. The overall dark grey (~ N3) colour indicates the presence of relatively large amounts of dark-coloured minerals. The rock is fairly equigranular; small (max. 5-6 mm) plagioclase (?) feldspar phenocrysts rarely occur. A medium-grained, greyish orange pink (5YR 7/2) vein of granitic composition cuts across the dark coloured matrix on the left front of the statue and demonstrates the plutonic origin of the rock (De Putter – Karlshausen). Mineralogy (in particular the abundance of dark-coloured minerals, plagioclase as dominant feldspar type, plus the relatively large amount of quartz), texture, and rock colour allow for the rock to be classified as fine- to medium-grained granodiorite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and a fine-grained variety of granodiorite from Aswan. This is a dark-grey, medium- to mostly fine-grained rock with occasional small feldspar phenocrysts which may be altogether absent (Middleton and Klemm, El-Shazly, and Attia). The pink granitic vein is fully consistent with an origin in the Aswan area (Higazy and Wasfy). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan (cf. Müskens *et al*.). The rock has previously been classified as grey and black granite (e.g., Lembke, Manera – Mazza) and granodiorite (Sist Russo).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 6; Attia (1955) 40; Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 216-217; De Putter – Karlshausen (1992) 71; Middleton and Klemm (2003); Müskens *et al*. (2017)

Fig. 3.3.109a

109 Pharaoh

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Royal figure (unspecified)

Date:
Late Period / Ptolemaic / Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Syrian Sanctuary on the Gianicolo (1909) / shrine for Osiris?

Dimensions:
130 x 23 x 51 (H x W x D)

Preservation:
Recomposed from many fragments, some parts missing; theme remains recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 60921

Under-life-size statue of a standing male figure on a square base. The subject matter has generally been identified as an Egyptian pharaoh, although Duthoy and Frel argue that the statue represents the deity Osiris. However, the pose, with left leg forward and both arms stretched along the sides, the *shendyt*-kilt, and the *nemes*-headdress from which a cobra emerges, speak in favour of the commonly held opinion that the statue represents a pharaoh. The alternative identification may be related to the context in which the statue was found, and where Osiris was perhaps venerated (see below). The eyes were originally inlaid with a different material. The statue underwent several modifications after its creation. The base is considered to date from the Roman Imperial period and to belong to a later restoration (Sist Russo). The holes that were drilled into the figure's hands to hold attributes are also understood as a later adaptation (Swetnam-Burland).

The statue has an uninscribed back-pillar, and its dating therefore relies on stylistic criteria. Proposed dates range from the Late Period (30th Dynasty: e.g., Naville in Nicole and Darier), to the Ptolemaic period (e.g., Roullet, Sist Russo), to the Roman Imperial period: Felletti Maj, followed by Malaise, dates the statue to the time of emperor Hadrian. It was found in 1909 in the so-called Syrian Sanctuary on the Gianicolo Hill, which, according to a recent interpretation, should be understood as a villa suburbana with a small shrine where Osiris was venerated (Goddard 2008). The statue was broken in eight large fragments; seven of these were interred together in a deposit in the floor, the eighth was found nearby. The destruction of the statue has usually been considered as the result of the sanctuary's suppression by Christians in the 4th century AD, although it has recently been argued that it may have been broken on purpose by the people who venerated it (Swetnam-Burland).

Bibliography:
NSc (1909) 398-400 (A. Pasqui); Nicole – Darier (1909) 45-48; Farina (1919) 9-10 no. 9; Porter and Moss (1951) 413-414; Felletti Maj (1956) 156-157; Malaise (1972a) 231 no. 424; Roullet (1972) 103 no. 156; Duthoy – Frel (1996) 291; Bongrani *et al*. (1998) 566; Manera – Mazza (2001) 51 no. 10; Stanwick (2002) 109 B16; Versluys (2002) 370; Goddard (2008) 167; *Palazzo Altemps* (2011) 345 (L. Sist Russo); Swetnam-Burland (2015) 36-39

Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
~ Greyish black

Magnetic attraction:
1

Reference collection:
AESC 5 (b) variety 1, sample 2

~2 cm

Fig. 3.3.109b

Igneous, largely aphanitic rock, with a fairly equigranular, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium- to mostly fine-grained. Quartz, plagioclase, and biotite can be distinguished under a hand lens, especially on broken surfaces on the broken surface in the face of the male figure. The overall rock colour, greyish black (~ N2), indicates the presence of relatively large amounts of dark-coloured minerals. The texture is fairly equigranular; small (up to max. 8 mm) feldspar phenocrysts rarely occur. Fine- to medium-grained, very pale orange (10YR 8/2) veins of granitic composition are visible across the statue base and on the base's front, demonstrating the plutonic origin of the rock. Mineralogy, texture, and rock colour allow for the rock to be classified as fine- to medium-grained granodiorite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and a fine-grained variety of granodiorite from Aswan. This is a dark-grey, medium- to mostly fine-grained rock with occasional small feldspar phenocrysts, which may be altogether absent (Middleton and Klemm, El-Shazly, and Attia). The pink granitic veining is fully consistent with an origin in the Aswan area (Higazy and Wasfy). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan (cf. Müskens *et al*.). The rock has previously been identified as basalt (e.g., Malaise, Roullet), diorite (Sist Russo) and dark stone (Stanwick).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 6; Attia (1955) 40; Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 216-217; Middleton and Klemm (2003); Müskens *et al*. (2017)

110 Clepsydra

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Clepsydra

Subject matter:
Pharaoh officiating in front of deities

Date:
Ptolemaic

Findspot / ancient context:
Rome, area of the Iseum Campense (1856?) / Iseum Campense (?)

Dimensions:
36 x 28 (H x diam. base)

Preservation:
Largely intact

Current location:
Rome, Museo Barracco, inv. 27

Fig. 3.3.110a

The clepsydra has been recomposed from several fragments; as it stands today, it is largely intact and belongs to the more completely preserved outflow waterclocks. A continuous frieze runs across the exterior of the vase, with alternating bands of stars and hieroglyphs in the lower and upper sections, and a relief scene in the middle section. The scene shows king Ptolemy II, who is identified by the name in the cartouches, accompanied by various deities (Tehit, Ipet-Hemetes, and Horus), and officiating in front of the month gods Ptah, Re-Harakhti, and Khonsu, respectively (see Sist for a detailed description and Italian translation of the hieroglyphs).

The name of Ptolemy II allows the clepsydra to be dated to the Ptolemaic period (all authors). Sist, followed by Nota Santi, believes that the clepsydra originates from Alexandria, although this presumption is not supported by indications from the inscription. Alternatively, Toti connects the clepsydra with the 13th Upper Egyptian Lycopolitan nome on the basis of a particular epithet of Hathor. It is generally assumed that the clepsydra was found in 1856 in the area of the Iseum Campense, and it has been connected to other finds made that year in the Maison Tranquilli (e.g., Roullet, Lembke). However, there is no evidence to confirm this connection, as Toti has convincingly argued. The association with the finds of 1856 in Maison Tranquilli, and its subsequent attribution to the Iseum Campense, which is followed by all authors, relies on a reference in Roullet's book to the article by Lanciani (1883), in which the object would be discussed among the finds of 1856. However, the clepsydra is not mentioned in Lanciani's article. Barracco says that the object was found in several fragments in Rome, without specifying its find location.

Bibliography:
Wiedemann (1901) 272-273 no. 4; Barracco (1910) 16 no. 27; Borchardt (1920) 9 no. 9; Roullet (1972) 146 no. 329; Malaise (1978) 645 no. 383a; Mengoli (1986) (*non vidi*); Long (1987) 342 no. 10; Lembke (1994) 247 E53; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 160-161 no. 20 (M.P. Toti); Sist (1996) 71-74; *Iside* (1997) 395 V.13 (M. Nota Santi); Malaise (2004a) 27 no. 390i; *Ägypten Griechenland Rom* (2005) 573 no. 145 (H. Whitehouse – J. Baines); Lodomez (2007) no. 11

Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
~ Greyish black

Magnetic attraction:
1-2

Reference collection:
AESC 5 (b) variety 1, sample 2

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.110b

Igneous, largely aphanitic rock, with a slightly porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is medium- to mostly fine-grained. Quartz and plagioclase feldspar can be distinguished in the dark matrix under a hand lens. The overall greyish black (~ N2) rock colour indicates the presence of relatively large amounts of dark-coloured minerals. The rock is slightly porphyritic; occasional, an- to subhedral, greyish orange pink (5YR 7/2) alkali feldspar phenocrysts (up to max. 15 mm across). The relatively well developed phenocrysts are indicative of the plutonic origin of the rock. Mineralogy, texture, and rock colour allow for the rock to be classified as fine- to medium-grained granodiorite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and a fine-grained variety of granodiorite from Aswan. This is a dark-grey, medium- to mostly fine-grained rock with occasional small feldspar phenocrysts (Middleton and Klemm, El-Shazly, and Attia). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan. The rock has generally been classified as basalt in previous literature (e.g., Roullet, Lembke, and Toti).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 6; Attia (1955) 40; Middleton and Klemm (2003)

Fig. 3.3.111a

111 Statue fragment

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Royal figure (unspecified)

Date:
Not mentioned

Findspot / ancient context:
Recovered from the Tiber / no context proposed

Dimensions:
29 x 48 (H x W)

Preservation:
A small fragment is preserved; the subject matter is only partly recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, inv. 172191

Statue fragment, which shows two human hands on the remains of a rectangular base. The statue belongs to a group of sculptures that show a king in prostrate position. Uninscribed.

According to the museum inventory, the plastic characteristics of the fragment would be indicative of the Roman Imperial period. It was recovered from the Tiber; no Imperial Roman functional context has been proposed.

Bibliography:
Unpublished

Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Mottled reddish/greyish

Magnetic attraction:
1

Reference collection:
AESC 5 (b) variety 3

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.111b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with an equigranular, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is fine- to mostly medium-grained and consists of alkali feldspar, plagioclase, quartz, and biotite (the latter can be distinguished under a hand lens). The abundance of reddish alkali feldspar and biotite gives the rock its characteristic mottled reddish/greyish appearance. A small light brown (10YR 4/6) vein of granitic composition cuts across the dark coloured matrix on the right front of the statue. Mineralogy, texture, and overall rock colour allow for the rock to be classified as a medium-grained granitoid rock, which may classify more specifically as granodiorite.

Strong macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and non-porphyritic fine- to medium-grained granodiorite from Aswan. The presence of red feldspars in the matrices of these rocks has been observed, as a result of which their overall grey appearance shifts toward a greyish brown (Klemm and Klemm). The pink granitic vein is fully consistent with an origin in the Aswan area (Higazy and Wasfy). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan.

Bibliography:
Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 216-217; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 261-262, section 7.10.3

112 Clepsydra (fragment)

Fig. 3.3.112a

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Clepsydra

Subject matter:
Min

Date:
Late Period / Ptolemaic

Findspot / ancient context:
Behind the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva (17th c.?) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
21 x 19.5 x 5 (H x W x Th)

Preservation:
A small fragment has been preserved; the subject matter remains partly recognisable

Current location:
Turin, Museo Egizio, inv. Suppl. 8

Small fragment of an outflow waterclock or clepsydra. The fragment depicts a scene of a king (remains of his *atef*-crown remain just visible with an empty cartouche next to it), who addresses the ithyphallic god Min. A hieroglyphic inscription (dedication) runs horizontally across the upper part of the fragment (for which see Lembke).

The fragment has been variously dated to the Late Period (30th Dynasty: Lollio Barberi; no explanation is given in support of this dating) and early Ptolemaic period (Lembke: on stylistic grounds, and the fact that the cartouche has been left empty). According to Lollio Barberi the clepsydra might originate from Alexandria; this statement is not explained. It was found behind the Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, presumably in the 17th century, and was first published by Kircher who had it in his private collection. On the basis of its findspot, it has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Kircher (1652-1654) vol. III, 384; Lafaye (1884) 223; Wiedemann (1901) 273-274 no. 5; Borchardt (1920) 8 no. 5; Porter and Moss (1951) 415; Malaise (1972a) 202 no. 383; Roullet (1972) 146 no. 330; Lembke (1994) 246-247 E52; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 182-183 no. 36 (O. Lollio Barberi); *Iside* (1997) 394 V.12 (V. Cortese); Lodomez (2007) no. 7

Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
Mottled reddish/greyish

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
AESC 5 (b) variety 3

~2 cm

Fig. 3.3.112b

Not examined in person. It is evident from photographs that this is an igneous, phaneritic (medium-grained?) rock of plutonic origin with an equigranular, holocrystalline texture. Alkali feldspar, plagioclase, quartz, and dark-coloured minerals can be distinguished in the matrix. The abundance of alkali feldspar and dark-coloured minerals gives the rock its typical mottled reddish/greyish appearance. Mineralogy and texture suggest that this is a granitoid rock with a felsic to intermediate composition, which may classify more specifically as granodiorite.

Macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and non-porphyritic fine- to medium-grained granodiorite from Aswan. The presence of red feldspars in the matrices of these rocks has been observed, as a result of which their overall grey appearance shifts toward a greyish brown (Klemm and Klemm). Based on the analogies between the studied rock and granitoids from Aswan, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the ancient quarries at Aswan.

Bibliography:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) 261-262, section 7.10.3

Fig. 3.3.113a

113 Relief column

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Conceptual-naturalistic

Object category:
Column

Subject matter:
Religious procession/ceremony

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via del Beato Angelico 23 (1856) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
470 x 95 (H x diam.)

Preservation:
Some figures not visible due to erosion; overall, the contents remain recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 13/S

A continuous frieze runs across the exterior of the column's lower section. It is carved in raised relief and depicts four couples of priests, which face one another (H. of the figures 85 cm). The priests stand on high pedestals, and wear wreaths on their shaved heads. They are clad in long gowns that reach to their ankles and wear sandals. All priests carry one or two attributes in their hands, which can be divided into ceremonial and liturgical objects, like censers and music instruments, and sacred objects, including images of deities. The scene is generally considered to portray either a religious procession or a ceremony. Parts of the relief are severely eroded, some of the priests are barely visible; Lembke gives a detailed description and discussion of the relief scenes.

The column was found in 1856 in the Maison Tranquilli (Via del Beato Angelico 23), together with a marble capital fragment with vegetal decoration, which presumably originally surmounted this column (*supra*, no. 055). It belongs to a group of four preserved specimens with similar reliefs, which have been found in the area of the Iseum Campense, the context to which they have invariably been attributed. However, it is not clear where in that sanctuary they originally stood. Roullet suggests that the columns originally belonged to the portico of the large courtyard in the northern section of the sanctuary, a hypothesis that is followed by several other authors (e.g., Ensoli Vittozzi). A more recent hypothesis locates the columns in the passage of the central court to the northern courtyard (Lembke). The columns have been variously dated to the reign of emperor Domitian and the late Severan period. In the first case, they would be contemporaneous with the sanctuary's refurbishment under Domitian (e.g., Bosticco, Lembke). The late Severan period is proposed on the basis of a passage in the *Historia Augusta*, which records that Severus Alexander, the last emperor of the Severan dynasty, embellished an Isis sanctuary, presumably the Iseum Campense. The latter dating may be supported by architectural fragments from the Iseum, which date from the period in question (Bongrani, Ensoli, cf. De Angeli).

Bibliography:
Henzen (1856) 180-181; ibid. (1858) 46; Lanciani (1883) 49; Stuart Jones (1912) 360 no. 15; Bosticco (1952) 29-30 (Colonna B); Malaise (1972a) 197-198 no. 363; Roullet (1972) 58 no. 18; Kater-Sibbes (1973) 120 no. 647; Ensoli Vittozzi (1990) 59-70 no. 12; Bongrani (1992) 69; Lembke (1994) 187 D4, and 42-48 (general discussion scenes); Curto (1998); *Musei Capitolini* (2010) 62-65 no. 11 (S. De Angeli)

Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Elba Island (Italy)

Colour:
~ Light greyish

Magnetic attraction:
0

Reference collection:
~ Lazzarini – Sangati (2004) fig. 44

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.113b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a slightly porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is fine- to mainly medium-grained and consists of feldspar crystals that vary in colour between ~ very pale orange (10YR 8/2), very light grey (N8), to light grey (N7), transparent (colourless) to transparent light grey (~ N7) quartz, and nearly black (~ N1) biotite. Occasional, large (up to max. 60 mm), mostly subhedral feldspar phenocrysts, frequently standing out in positive relief from the weathered surface of the rock. Mineralogy and texture allow for the rock to be classified as a granitoid rock with a felsic to intermediate composition.

These observations are fully consistent with thin-section analyses of the rocks from which the four *columnae caelatae* are made, which have pointed out that these rocks are *granito dell'Elba* (Bongrani; this identification is now generally followed: e.g., Lembke, De Angeli). This is a granodiorite (Galetti *et al*., Lazzarini – Sangati; cf. Rocchi *et al*.), which was used especially for small- to medium-sized columns, at least since the 1st century BC (Williams-Thorpe).

Bibliography:
Bongrani (1992) 67 with n. 1; Rocchi *et al*. (2003); Lazzarini – Sangati (2004) 97 fig. 44; Williams-Thorpe (2008) 85

Fig. 3.3.114a

114 Relief column

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Conceptual-naturalistic

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Religious procession/ceremony

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via del Beato Angelico (1883) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
470 x 95 (H x diam.)

Preservation:
Some damage due to erosion, overall well preserved; the contents are well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 12/S

Relief column, typologically similar to *supra*, no. 113; see Lembke for a detailed description of the scenes.

The column was found during Lanciani's excavations in 1883 in the Via del Beato Angelico. For the dating and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 113.

Bibliography:
Lanciani (1883) 130-131; Stuart Jones (1912) 360 no. 14; Bosticco (1952) 28-29 (Colonna A); Malaise (1972a) 198-199 no. 368; Roullet (1972) 58 no. 17; Grenier (1977) 152 no. 237b; Ensoli Vittozzi (1990) 59-70 no. 13; Bongrani (1992) 69; Lembke (1994) 187-188 D5; Curto (1998); *Musei Capitolini* (2010) 66-67 no. 12 (S. De Angeli)

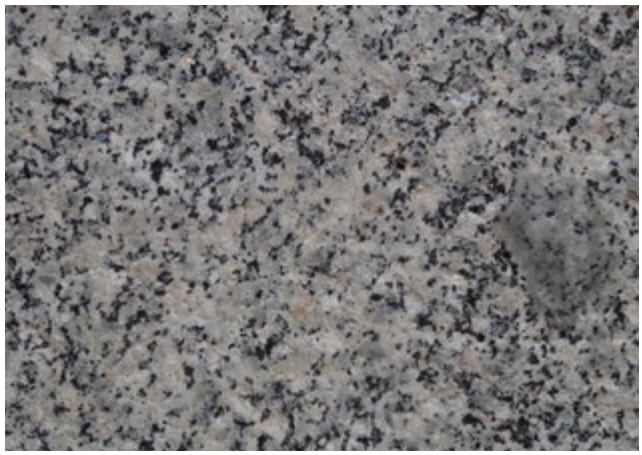
Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Elba Island (Italy)

Colour:
~ Light greyish

Magnetic attraction:
0

Reference collection:
~ Lazzarini – Sangati (2004) fig. 44



2 cm

Fig. 3.3.114b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a slightly porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is fine- to mainly medium-grained and consists of feldspar crystals, which vary in colour between ~ very pale orange (10YR 8/2), very light grey (N8), to light grey (N7), transparent (colourless) to transparent light grey (~ N7) quartz, and nearly black (~ N1) biotite. Occasional, large (up to max. 60 mm), mostly subhedral feldspar phenocrysts, frequently standing out in positive relief from the weathered surface of the rock. Mineralogy and texture allow for the rock to be classified as a granitoid rock with a felsic to intermediate composition.

These macroscopic characteristics are fully consistent with the results from thin-section analyses, which have pointed out that the column is carved from *granito dell'Elba* (for which see *supra*, no. 113).

115 Relief column

Fig. 3.3.115a

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Conceptual-naturalistic

Object category:
Column

Subject matter:
Religious procession/ceremony

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via del Piè di marmo (1923) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
Ca. 400 x 95 (H x diam.)

Preservation:
Part of lower section with relief decoration missing; contents remain well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 2/S

Relief column, typologically similar to *supra*, no. 113; see Lembke for a detailed description of the scenes.

The column was found in 1923 in the Via del Piè di marmo. For the dating and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 113.

Bibliography:
NSc (1925) 237-239 (G. Mancini); Bosticco (1952) 30-31 (Colonna C); Malaise (1972a) 195 no. 352; Roullet (1972) 58 no. 19, and 27 (original location); Grenier (1977) 152 no. 237a; Ensoli Vittozzi (1990) 59-70 no. 14; Bongrani (1992); Lembke (1994) 186 D3, and 20 (original location); Curto (1998); Ensoli (2000) 274; *Musei Capitolini* (2010) 68-69 no. 13 (S. De Angeli)

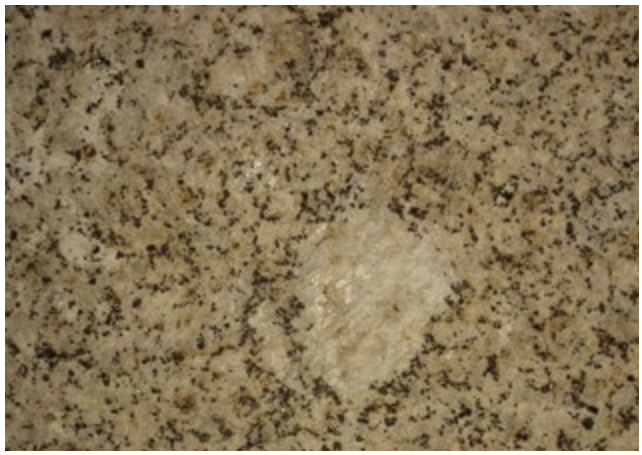
Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Elba Island (Italy)

Colour:
~ Light greyish

Magnetic attraction:
0

Reference collection:
~ Lazzarini – Sangati (2004) fig. 44



2 cm

Fig. 3.3.115b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a slightly porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is fine- to mainly medium-grained and consists of feldspar crystals that vary in colour between ~ very pale orange (10YR 8/2), very light grey (N8), to light grey (N7), transparent (colourless) to transparent light grey (~ N7) quartz, and nearly black (~ N1) biotite. Occasional, large (up to max. 60 mm), mostly subhedral feldspar phenocrysts, frequently standing out in positive relief from the weathered surface of the rock. Mineralogy and texture allow for the rock to be classified as a granitoid rock with a felsic to intermediate composition.

The macroscopic characteristics are fully consistent with the results from thin-section analyses, which have pointed out that the column is carved from *granito dell'Elba* (for which see *supra*, no. 113).

116 Relief column (fragment)

Material:
Granodiorite

Style:
Conceptual-naturalistic

Object category:
Column

Subject matter:
Religious procession/ceremony

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Dominican convent (before the late 16th century) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
92 x 92 (H x diam.)

Preservation:
The lower and upper parts of the shaft are lost; only the part w. relief scene is preserved

Current location:
Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 2178bis

Fig. 3.3.116a

Relief column, typologically similar to *supra*, no. 113. Only three couples of priests remain; the side where the fourth couple used to be depicted is sawn off, as are the pedestals on which the priests originally stood. Lafaye erroneously identifies the column fragment as an altar. See Lembke for a detailed description of the scenes.

The column was drawn in the 17th century by Cassiano Dal Pozzo, who said that it was found in 1642 under the Dominican convent, and this information has subsequently entered the modern literature. However, it must have been discovered at an earlier date, because it was reproduced in a drawing of the *Codice del Ciacconio* that was executed before 1599 (De Angeli). For the dating and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 113.

Bibliography:
Kircher (1652-1654) vol. I, 226; Lafaye (1884) 228 and 299-300 no. 117; Colin (1920); Malaise (1972a) 203 no. 386; Roullet (1972) 57-58 no. 16; Kater-Sibbes (1975) vol. II, 10 no. 278; Ensoli Vittozzi (1990) 59 n. 3 and 10; Bongrani (1992) 69; Lembke (1994) 188 D6; Curto (1998); *Musei Capitolini* (2010) 64 (S. De Angeli)

Classification:
Granodiorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Elba Island (Italy)

Colour:
~ Light greyish

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
~ Lazzarini – Sangati (2004) fig. 44

Fig. 3.3.116b

Not examined in person. Thin-section analysis has pointed out that this column fragment was carved from *granito dell'Elba*, like the three more completely specimens from the Capitoline Museum (Bongrani; for the three *columnae caelatae* in Rome see *supra*, no. 113-115). It is evident from photographs that the specimen in Florence is less weathered than the three columns in Rome. The individual grains can be recognised more easily and show a less pale, ~ yellowish grey (5Y 7/2) to ~ dusky yellow (5Y 6/4) alkali (?) feldspar component, in addition to ~ very light grey (N8) plagioclase (?), transparent (colourless) to transparent ~ light grey (N7) quartz, and ~ nearly black (N1) biotite.

Bibliography:
Bongrani (1992) 67

117 Sphinx Amasis

Fig. 3.3.117a

Material:
Greywacke

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Amasis

Date:
Late Period

Findspot / ancient context:
Via del Beato Angelico (1883) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
90 x 128 x 40 (H x L x W)

Preservation:
Several parts are missing; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 35/S

Statue of a human-headed sphinx, which reclines on a base; several parts of the originally rectangular plinth are missing. The figure wears a banded *nemes*-headdress, from which a cobra would have emerged (now lost); an *usekh*-collar hangs around the neck. The hieroglyphic inscription on the chest has been largely removed. However, the names of the Egyptian deities have been left intact, also in the cartouche, which allows for the identification of the sphinx as king Amasis (all authors; for a transcription and German translation of the inscription see Lembke). The specific damage to the name in the cartouche and the *nemes*, plus the removal of the cobra, have generally been interpreted as the damnatio memoriae of Amasis under his successor, the Persian king Cambyses (the *nemes* and the cobra are signs of kingship and royal protection, respectively).

The identification of the sphinx as Amasis allows the statue to be dated to the 26th Dynasty (all authors). It originates from Sais, as can be inferred from the inscription which mentions the "Mansion of the Bee", as the Osiris tomb that was incorporated in the temple complex of Neith as Sais was sometimes called (Arnold 1999, 71). The statue was found during Lanciani's excavations in 1883 in the Via del Beato Angelico. On the basis of its findspot, it has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Lanciani (1883) 34, 58, and 61-67 (E. Schiaparelli), 104-111 (G. Barracco), and 112-129 (O. Marucchi); Marucchi (1912) 8-9 no. 2; Stuart Jones (1912) 357 no. 3; Porter and Moss (1951) 414; Bosticco (1952) 15-17 no. 8; Malaise (1972a) 198 no. 364; Roullet (1972) 133 no. 279; Ensoli Vittozzi (1990) 30-31 no. 2; Lembke (1994) 225-226 E16; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 162-163 no. 22 (M.P. Toti); *Iside* (1997) 391 V.8 (S. Ensoli); *Musei Capitolini* (2010) 74-76 no. 1 (N. Agnoli)

Classification:
Greywacke

Provenance hypothesis:
Wadi Hammamat

Colour:
~ Olive black

Magnetic attraction:
0

Reference collection:
AESC 28a (a) variety 2

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.117b

~ Olive black (5Y 2/1), fine-grained rock with a very dense, homogeneous matrix. As a result of its fine-grained nature, the exact grain size and mineralogy cannot be determined. Granularity can be observed with the aid of a hand lens. Pale yellowish brown (~ 10YR 6/2) rounded clasts are visible on the right flank of the sphinx (diam. ca. 10 and 3 cm, respectively, i.e., falling within the cobble and pebble size range). No visible attraction can be observed between the neodymium magnet and the rock. This and the other macroscopic characteristics are indicative of greywacke from the Wadi Hammamat in Egypt, the only known ancient quarry for this rock type (Bloxam *et al*.). Because of the (slightly) visible granularity and rock colour, this is presumably the (dark-grey) sandstone variety. The inclusion of clasts is fully consistent with an origin from the Wadi Hammamat (Aston *et al*., Harrell *et al*.); similar clasts can be observed in artefacts made from Wadi Hammamat greywacke (cf. the torso of an athlete from Rome: *Marmi colorati* 2002, 341 no. 41 [P. Liverani], and a slab from Pompeii: *Egittomania* 2006, 202 no. III.108 [R. Pirelli]).

Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and Wadi Hammamat greywacke, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the quarries at Wadi Hammamat (cf. Müskens *et al*.). The rock has frequently been mistaken for basalt (e.g., Marucchi, Malaise, Roullet, and Lembke); other authors have classified it as basanite/greywacke (Ensoli Vittozzi, Agnoli, and De Putter).

Bibliography:
Aston *et al*. (2000) 57-58; Harrell *et al*. (2002) 213-214; De Putter (2006) 89; Müskens *et al*. (2017)

118 Relief slab

Material:
Greywacke

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Relief

Subject matter:
Offering scene

Date:
Late Period

Findspot / ancient context:
Garden adjacent to S. Prisca (1709) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
90 x 98 (H x W)

Preservation:
One block of a larger relief is preserved; restored from many fragments

Current location:
Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, inv. EG 1870

Fig. 3.3.118a

The relief is a fragment of an originally larger scene (for additional relief-blocks, see Yoyotte 1998 and 2003). The middle section shows figures of a kneeling king who presents various offerings to demons on rectangular pedestals (from left to right: a lion, a demon with a head of three serpents, a demon with the head of a crocodile with open jaws, and another demon with the head of crocodile, this time with closed jaws). The figurative scenes are accompanied by hieroglyphic texts in the upper section. The lower part is decorated with the design of a panelled enclosure wall.

The inscription gives the name of Nectanebo I, which allows the relief to be dated to the 30th Dynasty (Lafaye erroneously attributes the relief to Nectanebo II). It originates from the temple of Atum at Heliopolis, as can be inferred from the inscription. It is often considered to have originally functioned as an intercolumnar slab (e.g., Lollio Barberi); Lafaye believes it may be part of a sarcophagus or naos. However, Yoyotte (2003) convincingly argues that the relief would have originally covered the wall of a corridor in front of the entrance to the temple of Atum. It was found in 1709 in the garden adjacent to the Church of Santa Prisca on the Aventine Hill. It has been attributed to various contexts. Malaise connects it with the Mithraeum under the Church of Santa Prisca. According to Roullet and Lollio Barberi, the relief either belonged to this Mithraeum or to the Privata Traiani, Trajan's residence on the Aventine Hill, where it could have been part of an Egyptian setting in the garden.

Bibliography:
Lafaye (1884) 227, and 333 no. 231; Porter and Moss (1951) 415; Malaise (1972a) 229 no. 419a; Roullet (1972) 59 no. 24 and 48-49 (contextual attribution); *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 189-190 no. 40 (O. Lollio Barberi); Yoyotte (1998) 215-217; Bricault (2001) 167; Versluys (2002) 367; Yoyotte (2003) 221 no. f

Classification:
Greywacke

Provenance hypothesis:
Wadi Hammamat

Colour:
~ Dark grey

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
AESC 28a (a) variety 2

~10 cm

Fig. 3.3.118b

Not examined in person. It is evident from photographs that this is a fine-grained rock with a homogeneous matrix. As a result of its fine-grained nature, the exact grain size and mineralogy cannot be determined. The general appearance of this rock and its approximately dark grey colour are reminiscent of greywacke from the Wadi Hammamat. This hypothesis is supported by the presence of several rounded clasts on the decorated side of the relief (diam. ca. 4 and 2 cm by approximation). Greywacke often includes pebbles and these can also be observed on objects carved from this stone (cf. *supra*, no. 117).

Based on the macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and Wadi Hammamat greywacke, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the quarries at Wadi Hammamat. The rock has frequently been mistaken for basalt (e.g., Malaise, Roullet), although it has been classified as greywacke in more recent literature (Yoyotte).

119 Stela (fragment)

Material:
Greywacke

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Stela

Subject matter:
Qadesh / Nefertem?

Date:
New Kingdom – Late Period

Findspot / ancient context:
Via La Spezia / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
32 x 56 x 25 (H x W x D)

Preservation:
Lower part preserved; too little remains to identify the subject matter with certainty

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 2385/S

Fig. 3.3.119a

The lower part of a large stela has been preserved. It shows the remains of a figure that stands on two lions. The scene is framed on its sides by two pilasters. The stela is too fragmented to identify the subject matter with certainty. Considering the representation of an anthropomorphic (?) figure that stands on two lions, two deities in particular come to mind, both of which have been suggested in previous literature: Qadesh and Nefertem. The stela fragment is uninscribed.

The uncertainties over the identification of the subject matter carry over into the stela's dating. The originally Near Eastern goddess Qadesh was venerated in Egypt during the New Kingdom; hence Roullet, who presumes that the stela depicts Qadesh on lions, tentatively dates it to the New Kingdom. Alternatively, Bosticco dates the stela fragment on stylistic grounds to the Late Period; this hypothesis is followed by Lembke and Toti. It was found in the Via La Spezia; further details concerning find location and find circumstances are unknown. Roullet attributes the stela to the Iseum Campense. However, this attribution has been rejected by subsequent authors, since the Via La Spezia is located just outside the Aurelianic Wall in the San Giovanni district, far from the Campus Martius. Based on the stela's findspot and its proximity to known Roman Imperial contexts, Toti connects the stela with Palazzo Sessoriano, the imperial residence, and the Circus Varianus, and mentions the erection of an obelisk on its spina as supporting evidence (for the obelisk in question, see *supra*, no. 090). However, there is no conclusive evidence to attribute the stela fragment to any of the suggested contexts.

Bibliography:
Bosticco (1952) 22 no. 14; Roullet (1972) 141-142 no. 317; Malaise (1978) 649 no. 433a; Lembke (1994) 244 E48; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 169-170 no. 28 (M.P. Toti)

Classification:
Greywacke

Provenance hypothesis:
Wadi Hammamat

Colour:
Dark grey

Magnetic attraction:
0

Reference collection:
AESC 28a (a) variety 2

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.119b

Dark grey (N3), fine-grained rock with a very dense, homogeneous matrix. As a result of its fine-grained nature, the exact grain size and mineralogy cannot be determined. Granularity can be observed under a hand lens. No visible attraction can be observed between the neodymium magnet and the rock. This and the other macroscopic characteristics of the rock are indicative of greywacke from the Wadi Hammamat in Egypt (Bloxam *et al*.). Because of the (slightly) visible granularity and the colour of the rock, this is presumably the dark-grey sandstone variety.

Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and Wadi Hammamat greywacke, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the quarries at Wadi Hammamat. The rock has previously been mistaken for basalt (e.g., Bosticco, Roullet, and Lembke).

Bibliography:
Bloxam *et al*. (2014)

120 Kneeling statue

Material:
Greywacke

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Dedicant

Date:
Late Period

Findspot / ancient context:
Via della Bocca della Verità (1935) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
H. 21

Preservation:
The lower part has been preserved; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 2411/S

Fig. 3.3.120a

Lower part of a small statue of a kneeling dedicant, dressed in *shendyt*-kilt, on a rectangular base. The back-pillar and socle are inscribed and allow the statue to be attributed to Hor-nes, a lower employee of the administration of Min's cult in Akhmim, where the object may originate (Roullet, Toti). For an Italian translation of the inscription see Bosticco.

The statue has invariably been dated to the Late Period, although the exact propositions range between the 26th Dynasty (Malaise, Versluys) and the 29th Dynasty (Roullet, Toti). It was found in 1935 in the former Via della Bocca della Verità on the western slope of the Capitoline Hill, which corresponds to the southern part of the present-day Via del Teatro Marcello. It has been attributed to various contexts. Parlasca and Malaise connect it with the temple of Isis Capitolina on the basis of the proximity of its findspot to the presumed location of that sanctuary. Alternatively, Coarelli attributes the statue to a small sanctuary for Isis on the Forum Boarium (cf. *Le antichità egiziane*). Versluys rejects both attributions.

Bibliography:
Bosticco (1955); Parlasca (1964) 203; Malaise (1972a) 222 no. 407; Roullet (1972) 117 no. 209; Coarelli (1982) 64; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 175-176 no. 32 (M.P. Toti) and 78-79 (contextual attribution); Versluys (2002) 352

Classification:
Greywacke

Provenance hypothesis:
Wadi Hammamat

Colour:
Dark greenish grey

Magnetic attraction:
0

Reference collection:
AESC 28a (a) variety 1

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.120b

Dark greenish grey (5GY 4/1), fine-grained rock with a very dense, homogeneous matrix. As a result of its fine-grained nature, the exact grain size and mineralogy cannot be determined. Granularity can be observed under a hand lens. No visible attraction can be observed between the neodymium magnet and the rock. This and the other macroscopic characteristics of the rock are indicative of greywacke from the Wadi Hammamat in Egypt (Bloxam *et al*.). Because of the (slightly) visible granularity and the colour of the rock, this is likely the greenish sandstone variety.

Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and Wadi Hammamat greywacke, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the quarries at Wadi Hammamat. The rock has previously been mistaken for green and black basalt (all authors).

Bibliography:
Bloxam *et al.* (2014)

121 Statue fragment

Material:
Greywacke

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Dedicant

Date:
Late Period / Ptolemaic / Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Volturno (1878) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
H. 8.5 cm

Preservation:
A small fragment is preserved; the subject matter is partly recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 2165/S

Fig. 3.3.121a

Small statue fragment. Despite its fragmentary state of preservation, it is generally considered as a fragment of a naophoros statue. A part of the upper torso has been preserved, as well as remains of an inscribed back-pillar. The hieroglyphic inscription provides no indications of the identification of the dedicant or the statue's original Egyptian provenance (Bosticco gives an Italian translation of the inscription).

Proposed dates range from the Late Period to the Ptolemaic and Roman Imperial periods. No explanations are given to support any of the suggested dates, which presumably rely on typological characteristics, and, in case of the suggested Roman Imperial dating, on the presumption that the statue fragment in question would be a Roman imitation of an Egyptian original (Porter and Moss, Malaise 1972a). It was found in 1878 in the Via Volturno. Based on its presumed religious character, the statue fragment has been connected with the Castro Praetoria, some hundreds meters away from its findspot, where dedications to Egyptian deities have been previously found. As such, this fragment has led to the reconstruction of a shrine for the Egyptian gods in the Castra Praetoria, an attribution that has found general acceptance in the older literature (Bosticco, Malaise, Coarelli). The authors of *Le antichità egiziane* noted the vicinity of the findspot to the Baths of Diocletian and tentatively attributed the fragment to that context, an idea that was later repeated by Versluys. However, none of these contextual attributions is necessarily correct. Since the area where the fragment was found had been in use for a long time as a dump for earth removed from other parts of Rome (Toti), the fragment can in fact originate from anywhere in that city.

Bibliography:
Elenco degli oggetti (1878) 286; Stuart Jones (1926) 302 no. 12; Porter and Moss (1951) 413; Bosticco (1952) 39 no. 547; Malaise (1972a) 182 no. 337; Roullet (1972) 111 no. 189; Coarelli (1982) 59; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 90, and 170-171 no. 29 (M.P. Toti); Versluys (2002) 349 and n. 479; Malaise (2004b) 65 no. 4

Classification:
Greywacke

Provenance hypothesis:
Wadi Hammamat

Colour:
Dark greenish grey

Magnetic attraction:
0

Reference collection:
AESC 28a (a) variety 1

~2 cm

Fig. 3.3.121b

Dark greenish grey (5GY 4/1), fine-grained rock with a very dense, homogeneous matrix. As a result of its fine-grained nature, the exact grain size and mineralogy cannot be determined. Granularity can be observed by the naked eye. No visible attraction can be observed between the neodymium magnet and the rock. This and the other macroscopic characteristics of the rock are indicative of greywacke from the Wadi Hammamat in Egypt (Bloxam *et al*.). Because of the visible granularity and the colour of the rock, this is likely the greenish sandstone variety.

Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and Wadi Hammamat greywacke, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from the quarries at Wadi Hammamat. The rock has previously been mistaken for (dark green) basalt (e.g., *Elenco degli oggetti*, Bosticco, Malaise, Roullet, Toti, and Versluys).

Bibliography:
Bloxam *et al.* (2014)

Fig. 3.3.122a

122 Ramesses II

Material:
Travertine

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Ramesses II

Date:
New Kingdom

Findspot / ancient context:
Near Collegio Romano (1720) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
203 x 53 x 115 (H x W x D; incl. torso)

Preservation:
The lower part is preserved; torso is a modern addition (18th century)

Current location:
Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. A22

Lower part of an over-life-size enthroned anthropomorphic figure; the torso is an 18th-century addition in a different material. The subject matter has previously been erroneously identified as Horus with a phallus in his hands (Petit-Radel), and as Isis. The latter identification was first made by Winckelmann, and it has found its way into the literature on Aegyptiaca Romana via Curto, Roullet and Lembke. The statue's whereabouts remained unknown until the early 1990s, when it was identified with a sculpture in the Musée du Louvre. The identification of the statue has proved earlier interpretations incorrect. The hieroglyphic inscriptions on the throne's front and the back-pillar allow the seated figure to be identified as Ramesses II. This identification, first made by Champollion who studied the statue in the Louvre (in De Clarac), has found its way into the literature on Aegyptiaca since the statue's localisation in Paris (Lollio Barberi). For the hieroglyphic inscription see *Le antichità egiziane*; Ziegler gives a French translation.

The name of Ramesses II allows the statue to be dated to the 19th Dynasty (New Kingdom). The king is said to be "beloved of Amun", which has been taken as an indication of a possible Theban origin of the statue. However, as Ziegler and Lollio Barberi have argued, since Amun was a chief deity during the Ramesside period and therefore venerated in several temples, the epithet not necessarily points to Thebes. The statue was found in the 18th century (Lollio Barberi: 1720) near the Collegio Romano. On the basis of its findspot, it has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Petit-Radel (1804) 109-117; De Clarac (1851) vol. II.2, 828 no. 395; Curto (1967) 58; Roullet (1972) 91 no. 116 (Isis); Malaise (1978) 646 no. 385e; Ziegler – Humbert (1993) 34-35; *Egyptomania* (1994) 54-56 no. 5 (C. Ziegler); Lembke (1994) 231 E24; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 193-195 no. 43 (O. Lollio Barberi) and 252 (inscription); Winckelmann (2002) 64-65; Barbotin (2007) 90-92 no. 40

Classification:
Travertine

Provenance hypothesis:
Eastern Nile Valley

Colour:
Yellowish grey

Magnetic attraction:
0

Reference collection:
~ AESC (Travertine) 4, sample 1

Fig. 3.3.122b

Alternating bands of translucent, yellowish grey (5Y 8/1 to 5Y 7/2) and opaque ~ white (N9) calcite. The translucent calcite exhibits bands of ca. 10-30 mm in thickness, bordered by opaque calcite separation layers (1-4 mm thick), mainly in a cloudy, clustered reniform configuration. Individual grains cannot be distinguished in the dense, polished matrix. The macroscopic characteristics of the rock are fully consistent with travertine. It has invariably been characterised as (Egyptian) alabaster (e.g., Ziegler, Lollio Barberi; however, alabaster is a translucent, fine-grained variety of gypsum. On the confusing nomenclature of these rocks, cf. Harrell *contra* Klemm and Klemm).

Nine ancient Egyptian travertine quarries are known, which are all located in the Eastern Desert, roughly between Cairo and Assiut (Aston *et al*., Klemm and Klemm). The rocks from these Egyptian quarries typically consist of bands of milky white, opaque calcite alternating with thicker bands of brownish (often tinted with orange and particularly yellow), translucent calcite (Harrell *et al*.). These alternating bands are commonly built up in a clustered reniform configuration (Klemm and Klemm). By contrast, the most frequently used travertines of non-Egyptian origin usually have more varied and distinct colours and textures, like *alabastro a pecorella* from Bou Hanifia, Algeria (Price, Lazzarini). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and travertines from Egypt, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from one of the Egyptian quarries. However, it is not possible to differentiate between the various Egyptian sources on the basis of macroscopic criteria alone (for advances in geochemical methods and techniques to attribute travertine to specific sources see Lazzarini *et al*. 2012; cf. Klemm and Klemm).

Bibliography:
Harrell (1990); Aston *et al*. (2000) 59-60; Lazzarini (2002) 244-245; Harrell *et al*. (2007); Price (2007) 54-55; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 147-166

Fig. 3.3.123a

123 Sarapis

Material:
Travertine

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Sarapis

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Recovered from the Tiber / no context proposed

Dimensions:
H. 28

Preservation:
Head and part of bust have been preserved; subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 4275

Fragment of a small statue of Sarapis. The god is clad in chiton and himation, and wears a modius on his head.

The statue belongs to a group of similar Sarapis statues in travertine, which are generally dated to the mid-2nd century AD, and which some authors connect with an Egyptian place of manufacture (Sist Russo in *Palazzo Altemps*, *contra* Pensabene: cf. *infra*, no. 124; for parallels see *Iside* 1997, 460 V.98 [A. Giovannini], from Aquileia, and Agnoli 2013, 477-478 no. S1, from Portus). It was recovered from the Tiber. Although the fragment has not been attributed to a particular context, Sist Russo considers its deposition in the Tiber as an indication of the destruction of an Egyptian sanctuary.

While this is not explicated by Sist Russo, the connection between so-called Aegyptiaca that have been recovered from the Tiber and the destruction of an Egyptian sanctuary, which can be observed more frequently in the literature on Aegyptiaca Romana (see *infra*, no. 130-131, 133-137), presumably has to do with a passage in Flavius Josephus' *Jewish antiquities* (18.3.4), in which the historian recounts that, in 19 AD, a scandal took place in an Isis sanctuary in Rome, which led emperor Tiberius to order the destruction of that sanctuary and to throw its cult statue into the Tiber. However, the dating of the statue fragment in question to the mid-2nd century AD speaks against a connection to the historical event recounted by Flavius Josephus. Moreover, there is no evidence whatsoever to prove that its deposition in the Tiber should be related to the demolition of any other Egyptian sanctuary. An Egyptian temple is one of the many possible contexts for a Sarapis statue, and its deposition in the Tiber may have occurred on many different occasions.

Bibliography:
Hornbostel (1973) 260; *Iside* (1997) 164 IV.9; Manera – Mazza (2001) 57 no. 15; *Scultura antica in Palazzo Altemps* (2002) 283 (L. Sist Russo); *Palazzo Altemps* (2011) 310 (L. Sist Russo)

Classification:
Travertine

Provenance hypothesis:
Eastern Nile Valley

Colour:
Greyish orange to yellowish grey

Magnetic attraction:
0

Reference collection:
~ AESC (Travertine) 3

~2 cm

Fig. 3.3.123b

Alternating bands of translucent, greyish orange to yellowish grey (10YR7/4–5Y 7/2) and opaque, creamy white calcite. The translucent calcite exhibits bands of ca. 8-30 mm in thickness, bordered by thin opaque calcite separation layers (1-10 mm thick), which run in parallel bands through the block from which the statue is carved. Individual grains cannot be observed in the dense, polished matrix. The macroscopic characteristics of the rock are fully consistent with travertine. It has invariably been characterised as (Egyptian) alabaster (e.g., Manera – Mazza, Sist Russo; cf. *supra*, no. 122 on the nomenclature).

This rock is a typical example of Egyptian travertine with a finely banded travertine texture (Klemm and Klemm; see also *supra*, no. 122). Based on the strong macroscopic analogies between the studied rock and travertines from Egypt, the hypothesis was formulated that the stone originates from one of the Egyptian quarries.

Bibliography:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) 158

Fig. 3.3.124a

124 Sarapis

Material:
Travertine

Style:
Naturalistic

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Sarapis

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Temple of Magna Mater (1987) / temple of Magna Mater

Dimensions:
H. 12

Preservation:
Head and small part of neck have been preserved; theme is well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Palatino, inv. 519927

Head of a small statue of Sarapis. A round hole on top of the head (diam. 2.5 cm) indicates that a crown was originally present, presumably a modius.

The statue belongs to a group of similar Sarapis statues in travertine that are generally dated to the mid-2nd century AD, and which some authors connect with an Egyptian place of manufacture. However, according to Pensabene, they would originate from a Roman workshop, and they would have been made after an Alexandrian model. It was found in 1987 in the south-western corner of the Palatine Hill in the area of the temple of Magna Mater, in one of the temple's service rooms, where it may have functioned in Roman times.

Bibliography:
Marmi colorati (2002) 311-312 no. 12 (P. Pensabene); *Memorie dal sottosuolo* (2006) 47 no. I.1 (P. Pensabene)

Classification:
Travertine

Provenance hypothesis:
Eastern Nile Valley

Colour:
Yellowish grey to pale yellowish brown

Magnetic attraction:
0

Reference collection:
~ Klemm and Klemm (2008) pl. 53

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.124b

Alternating bands of translucent, yellowish grey to pale yellowish brown (5Y 7/2–10YR 6/2) and opaque, whitish calcite. The translucent calcite exhibits bands of ca. 5-20 mm in thickness, bordered by three opaque calcite separation layers (max. 0.5 mm thick), which run in concentric bands through the block from which the head is carved. Individual grains cannot be observed in the dense, polished matrix. The macroscopic characteristics are fully consistent with travertine. Pensabene has previously characterised the rock as (Egyptian) alabaster (on the nomenclature of these rocks, cf. *supra*, no. 122).

Like the two other object in travertine in this study, this rock is a typical example of Egyptian travertine with a finely banded travertine texture (cf. *supra*, no. 122-123). Considering its visual characteristics, the studied rock is very likely to originate from an Egyptian source. It fits particularly well with the description of travertine from the quarries at El Qawatir, which produces dense, pale yellow to brownish, translucent calcite bands alternating with white opaque calcite layers, with bandings of between 5 and 25 mm in thickness (Klemm and Klemm).

Bibliography:
Klemm and Klemm (2008) 152-158

Fig. 3.3.125a

125 Isis/Egyptian queen

Material:
Steatite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Isis / Egyptian queen?

Date:
New Kingdom / Ptolemaic / Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Esquiline Hill (1875) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
22 x 5 x 3.5 (H x W x Th)

Preservation:
Lower arms and feet missing; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 2157/S

Small standing female figure with a tripartite wig and vulture headdress. A depression on top of the head indicates that a crown was originally present. A network of small holes is present along the figure's sides and legs. These were originally inlaid with polychrome tesserae, some of which remain, as to indicate feathers. The statuette's subject matter is disputed. It has been thought to represent an Egyptian queen of the 19th Dynasty (Stuart Jones) or Ptolemaic period (Ensoli) in the guise of Isis, and the goddess Isis. Several authors have connected the polychrome feathers to the goddess' funerary aspect, in particular to the resurrection of her murdered husband Osiris (e.g., Bosticco, Ciampini).

Proposed dates range from the New Kingdom (Stuart Jones, based on his identification of the statuette's subject matter as an Egyptian queen of the 19th Dynasty, see above) to the Roman Imperial period (Roullet; no explanation given). The most frequently forwarded hypothesis, and the one that prevails in the literature, is the Ptolemaic period (Ensoli: on stylistic grounds, although an earlier dating cannot be excluded). It was found 1875 on the Esquiline Hill; further details concerning find location and find circumstances are unknown. Nevertheless, based on its findspot the statuette has been tentatively connected with the Iseum and Serapeum of Regio III (Malaise) and, on the basis of its modest dimensions, it has been considered as a votive gift that belonged to an unidentified funerary context (Ensoli).

Bibliography:
Stuart Jones (1926) 305 no. 21; Bosticco (1952) 33-34 no. 175; Malaise (1972a) 175 no. 321; Roullet (1972) 90 no. 114; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 166 no. 25 (M.P. Toti); *Iside* (1997) 398 V.16 (S. Ensoli); Bricault (2001) 164; *Cleopatra of Egypt* (2001) 331 no. 350 (E.M. Ciampini); Versluys (2002) 340 n. 466

Classification:
Steatite

Provenance hypothesis:
Rod el-Barram District

Colour:
Greyish green

Magnetic attraction:
0-1

Reference collection:
AESC (Steatite and Related) 12 (c)

~2 cm

Fig. 3.3.125b

Greyish green (5Y 5/2 to 10G 4/2), fine-grained rock. The texture is homogeneous (equigranular?) and non-foliated. As a result of the fine-grained nature, the exact grain size and mineralogy cannot be determined. Nevertheless, the soapy feeling of the rock and its greasy or waxy lustre are indicative of the mineral talc. The presence of this mineral is supported by the fact that the rock surface is heavily scratched and the statue relatively poorly preserved, both of which are consistent with the extreme softness of talc (Mohs hardness 1, i.e., the rock can be scratched by a fingernail). The presence of talc and the overall green colour of the rock, which suggests the presence of minerals associated with low to intermediate grade metamorphic alteration, like chlorite and serpentine minerals, are indicative of the rock's metamorphic origin. On the basis of its macroscopic characteristics, the rock can be classified as steatite. This characterisation is consistent with previous classifications (e.g., Malaise, Roullet).

Macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and steatites from the Rod el-Barram District in the southern Eastern Desert (Harrell and Brown, Aston *et al*.), in particular a medium and dark greyish green, fine-grained steatite from Rod el-Barram (Harrell, Harrell and Brown). Based on the observed similarities, the hypothesis was formulated that the steatite originates from one of the six ancient quarries in the Rod el-Barram District, perhaps Rod el-Barram.

Bibliography:
Aston *et al*. (2000) 58-59; Harrell and Brown (2008), esp. 43-45; Harrell (2012b) 7 and fig. 6h

Fig. 3.3.126a

126 Horus stela

Material:
Steatite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Stela

Subject matter:
Horus on the crocodiles

Date:
Late Period / Ptolemaic

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Giovanni Lanza (1885) / lararium Late Classical domus

Dimensions:
15 x 9.5 x 4.5 (H x W x Th)

Preservation:
Largely intact; facial details abraded through use

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 2160/S

The small stela depicts the naked Horus with side-lock standing on two crocodiles. He holds snakes, a scorpion, a gazelle, and a lion in his hands. A falcon-topped papyrus column and the so-called lotus of Nefertem flank the young god; a large head of Bes hovers above him. Images of other deities have been superficially carved in the sculptural plane; hieroglyphic inscriptions cover the remaining surfaces of the stela. The object is a type of healing statue known as cippus of Horus or 'Horus on the crocodiles', which was produced from the Egyptian New Kingdom to the Roman Period. The surface of stelae of this type, including this specimen, is typically worn. Their use in domestic contexts may account for this wear, as Strandberg argues (2009, 141). Alternatively, the worn conditions of these objects perhaps results from their active use for the transmission of divine curative power by means of physical contact between patient and object – and thus by extension, the divinity. The frequent use of steatite, which produces a typical greasy feel, may be associated with this particular use of these objects (on the stela type see Seele 1947, Ritner 1992b, Sternberg-El Hotabi 1999, and Palma Venetucci 2009).

The stela has been variably dated to the Late Period (Late Saite period) and the Ptolemaic Period on typological grounds; the hieroglyphic inscriptions do not provide any point of reference for a more precise dating. For its findspot and contextual attribution see *supra*, no. 003.

Bibliography:
Visconti (1885) 35 no. 14; Stuart Jones (1926) 303 no. 16; Von Bissing (1934); Porter and Moss (1951) 415; Bosticco (1952) 34-36 no. 409; Malaise (1972a) 177 no. 328; Roullet (1972) 141 no. 316; De Salvia (1992); Ensoli Vittozzi (1993) 228-229 no. 11; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 167-168 no. 26 (M.P. Toti); *Iside* (1997) 587 VI.50 (S. Ensoli); Bricault (2001) 165; Versluys (2002) 346 with n. 472

Classification:
Steatite

Provenance hypothesis:
Rod el-Barram District

Colour:
Greyish green

Magnetic attraction:
0-1

Reference collection:
AESC (Steatite and Related) 12 (c)

~2 cm

Fig. 3.3.126b

Greyish green (5Y 5/2 to 10G 4/2), fine-grained rock. Some grains are visible under a hand lens, particularly at a suitable angle to catch the light on cleavage faces (character undertermined). The texture is equigranular and non-foliated. As a result of its fine-grained nature, the exact grain size and mineralogy cannot be determined. However, the soapy feeling of the rock and its greasy or waxy lustre are indicative of the presence of the mineral talc. This suggestion is supported by the fact that the surface of the rock is heavily scratched and the statue relatively poorly preserved, both of which are consistent with the softness of talc (see the opposite page). The presence of talc and the green colour of the rock, which suggests the presence of minerals associated with low to intermediate grade metamorphic alteration such as chlorite and serpentine minerals, are indicative of the metamorphic origin of the rock. On the basis of its macroscopic characteristics this rock can be classified as steatite. This characterisation is generally consistent with previous classifications (e.g., Bosticco, Malaise, and Toti; see, however, Visconti, who mistakenly thinks this is 'green basalt').

Macroscopic analogies exist between this rock and steatites from the Rod el-Barram District in the southern Eastern Desert (Harrell and Brown, Aston *et al*.), in particular a medium and dark greyish green, fine-grained steatite from Rod el-Barram (Harrell, Harrell and Brown). Based on the observed similarities, the hypothesis was formulated that the steatite originates from one of the six ancient quarries in the Rod el-Barram District, perhaps Rod el-Barram.

Bibliography:
Aston *et al*. (2000) 58-59; Harrell and Brown (2008), esp. 43-45; Harrell (2012b) 7 and fig. 6h

127 Ramesses II

Material:
Diorite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Ramesses II

Date:
New Kingdom

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Nazionale (1882) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
36 x 25 x 50 (H x W x D)

Preservation:
The lower part is preserved; the subject matter is nevertheless recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 27/S

Fig. 3.3.127a

Lower part of a kneeling statue of Ramesses II (*contra* Marucchi, Stuart Jones: Egyptian priest). The king, who wears a *shendyt*-kilt, would have originally presented a pedestal with the representation of a deity. Through the identification of a complementary fragment in Paris (see below), we now know that the deity in question is the beetle-god Khepri, who is also mentioned in the inscriptions. Hieroglyphic inscriptions have been preserved on the back-pillar and front and lateral sides of the pedestal. The name of Ramesses II (19th Dynasty) has been preserved in the cartouches, and it provides a precise dating for the statue. The statue originates from Heliopolis, as can be inferred from the reference to Heliopolitan deities in the inscription (Agnoli gives a transcription and Italian translation of the hieroglyphic inscriptions).

The statue fragment was found in 1882 in the Via Nazionale, near the Church of San Vitale, during the construction of the Palazzo delle Esposizioni. It was reused as building material in a medieval wall, and therefore evidently not *in situ*. On the basis of its findspot, the statue fragment has generally been attributed to the Serapeum on the Quirinal Hill, although Porter and Moss connect it with the Iseum Campense without further explanation.

Both attributions should be reconsidered in view of the recent identification of two complementary fragments of this statue. One of these was seen in 1759 (!) at an art dealer in Paris by Comte de Caylus and subsequently came into his collection (Caylus 1761, vol. 4, 8-10 with pl. 3; now in Paris, Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, inv. 4.3.1), the other one was found in the exedra of the Antinoeion of the Villa Hadriana in Tivoli (Mari 2003, 161 no. 1, and fig. 25) – I will deal with these new finds and its implications for the understanding of the fragment from Rome in a separate article.

Bibliography:
Fabiani (1882); *Elenco degli oggetti* (1882) 243-244 no. 6; Marucchi (1912) 6-8 no. 1; Stuart Jones (1912) 356 no. 1; Porter and Moss (1951) 413; Bosticco (1952) 13-15 no. 15; Malaise (1972a) 181 no. 334; Roullet (1972) 104 no. 158; Ensoli Vittozzi (1990) 25-27 no. 1; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 168-169 no. 27; Raue (1999) 357-358 no. XIX.3-5.13; Bricault (2001) 165; Versluys (2002) 349 with n. 478; Malaise (2004b) 65 no. 3; Minas-Nerpel (2006) 423; *Musei Capitolini* (2010) 87-88 no. 6 (N. Agnoli)

Classification:
Diorite

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan

Colour:
~ Light to medium grey

Magnetic attraction:
0

Reference collection:
~ Hume (1934-1937), part 2, pl. 100, fig. 1

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.127b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a dense, gneissoid, and holocrystalline texture. The matrix appears to be fine- to mainly medium-grained, although individual grain sizes cannot be easily determined macroscopically in the dense matrix. It mainly consists of aggregates of light to medium grey (~ N7–N5) plagioclase and near black (~ N1) hornblende (up to 3 mm, average size smaller), plus subordinate (?) amounts of mostly transparent (colourless) quartz. The hornblende crystals show a parallel alignment, which is particularly visible on the sculpture's left and right sides. A quartz vein (2-4 mm wide) runs diagonally through the block of stone. Mineralogy and texture allow for the rock to be classified as an igneous plutonic rock with an intermediate composition, more specifically (quartz-)diorite. This is supported by the results of a thin-section analysis of the rock, which was carried out in cooperation with the Center for Archaeological Sciences (Leuven University).

The stone, which is otherwise not known to have been used for sculptural or architectural purposes in Antiquity, matches published descriptions of diorites from Aswan. In several localities to the east and south of Aswan dark-grey, relatively coarse-grained diorites are found that consist of sub-equal amounts of "milk-white" plagioclase feldspar (labradorite) and "greenish-black" hornblende (Ball, Attia). These rocks in places contain subordinate amounts of quartz (Higazy and Wasfy, Andrew). They are found in close association with and passing into metamorphic schists and gneisses (Ball, Hume, Attia), which may account for the parallel alignment of the hornblende crystals (Harrell, pers. comm); in some specimens a weak foliation of the hornblende crystals has been reported (Andrew).

The analysis of a thin-section of the studied rock has shown that the rock is indeed similar to a specimen of diorite from Aswan (Hume, pl. 100, fig. 2); the results of this analysis will be published shortly in a separate article.

Bibliography:
Ball (1907) 79-80; Andrew (1934); Hume (1934-1937), part 2, 313-314; Attia (1955) 39-40; Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 221-222

128 Kneeling statuette

Fig. 3.3.128a

Material:
Dolerite porphyry

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Dedicant

Date:
Ptolemaic / Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Via Marforio, Campidoglio (late 19th/early 20th century) / temple of Isis Capitolina

Dimensions:
19 x 13.5 x 23.5 (H x W x D)

Preservation:
Lower part has been preserved; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, inv. 56428

Lower part of a statue, which shows a kneeling dedicant who presents a ritual basin. Four deities are carved in very shallow relief on the basin's front panel. From left to right, these have been identified by Farina as the Theban triad (Khonsu, Mut, and Amon) facing the bull-headed Osiris of Behenet, a site in the Delta region where Osiris was venerated in this form (near present-day Mit Ghamr). The scene is framed on both sides by a cobra snake with the crowns of Lower Egypt on a papyrus plant, and another uraeus with the crown of Upper Egypt on a papyrus plant, respectively. The statue has an uninscribed back-pillar.

Proposed dates range from the early Ptolemaic to Roman Imperial period. According to D'Amicone the material provides a terminus post quem of the second half of the 4th century BC (see the opposite page), while a terminus ante quem of the early Ptolemaic period is given on stylistic grounds. This dating is followed by Toti and Manera and Mazza, while all other authors propose a date in the Roman Imperial period; no explanations are given in support of a Roman dating. The statue perhaps originates from Behenet, as suggested by Farina on the basis of the represented deities. It was found in the late 19th or early 20th century in the Via Marforio on the eastern slopes of the Capitoline Hill, during the construction of the Altare delle Patria. On the basis of its findspot, it has generally been attributed to the so-called temple of Isis Capitolina.

Bibliography:
Farina (1919) 8-9 no. 6; Porter and Moss (1951) 414; Malaise (1972a) 187 no. 341; Roullet (1972) 111 no. 188; *Roma Capitale 1870-1911* (1983) 62-63 (E. D'Amicone); *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 135-136 no. 4 (M.P. Toti); Bricault (2001) 165; Manera – Mazza (2001) 106 no. 74; Versluys (2002) 351; ibid. (2004) 425 with n. 17

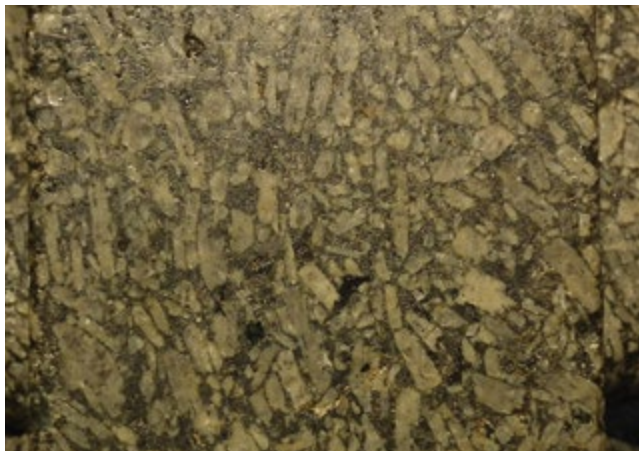
Classification:
Dolerite porphyry

Provenance hypothesis:
Rod el-Gamra

Colour:
Greenish black with yellowish grey

Magnetic attraction:
1

Reference collection:
AESC 31



2 cm

Fig. 3.3.128b

Igneous volcanic rock with a greenish-black (5GY 2/1), fine-grained, and aphanitic matrix. Densely packed, large (up to max. 20 mm long), elongated, sub- to euhedral yellowish grey (5Y 7/2) plagioclase phenocrysts are scattered throughout the matrix.

The distinct macroscopic characteristics of the rock are indicative of dolerite porphyry from Rod el-Gamra in Egypt. In the existing literature the stone has been mistakenly characterised as serpentine (Farina, Malaise, Roullet) and *breccia verde d'Egitto*, the metaconglomerate from Wadi Hammamat (D'Amicone, Toti). While D'Amicone's identification is incorrect, the terminus post quem of the second half of the 4th century BC that she proposes on the basis of the stone which, she says, was not used before the second half of the 4th century BC, is probably correct. Dolerite porphyry was rarely used, and only for a short period of time. All known objects that are carved from this stone are dated to the 30th Dynasty or the early Ptolemaic period; these include five abandoned pyramidion-topped naoi at the quarries (Harrell and Brown), plus seven (fragments of) statuettes comparable to this specimen. Of these, five are dated to the 30th Dynasty, the sixth is dated to the Late Period generally, and the seventh may represent Ptolemy VI and date to the Ptolemaic period (pers. comm. Harrell; among these are three heads of bald-headed men: it is possible that one of these may be complementary to the kneeling statuette discussed here). Based on the date range of other objects in this material, a Roman Imperial date, which has been suggested for the statue in question by several authors, seems unlikely.

Bibliography:
Harrell and Brown (1999)

Fig. 3.3.129a

129 Baboon

Material:
Bigio antico

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Baboon

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Under the Church of Santo Stefano del Cacco (Middle Ages) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
H. 110

Preservation:
Several parts including the head are missing; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Egizio, inv. 22833

Statue of a squatting baboon on an originally rectangular (?) base. The front paws are perched on the bent knees; the tail lies to the right side of the body. The head and right shoulder are missing, as are parts of the base. Inscriptions in Greek and Latin are carved in the right, left, and front sides of the base. These mention the names of its sculptors (Phidias and Ammonios), its consecration, and the name of the individual who dedicated the statue (now lost), respectively. For the inscriptions see *CIL* 6.857, *IG* 14.1264, and *RICIS* 501/0123; cf. Loewy (1885) 268, Donderer (2004) 88, and Stewart (2008) 22.

Based on the names of the Roman consuls in one of the inscriptions the statue can be precisely dated to 159 AD. It was found in the Middle Ages under the Church of Santo Stefano, which was nicknamed 'del Cacco' after the find (literally: 'of the macaque'). On the basis of its findspot, it has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Lanciani (1883) 37; Lafaye (1884) 216; Botti – Romanelli (1951) 114-115 no. 181; Malaise (1972a) 193 no. 345; Roullet (1972) 125 no. 245; Lembke (1994) 142-143 B8 (inscription) and 238 E36; Bricault (2001) 166; Swetnam-Burland (2015) 60-62. For the artists Ammonios and Phidias see also *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* (2001) 33-34, s.v. Ammonios (IV) (E. Paul – W. Müller), and Pekáry (2007) 21

Classification:
Bigio antico

Provenance hypothesis:
Non-Egyptian origin

Colour:
Medium (dark) grey

Magnetic attraction:
0

Reference collection:
n/a

Fig. 3.3.129b

The surface of the rock is very weathered, which complicates a macroscopic analysis. Nevertheless, it appears to be a medium grey (N5) to medium dark grey (N4) rock with a fairly homogeneous texture. The matrix seems to be medium-grained (the observed grains are ca. 1.5-2 mm across), and occasional small (ca. 2 mm wide), ~ white (N9) calcitic (?) veins are observed. No visible attraction can be observed between the neodymium magnet and the rock.

This and the other macroscopic characteristics of the rock are indicative of a grey marble, also known as *bigio antico*. A distinction between the various sources of these grey marbles, which were extracted from several locations across the Roman Mediterranean, including different places in present-day Greece, Turkey, France, and Spain (e.g., Lazzarini *et al*., Yavuz *et al*.), is not possible on the basis of macroscopic criteria alone, but it is evident that this rock originates from a non-Egyptian source. Previous classifications range from (blue-grey) basalt (Lembke, Bricault), granite (Malaise), to brown marble (Roullet).

Bibliography:
Lazzarini *et al*. (1999); Yavuz *et al*. (2012) 257

Fig. 3.3.130a

130 Sebekhotep

Material:
Granodiorite?

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Private individual

Date:
Middle Kingdom

Findspot / ancient context:
Recovered from the Tiber / no context proposed

Dimensions:
H. 17

Preservation:
Surface corroded and fractured; nearly intact

Current location:
Rome, Museo Barracco, inv. 12

Small statuette of a standing male figure on a rectangular base. The figure can be identified by the hieroglyphic inscription on the back-pillar as the private individual Sebekhotep. He is shown in traditional pose with left leg forward and both arms stretched along the sides with clenched fists. Sebekhotep has a bald head, and wears a *shendyt*-kilt (for an Italian translation of the inscription see Sist).

The statuette has invariably been dated to the Middle Kingdom on stylistic and iconographical grounds (Toti: 12th Dynasty?). Based on the dedicatory inscription on the back-pillar, which mentions Osiris, and its presumed votive character, Sist suggests that the statuette may originate from Abydos, where numerous dedications were made to Osiris. It was recovered from the Tiber River. Although it has not been attributed to a particular context, Toti considers its deposition in the Tiber as an indication of the destruction of an Egyptian sanctuary (cf. *supra*, no. 123).

Bibliography:
Barracco (1910) 15 no. 12; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 159 no. 19 (M.P. Toti); Sist (1996) 36-37; Malaise (2004a) 29 no. 438g

Classification:
Granodiorite?

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan?

Colour:
Dark grey to greyish black

Magnetic attraction:
2

Reference collection:
n/d

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.130b

The surface of the rock is heavily weathered, undoubtedly a result from long term exposure to water (see the object description). As it stands today, it is a dark grey to greyish black rock (N3–N2), although it typically grades into macroscopically visible reddish and brownish stains, likely a result of the oxidation of ferromagnesian minerals. Some crystals are visible under a hand lens and at a suitable angle to catch the light on cleavage faces (undetermined character). The magnetic attraction between the neodymium magnet and the rock is strong, indicating the presence of relatively large amounts of iron-rich minerals. The most notable macroscopic feature of the rock is its extensive fracturing. Numerous small cracks are visible all over the statuette. Considering the statuette's deposition in the Tiber, the cracking probably results from the degradative interaction of minerals in the rock and water.

The pattern of cracking and the overall rock colour are reminiscent of a variety of granodiorite from Aswan that is particularly susceptible to degradation due to oxidation processes, and which consequently may exhibit extensive cracking and shattering similar to that observed here (Klemm *et al*., Klemm and Klemm). This might be an indication that the rock is granodiorite from Aswan (?); it has previously been characterised as basalt.

Bibliography:
Klemm *et al*. (1988); Klemm and Klemm (2008) 262

131 Statue fragment

Fig. 3.3.131a

Material:
Granodiorite?

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Pharaoh

Date:
New Kingdom / Late Period

Findspot / ancient context:
Recovered from the Tiber / Egyptian sanctuary

Dimensions:
14 x 25 x 15 (H x W x D)

Preservation:
A small fragment has been preserved; the subject matter is only partly recognisable

Current location:
München, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, inv. ÄS 7084

Fragment of a lower arm with remains of a *shendyt*-kilt. The fragment may belong to a seated figure and it could be an enthroned pharaoh, as Grimm suggests.

The fragment has been dated to the New Kingdom or Late Period; no explanation is given to support the suggested dating. It was recovered from the Tiber, which has led Grimm to connect its deposition in the Tiber with the destruction of an Egyptian sanctuary as recounted by Flavius Josephus (cf. *supra*, no. 123).

Bibliography:
Iside (1997) 176 IV.28 (A. Grimm)

Classification:
Granodiorite?

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan?

Colour:
~ Dark grey

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
n/d

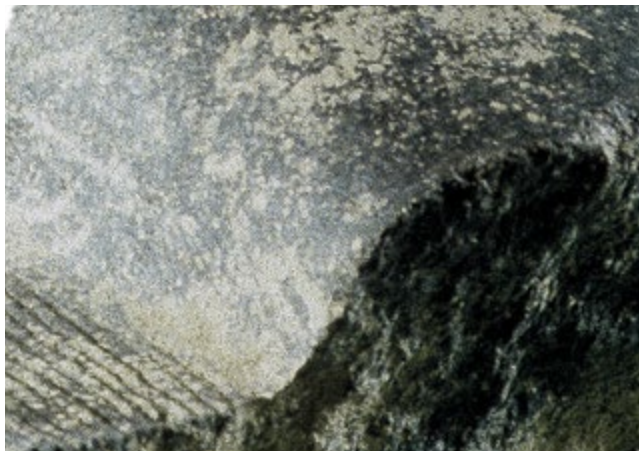


Fig. 3.3.131b

Not examined in person. According to the catalogue description by Grimm, the rock is granodiorite from Aswan. No explanation is given to support this classification or source attribution. The photograph shows an approximately dark grey, (igneous plutonic?) rock, which may well classify as a granodiorite and originate from Aswan. However, due to the weathering of the rock and the calcareous deposits on its surface, which undoubtedly result from the fragment's long term exposure to water (see the opposite page), the photograph is inconclusive.

132 Naophoros Wahibre

Fig. 3.3.132a

Material:
Granodiorite?

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Dedicant

Date:
Late Period

Findspot / ancient context:
Via del Beato Angelico 23 (1856) / Iseum Campense

Dimensions:
60 x 41 x 75 (H x W x D)

Preservation:
Lower part is preserved; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Museo Egizio, inv. 5420

Lower part of a naophoros statue on a rectangular socle. The fragment shows a kneeling dedicant, preserved through the waist, who presents a naos with the remains of a standing female deity in it. The deity has generally been identified as the goddess Neith on the basis of one of the dedicant's titles in the back-pillar ("chief of the temples of Neith"). The inscriptions furthermore allow the dedicant to the identified as the priest Wahibre, who pursued his career in Sais in the 26th Dynasty, presumably during the reign of kings Apries and Amasis (all authors date the statue to the 26th Dynasty). Since Neith was the main deity of Sais, the statue may have originated come from that city. For the hieroglyphic inscriptions in the back-pillar and the socle see *Le antichità egiziane*.

The statue fragment was found in 1856 in the Maison Tranquilli (Via del Beato Angelico 23). On the basis of its findspot, it has invariably been attributed to the Iseum Campense.

Bibliography:
Lanciani (1883) 48; Lafaye (1884) 218; Porter and Moss (1951) 413; Malaise (1972a) 196 no. 360; Roullet (1972) 112 no. 191; Lembke (1994) 231-232 E25; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 187-188 no. 39 (O. Lollio Barberi), 251 (inscription), and 247-248 (Italian translation of the inscription); Malaise (2004b) 66 no. 5

Classification:
Granodiorite?

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan?

Colour:
~ Dark grey

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
AESC 5 (b) variety 1, sample 2?

Fig. 3.3.132b

Not examined in person. Photographs show that the rock in question is a dark grey (exact colour undetermined), crystalline rock with a fairly equigranular texture, although (feldspar?) phenocrysts rarely occur. Perhaps a dark-grey, medium- to mostly fine-grained granodiorite, with occasional small feldspar phenocrysts from Aswan (Middleton and Klemm, El-Shazly, Attia)? The rock has previously been classified as basalt (e.g., Malaise, Roullet) and dark schist (Lembke).

Bibliography:
El-Shazly (1954) 6; Attia (1955) 40; Middleton and Klemm (2003)

133 Head of a pharaoh

Material:
Granodiorite?

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Royal figure (unspecified)

Date:
Ptolemaic

Findspot / ancient context:
Tiber / no context proposed

Dimensions:
H. 18

Preservation:
Surface corroded, head partly missing; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Museo Barracco, inv. 32

Fig. 3.3.133a

The head of a larger statue has been preserved. Despite its fragmentary preservation and corroded surface, which undoubtedly results from long term exposure to water (see below), the *nemes*-headdress from which a cobra emerges allows to identify the head as a representation of a king (all authors). The eyes were originally inlaid with a different material. The top of the head is damaged, but it seems as if the remains of a depression can be discerned, which would indicate that a crown was originally present; a fragment of bronze remains in this 'depression', which may actually be a part of the inserted crown (ca. 1.5 cm).

The head has invariably been dated to the (early) Ptolemaic period on stylistic grounds. It was recovered from the Tiber River. Although it has not been attributed to a particular context, Toti considers its deposition in the Tiber as an indication of the destruction of an Egyptian sanctuary (cf. *supra*, no. 123).

Bibliography:
Barracco (1910) 17 no. 32; Pietrangeli (1960) 49 no. 32; Roullet (1972) 104 no. 159; Malaise (1978) 648 no. 428b; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 158 no. 18 (M.P. Toti); Sist (1996) 79; Bricault (2001) 168

Classification:
Granodiorite?

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan?

Colour:
Dark to olive grey

Magnetic attraction:
1

Reference collection:
AESC 5 (b) variety 1, sample 2?

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.133b

The rock surface is heavily weathered, which undoubtedly results from its long term exposure to water (see the opposite page). As it stands today, it is a dark grey rock (N3, with an olive grey tinge, 5Y 4/1). The crystalline nature of the rock can be determined under a hand lens and at a suitable angle to catch the light on cleavage faces. Dark-coloured minerals and some quartz and feldspar crystals (1-2 mm) can be distinguished, which suggests that this is a medium-grained, igneous plutonic rock. It appears to have an equigranular texture.

Mineralogy, overall rock colour, and magnetic properties seem to indicate that this is a felsic to intermediate igneous plutonic rock, perhaps granodiorite which, given the Ptolemaic dating of the object and its frequent use for sculptural purposes, may originate from Aswan (?). The rock has previously been classified as basalt (Pietrangeli) and (black) granite (Roullet, Sist).

Fig. 3.3.134a

134 Right arm

Material:
Granodiorite?

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Isis?

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Recovered from the Tiber / Egyptian sanctuary

Dimensions:
H. 79

Preservation:
Small fragment is preserved; too little remains to identify the theme with certainty

Current location:
München, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, inv. ÄS 7080

The right arm of a colossal statue has been preserved in two fragments. Remains of an attribute, presumably an *ankh*-sign, are visible in the right hand. Grimm identifies the fragment as a part of a cult statue of the goddess Isis. Too little remains of the statue to confirm this hypothesis.

The fragment is dated to the early Roman Imperial period on stylistic grounds. It was recovered from the Tiber, which has led Grimm to connect its deposition in the Tiber with the destruction of an Egyptian sanctuary as recounted by Flavius Josephus (cf. *supra*, no. 123).

Bibliography:
Iside (1997) 174 IV.24 (A. Grimm)

Classification:
Granodiorite?

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan?

Colour:
~ Medium grey

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
n/d

Fig. 3.3.134b

Not examined in person. According to the catalogue description by Grimm, the rock is granodiorite from Aswan. No explanation is given to support this classification or source attribution. The photograph shows an approximately medium grey, phaneritic (medium-grained?), slightly porphyritic (pink alkali feldspar phenocrysts?), igneous plutonic rock, which may well classify as a granodiorite and originate from Aswan. However, due to the weathering of the rock and the calcareous deposits on its surface, which undoubtedly result from the fragment's long term exposure to water (see the opposite page), the photograph is inconclusive.

135 Statue fragment

Fig. 3.3.135a

Material:
Granodiorite?

Style:
Conceptual?

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Harpocrates?

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Recovered from the Tiber / Egyptian sanctuary

Dimensions:
H. 29

Preservation:
Small fragment is preserved; too little remains to identify the theme with certainty

Current location:
München, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, inv. ÄS 7081

Fragment of a torso which, according to Grimm, belongs to a statue of Harpocrates.

The fragment has been dated to the early Roman Imperial period; no explanation is given to support this dating. It was recovered from the Tiber, which has led Grimm to connect its deposition in the Tiber with the destruction of an Egyptian sanctuary as recounted by Flavius Josephus (cf. *supra*, no. 123).

Bibliography:
Iside (1997) 175 IV.25 (A. Grimm)

Classification:
Granodiorite?

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan?

Colour:
~ Dark grey

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
n/d

Fig. 3.3.135b

Not examined in person. According to the catalogue description by Grimm, the rock is granodiorite from Aswan. No explanation is given to support this classification or source attribution. The photograph shows an approximately dark grey (igneous plutonic?) rock, which may well classify as a granodiorite and originate from Aswan. However, due to the weathering of the rock and the calcareous deposits on its surface, which undoubtedly result from the fragment's long term exposure to water (see the opposite page), the photograph is inconclusive.

Fig. 3.3.136a

136 Statue fragment

Material:
Granodiorite?

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Falcon

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Recovered from the Tiber / Egyptian sanctuary

Dimensions:
H. 31.5

Preservation:
Fragmentary; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
München, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, inv. ÄS 7082

Fragment of a falcon statue. The upper part of the body and the legs has been preserved.

The fragment has been dated to the early Roman Imperial period on stylistic grounds. It was recovered from the Tiber, which has led Grimm to connect its deposition in the Tiber with the destruction of an Egyptian sanctuary as recounted by Flavius Josephus (cf. *supra*, no. 123).

Bibliography:
Iside (1997) 175 IV.26 (A. Grimm)

Classification:
Granodiorite?

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan?

Colour:
~ Dark grey

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
n/d

Fig. 3.3.136b

Not examined in person. According to the catalogue description by Grimm, the rock is granodiorite from Aswan. No explanation is given to support this classification or source attribution. The photograph shows an approximately dark grey (igneous plutonic?) rock, which may well classify as a granodiorite and originate from Aswan. However, due to the weathering of the rock and the calcareous deposits on its surface, which undoubtedly result from the fragment's long term exposure to water (see the opposite page), the photograph is inconclusive.

137 Double crown

Fig. 3.3.137a

Material:
Granodiorite?

Style:
Conceptual?

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Double crown

Date:
Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Recovered from the Tiber / Egyptian sanctuary

Dimensions:
H. 17.5

Preservation:
Fragmentary; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
München, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, inv. ÄS 7083

Fragment of an Egyptian double crown, of which the lower part remains. Grimm connects it with a falcon statue. However, although falcon statues with double-crowns are known, the crown was also worn by other subjects. Since no other parts of the statue to which it must have belonged remain, Grimm's suggestion cannot be confirmed (falcon-statue *supra*, no. 136 is too small for this crown).

The fragment has been dated to the early Roman Imperial period; no explanation is given to support this dating. It was recovered from the Tiber, which has led Grimm to connect its deposition in the Tiber with the destruction of an Egyptian sanctuary as recounted by Flavius Josephus (cf. *supra*, no. 123).

Bibliography:
Iside (1997) 176 IV.27 (A. Grimm)

Classification:
Granodiorite?

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan?

Colour:
~ Dark grey

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
n/d

Fig. 3.3.137b

Not examined in person. According to the catalogue description by Grimm, the rock is granodiorite from Aswan. No explanation is given to support this classification or source attribution. The photograph indicates that this is an approximately dark grey, phaneritic (medium-grained?), fairly equigranular igneous plutonic rock, which may well classify as a granodiorite and originate from Aswan. However, due to the weathering of the rock and the calcareous deposits on its surface, which undoubtedly result from the fragment's long term exposure to water (see the opposite page), the photograph is inconclusive.

138 Clepsydra

Material:
Granodiorite?

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Clepsydra

Subject matter:
Pharaoh officiating in front of deities

Date:
Ptolemaic / Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Vigna Bonelli (1859) / attributed to various contexts

Dimensions:
Unknown

Preservation:
Some parts missing; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Lost (formerly Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, inv. 19556)

Fig. 3.3.138a

The clepsydra is recomposed from several fragments. A continuous frieze runs across the exterior of the vase. A band of stars forms the upper section; the lower section shows a relief scene with a king officiating in front of deities. Uninscribed.

The clepsydra has been variously dated to the Ptolemaic and Roman Imperial periods; all datings rely on stylistic criteria in the absence of inscriptions. It was found in 1859 in the vigna Bonelli, just outside porta Portese, in the remains of a building from the 2nd century AD. The character of this building is unclear. Roullet connects the find with the temple of Fortuna, which was located beyond the porta Portese. Malaise mentions the find of votive inscriptions for Oriental gods in the vicinity of the findspot of the clepsydra, and, based on this, suggests the existence of a cult place where also Egyptian gods were venerated. These hypotheses are rejected by Versluys, who rightly notes that both are speculative. The clepsydra has been lost since the Second World War.

Bibliography:
Visconti (1860) 437-439; Lafaye (1884) 334 no. 233; Wiedemann (1901) 274 no. 6; Borchardt (1920) 9 no. 11; Malaise (1972a) 231 no. 425; Roullet (1972) 145 no. 326; Long (1987) 343-344 no. 14; Clagett (1995) 148 n. 82; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 213-214 no. 55 (O. Lollio Barberi); Bongrani *et al*. (1998) 565; Versluys (2002) 370; Lodomez (2007) no. 13

Classification:
Granodiorite?

Provenance hypothesis:
Aswan?

Colour:
n/d

Magnetic attraction:
n/d

Reference collection:
n/d

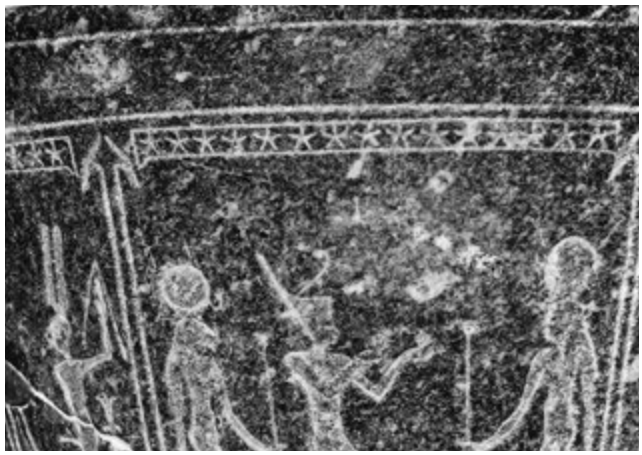


Fig. 3.3.138b

Not examined in person. The black and white photograph, the only known image of this object, show a phaneritic, slightly porphyritic rock. It has been characterised as black granite since its first publication by Visconti. The rock in the photograph is consistent with an igneous plutonic origin. Given its frequent use, also for the production of clepsydras (see *infra*, Appendix D, 363-366), the rock in question may be granodiorite from Aswan (?).

139 Statue fragment

Material:
Greywacke?

Style:
Conceptual?

Object category:
Statue

Subject matter:
Anthropomorphic statue?

Date:
New Kingdom / Late Period / Ptolemaic

Findspot / ancient context:
Esquiline Hill (1879) / attributed to the Iseum and Serapeum in Regio III

Dimensions:
8.5 x 8 x 5 (H x W x D)

Preservation:
A small fragment has been preserved; the subject matter is no longer recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 2156/S

Fig. 3.3.139a

Small fragment of a statue, which represents the left upper chest and a part of the neck. The fragment is well polished, and it preserves superficially incised decorative lines plus the remains of hieroglyphic script, including the upper part of a cartouche. Roullet believes that this is a fragment of a magical statue; no explanation is given to support this identification.

Proposed dates range from the New Kingdom (18th Dynasty) to the Late Period (30th Dynasty)/Ptolemaic period; no explanation is given in support of these dates. The fragment was found in 1879 on the Esquiline Hill; further details concerning find location and find circumstances are unknown. Nevertheless, on the basis of its findspot, Malaise tentatively attributes the fragment to the Iseum and Serapeum of Regio III.

Bibliography:
Elenco degli oggetti (1879) 246 no. 2; Stuart Jones (1926) 301 no. 6; Porter and Moss (1951) 413; Malaise (1972a) 175 no. 319; Roullet (1972) 119 no. 219; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 164 no. 23 (M.P. Toti); Bricault (2001) 164

Classification:
Greywacke?

Provenance hypothesis:
Wadi Hammamat?

Colour:
Dark grey

Magnetic attraction:
0

Reference collection:
~ AESC 28a (a) variety 2?

2 cm

Fig. 3.3.139b

~ Dark grey (N3), fine-grained rock with a very dense matrix. As a result of its fine-grained nature, the exact grain size and mineralogy cannot be determined. No visible granularity, neither by the naked eye nor under a hand lens, which suggests that the rock has a very fine-grained matrix. No visible attraction can be observed between the neodymium magnet and the rock matrix. Several clasts are included in the matrix, which are indicative of the rock's sedimentary origin. Thanks to the fragment's modest dimensions, most clasts are partially broken off; numerous clasts, all of pebble size and mostly well-rounded, are visible on the broken surfaces of the fragment. These pebbles vary in colour from ~ dark yellowish orange (10YR 6/6), moderate red (5R 4/6), to occasionally moderate reddish orange (10R 6/6). The red colouration and their strong magnetic attraction (2) are indicative of iron-rich clasts.

The rock has previously been classified as basalt (e.g., Malaise, Toti), which it certainly is not. The clastic nature of the rock, with its (very) fine-grained, dark-grey, homogeneous, and non-magnetic matrix, is reminiscent of greywackes from the Wadi Hammamat. The macroscopic characteristics of the clasts are consistent with the types of pebbles that occur in these rocks (Harrell *et al*.). However, according to literature descriptions of the rocks from the Wadi Hammamat, the sandstone variety of greywacke contains pebbles, and only rarely so (Aston *et al*., Klemm and Klemm; see also *supra*, no. 117-118). The studied rock, on the other hand, is likely to fall within a finer grain size range (siltstone?), and yet it is full of pebbles. I am not aware of other quarries that produced rocks with these characteristics. Perhaps it was extracted from a small conglomerate interlayer in a siltstone from Wadi Hammamat (?).

Bibliography:
Aston *et al*. (2000) 57-58; Harrell *et al*. (2002) 213-214; Klemm and Klemm (2008) 307-310

Fig. 3.3.140a

140 Obelisk (fragment)

Material:
Granite

Style:
Conceptual

Object category:
Obelisk

Subject matter:
(pseudo-)hieroglyphs

Date:
Ptolemaic / Roman Imperial

Findspot / ancient context:
Along Via di S. Eufemia (2010) / domus on north side of Trajan's Forum

Dimensions:
43 x 16 (H x W)

Preservation:
A small fragment is preserved; the subject matter remains well recognisable

Current location:
Rome, Palazzo Valentini, inv. 170

The fragment constitutes the lower part of an obelisk of modest dimensions. It is inscribed on all four sides; the inscriptions on the opposite sides are similar. They are not legible, and hence they are designated as pseudo-hieroglyphs, which would merely have had a decorative function. See *Palazzo Valentini* for the inscription.

Sist (in *Palazzo Valentini*) dates the obelisk fragment to either the Ptolemaic or early Roman Imperial period on palaeographic grounds. It was found in 2010 in the eastern sector of Palazzo Valentini, along Via di S. Eufemia, in a residential area with two luxurious domus on the north side of Trajan's Forum. It may have belonged to the decoration of an outside area, perhaps a courtyard, which was later transformed into a garden that belonged to one of the domus. However, this is not entirely clear, as the obelisk fragment was found in a layer of backfill, and therefore evidently not *in situ*.

Bibliography:
Baldassarri (2012) 1634-1635; *Palazzo Valentini* (2013) 30-33 no. I.3 (P. Baldassarri, L. Sist)

Classification:
Granite

Provenance hypothesis:
Uncertain

Colour:
~ Pinkish

Magnetic attraction:
0

Reference collection:
n/a

~2 cm

Fig. 3.3.140b

Igneous, phaneritic rock of plutonic origin with a slightly porphyritic, holocrystalline texture. The matrix is fine- to mainly medium-grained and consists of light brown to moderate orange pink (5YR 6/4–5YR 8/4) alkali feldspar (typically 2-4 mm), very light grey (N8) plagioclase (1-3 mm), colourless (transparent) to transparent light grey (~ N7) quartz (2-3 mm), and a relatively small amount of biotite (individual grains up to 2 mm, also in aggregates up to 10 mm, on average 5-6 mm) and hornblende (ca. 2 mm). Occasional very light grey (N8), anhedral plagioclase phenocrysts (10-20 mm). Mineralogy and texture allow for the rock to be classified as fine- to medium-grained granite.

It is currently not evident where the rock originates from. Its macroscopic characteristics do not seem to readily match any of the published descriptions of granites used in Antiquity. It does not match the fine-grained granites from Aswan, mainly on account of the studied rocks' porphyritic nature and the presence of hornblende. Bir Umm Fawakhir, where small quantities of mottled pink and grey granite to mainly granodiorite were extracted in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, can probably be ruled out on account of the maximum size of the plagioclase feldspar phenocrysts (20 mm in the studied rock; Galetti *et al*. report a maximum grain-size of 11 mm, Brown and Harrell of 9 mm for the rocks from Bir Umm Fawakhir). The quarries of *granito sardo* also produced pale pink, medium-grained granite; however, these rocks typically have euhedral pink alfali feldspar phenocrysts of about 10 mm across, which does not match the studied rock (Poggi – Lazzarini). The rock does not resemble samples of pink granites in the Ancient Egyptian Stone Collection from Wadi Abu Maamel (WAM-1) or Badia (Bd-1). Higazy and Wasfy report porphyritic granites at Aswan with grain sizes ranging between the coarse- and fine-grained granites; the studied rock could therefore be one of the lesser known granite varieties from Aswan (?). It would be interesting to further analyse this rock, because, if it turns out to have been made from a non-Egyptian granite, it would be an intriguing case of a so-called substitution stone, in which Aswan granite, the usual material for obelisks, could have been replaced by a different material.

Bibliography:
Higazy and Wasfy (1956) 230-232; Galetti *et al*. (1992) 168; Brown and Harrell (1995) 227; Poggi – Lazzarini (2005) 58-59

Part IV

Aegyptiaca beyond representation

The final part of this study sets out to analyse and then interpret the corpus presented in the previous part, and assesses the role of materials and materiality as integral constituents of the objects that we call Aegyptiaca Romana from a Roman perspective. In order to investigate patterns and trends in material use and selection, it is necessary to analyse the studied objects' material characteristics. Therefore, the first section presents an overview of the presence and distribution of the materials used and their characteristics. Subsequent sections study these material data in relation to other object parameters. Artistic style, object category, subject category, dating, and, finally, provenance, will be consecutively added to the analysis, in order to obtain a more inclusive understanding of so-called Aegyptiaca. The second and concluding section discusses the most notable patterns and observations in the wider context of the Roman world, and attempts to demonstrate the potential of this study's novel approach to so-called Aegyptiaca 'beyond representation'.

1. Analysis

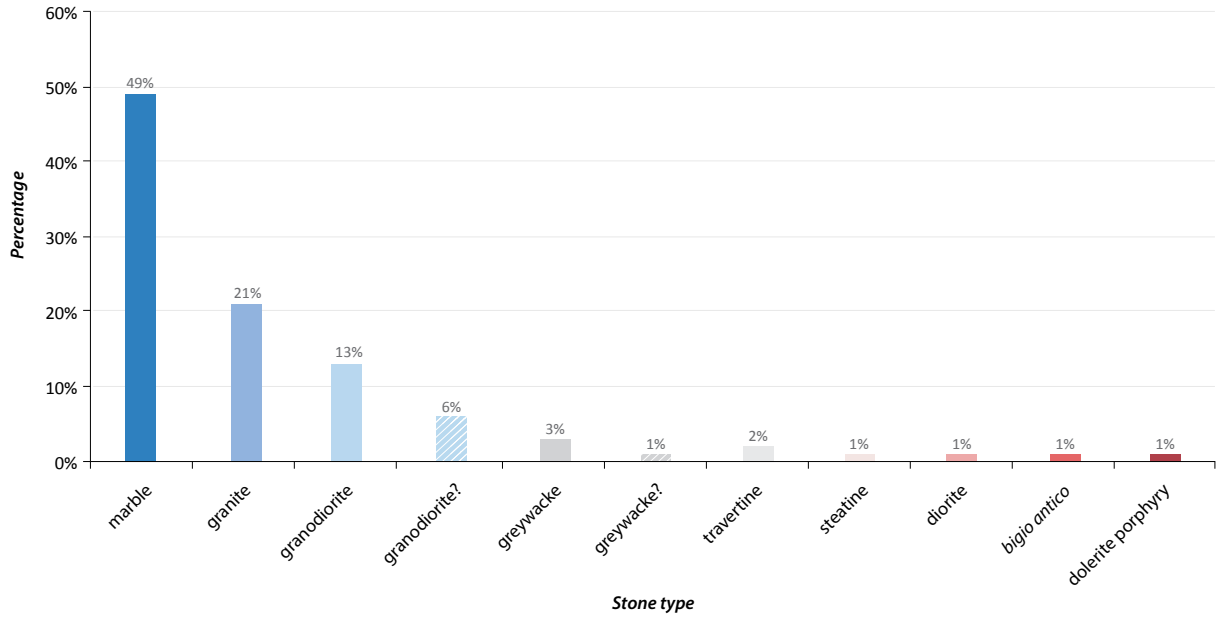


Fig. 4.1.1. General distribution of stone types (n = 140).

1.1 DISTRIBUTION OF STONE TYPES AND MATERIAL CHARACTERISTICS

1.1.1 Distribution of stone types

At least nine different lithotypes are present in our sample.[352] Fig. 4.1.1 gives an overview of these types and their distribution. Marble is by far the most frequently used stone in the studied sample, constituting approximately half of the entire sample (n = 69). Other common materials are granite (n = 29) and granodiorite (n = 19 or 28 depending on characterisation). Greywacke (n = 5 or 6 depending on characterisation), travertine (n = 3), steatite (n = 2), diorite (n = 1), dolerite porphyry (n = 1), and *bigio antico* (n = 1) occur markedly less frequent. Based on these data, the initial inference can be made that, despite the considerable variation in the stone types of studied objects, the large majority is made from one of the three dominant material groups, namely, marble, granite, or granodiorite.

1.1.2 Material characteristics: geological provenance

The distribution of the geological provenance of the studied materials is graphically represented in Fig.

352. For ten objects in the studied sample stone classifications are uncertain. These uncertainties are mainly due to the fact that most of these artefacts could not be examined in person. The undetermined stones all have dark colours and relatively homogeneous textures. These indistinct visual characteristics are shared by some of the most frequently used (and confused) stone types of so-called Aegyptiaca, including granodiorite, greywacke and, although this stone was used to a lesser extent, basalt; cf. *supra*, 71 and n. 297.

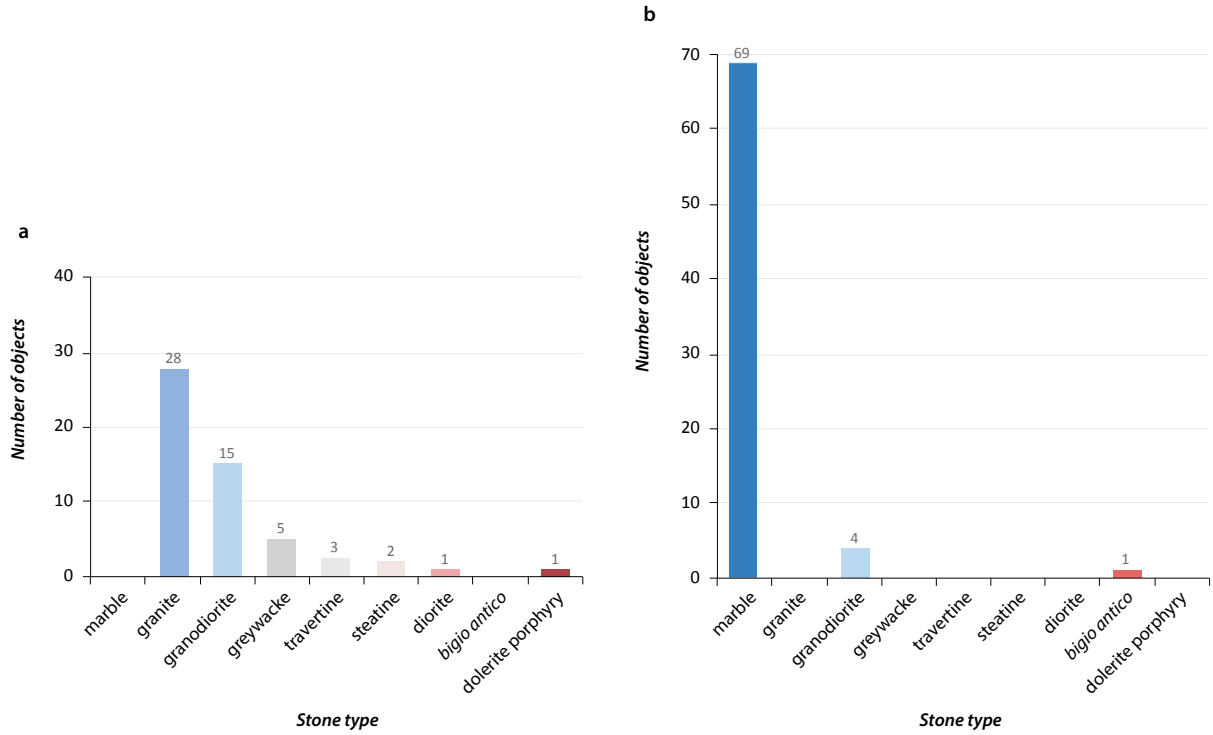


Fig. 4.1.2. Geological provenance of stone types: a. stones of Egyptian origin (n = 55); b. stones of non-Egyptian origin (n = 74).

Table 4.1.1. Specification of geological provenance of studied materials (n = 129).

Provenance	Characterisation	Site	Total
Egypt	granite	Aswan	28
	granodiorite	Aswan	15
	greywacke	Wadi Hammamat	5
	travertine	Eastern Nile Valley	3
	steatite	Rod el-Barram District	2
	diorite	Aswan	1
	dolerite porphyry	Rod el-Gamra	1
not Egypt	marble	various sites	69
	granodiorite	Elba Island, Italy	4
	bigio antico	various sites in Greece, Turkey, France, Spain	1

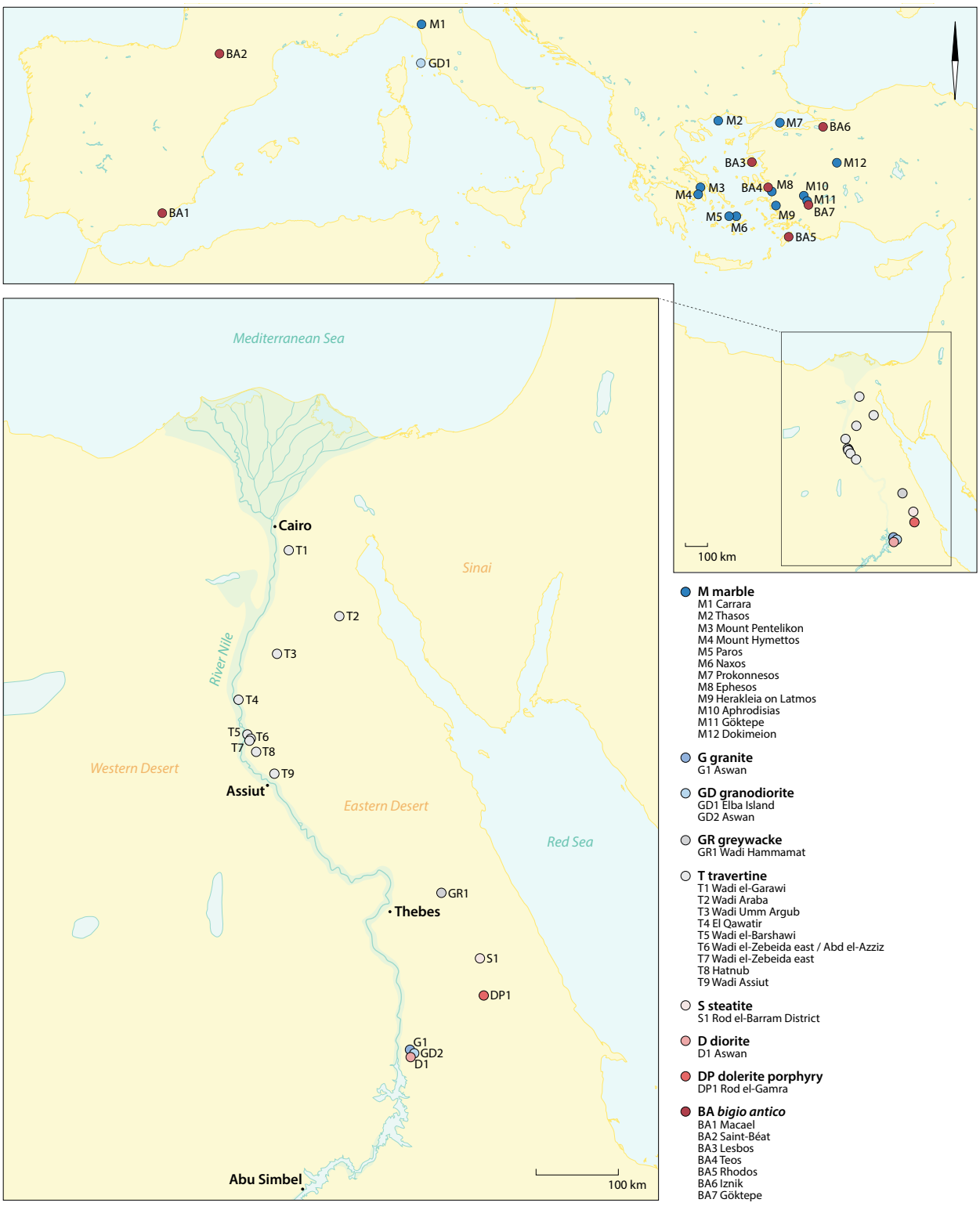


Fig. 4.1.3. Map of relevant quarrying sites in the Mediterranean world (principal sites are indicated for marble and *bigio antico*).

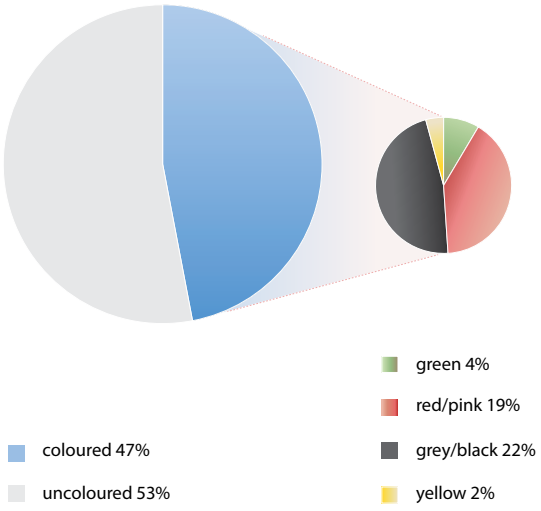


Fig. 4.1.4. Colour distribution of stone materials (n = 129).

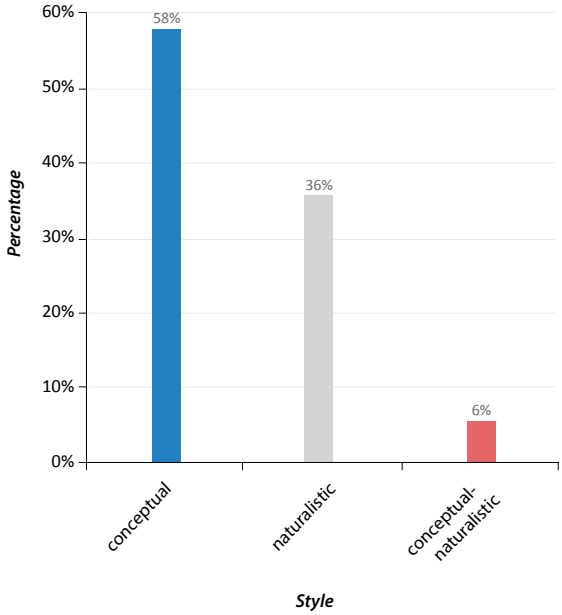


Fig. 4.1.5. General distribution of stylistic characteristics (n = 129).

4.1.2.[353] It can be observed that all stone types, with the exception of granodiorite, come from either Egyptian or non-Egyptian sources. This indicates that granite, greywacke, travertine, steatite, diorite, and dolerite porphyry were only obtained from Egyptian sources, whereas marble and *bigio antico* were exclusive for non-Egyptian localities. Based on this, a clear division between Egyptian and non-Egyptian stone types can be observed. Furthermore, the majority of stones in our sample have non-Egyptian origins: the distribution between non-Egyptian and Egyptian stones is 74 versus 55. The predominance of non-Egyptian stones can largely be explained by the abundance of marble, which accounts for 93% of all non-Egyptian materials.

A specification of the geological sources is given in Table 4.1.1. The locations of these sites are indicated in Fig. 4.1.3. The large majority of Egyptian stones in our sample come from Aswan, namely, all granites and Egyptian granodiorites, plus the one specimen of diorite. The less frequently occurring Egyptian materials were mainly extracted from quarries in the southern Eastern Desert. Travertine, however, was quarried from one of the nine known ancient sites for this type of material, located in the Eastern desert plateaux between Cairo and Assiut. At least one Italian stone type is present, the so-called *granito dell'Elba*, a granodiorite from Elba Island. The white marbles and *bigio antico* originate from one of the many known sources for these stone types, which are all located outside of Egypt.[354]

1.1.3 Material characteristics: natural colouration

The materials of the studied objects have different visual characteristics and come in a variation of natural colours. An overview of the colour distribution is given in Fig. 4.1.4. Approximately half of the stones are uncoloured, whereas the other half are naturally coloured. Four different colour groups can be discerned: grey/black, red/pink, yellow, and green. Among these,

353. Since the geological origin of a stone only follows from its characterisation, it was not possible to formulate provenance hypotheses for the ten aforementioned undetermined stones. In addition, the source of the granite from which the obelisk fragment from Palazzo Valentini is carved is not clear (*supra*, 292-293 no. 140). In order to keep the following analyses as reliable as possible, the remaining sections focus on the 129 objects for which reliable material characterisations and geological provenance determinations could be determined.

354. *Bigio antico*'s with largely comparable visual characteristics were extracted from different localities across the Mediterranean, including sites in modern Greece, Turkey, France, and Spain (but none of them in Egypt). This complicates the attribution to a particular source on the basis of visual examination; *supra*, 76 with n. 318 and 270-271 no. 129.

Table 4.1.2. Material characteristics of the studied stone materials (n = 129).

Colouration	Provenance	
	Egyptian (n = 55)	non-Egyptian (n = 74)
Coloured (n = 60)	100%	7%
Uncoloured (n = 69)	0%	93%

materials in different shades of grey to black and red to pink prevail (22% and 19% of the total sample size, respectively).

1.1.4 Conclusion: the material characteristics of so-called Aegyptiaca

A clear correlation exists between the material characteristics of the stones in the studied sample. Two major trends can be discerned. Firstly, Egyptian stones are always coloured: granite (red/pink and grey/black), granodiorite (grey/black), greywacke (grey/black and green), travertine (yellow), steatite (green), diorite (grey/black), and dolerite porphyry (green). In contrast, non-Egyptian stones are nearly always uncoloured. Marble is the only uncoloured stone type in the sample, and was exclusively extracted from non-Egyptian sources. The few naturally coloured stones from non-Egyptian sources, *bigio antico* and granodiorite from Elba Island, are grey/black. A summary of these relations is given in Table 4.1.2. It can be observed that Egyptian coloured stones and non-Egyptian uncoloured stones are the most common material configurations of so-called Aegyptiaca Romana. Artefacts made from naturally coloured stones of non-Egyptian origin are uncommon, while uncoloured stones of Egyptian origin are not present in the studied sample, at all. Because of the distinct and opposed correlation between colouration and geological provenance, these material characteristics are discussed together in the remainder of the analysis instead of separately – seeing that an individual examination of these aspects would merely result in a repetition of visible trends. For this purpose, the following material clusters are discerned: coloured Egyptian, uncoloured non-Egyptian, and coloured non-Egyptian.

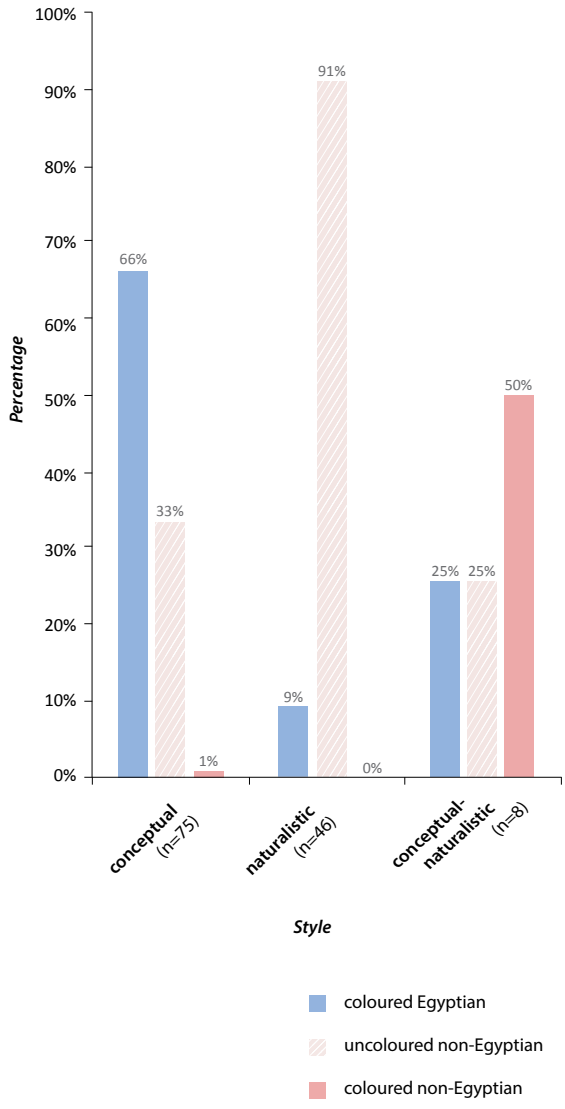


Fig. 4.1.6. Material characteristics and stylistic distribution (n = 129).

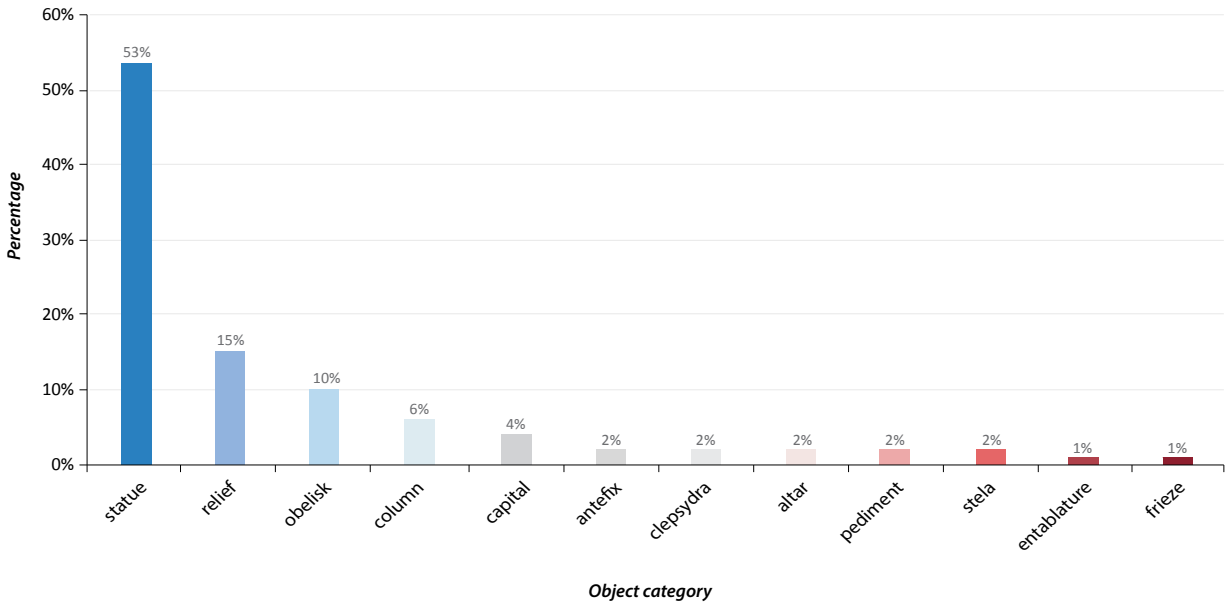


Fig. 4.1.7. General distribution of object categories (n = 129).

1.2 MATERIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND OTHER OBJECT PARAMETERS

1.2.1 Style

The stylistic distribution of the studied objects is presented in Fig. 4.1.5. More than half of the artefacts are rendered in conceptual styles, and approximately a third of the total sample size exhibits a naturalistic style, while a minority of objects shows stylistic characteristics in accordance with both aforementioned traditions.

1.2.2 Material characteristics and style

The next step is to analyse the relations between the stylistic and material characteristics of the studied objects. As can be seen in Fig. 4.1.6, objects in conceptual styles are carved from coloured Egyptian, coloured non-Egyptian, and uncoloured non-Egyptian materials. Conceptual styles occur more frequently in combination with coloured Egyptian than with uncoloured non-Egyptian stones: the distribution of conceptual styles between these two material clusters is 66% versus 33%. Subsequently, conceptual-naturalistic styles occur in combination with all three material clusters and without any evident differences in distribution. However, a clear correlation is noticeable between the naturalistic style and material characteristics. The vast majority of objects with naturalistic styles are carved from uncoloured non-Egyptian stones. A small minority of objects with naturalistic styles is made from coloured Egyptian materials, whereas the combination of naturalistic styles with coloured non-Egyptian stones is altogether absent. Therefore, while no clear preferences can be derived from so-called Aegyptiaca in conceptual and conceptual-naturalistic styles or the properties of the materials from which these are made, a strong correlation seems to exist between the naturalistic style and uncoloured stone materials of non-Egyptian origin.

1.2.3 Object category

Twelve different object types are present (Fig. 4.1.7). Of these, statues clearly prevail: they constitute approximately half of the entire sample size. Apart from statues, other frequently attested object types include reliefs and obelisks. Capitals, antefixes, clepsydras, altars, pediments, stelae, entablatures, and friezes occur markedly less frequent. This general overview demonstrates that, while the category of so-called Aegyptiaca comprises a relatively large number of

Table 4.1.3. Correlation between material characteristics and object categories (n = 129).

Object category	Material characteristics			Total
	coloured Egyptian	uncoloured non-Egyptian	coloured non-Egyptian	
statue	36	32	1	69
relief	2	18	0	20
obelisk	13	0	0	13
column	0	4	4	8
capital	0	6	0	6
antefix	0	3	0	3
clepsydra	2	0	0	2
altar	0	2	0	2
pediment	0	2	0	2
stela	2	0	0	2
entablature	0	1	0	1
frieze	0	1	0	1

different object types, some types are more frequently attested than others.

1.2.4 Material characteristics and object category

Distinct patterns emerge when we analyse object categories in relation to material characteristics. As Table 4.1.3 shows, only statues and reliefs are carved from both Egyptian and non-Egyptian stones. Objects of the ten other types are exclusively made from either coloured Egyptian or (un-)coloured non-Egyptian stones. This indicates that there is an overall strong correlation between the object types of the studied artefacts and their material properties. Certain materials seem to be exclusively used for particular types of objects. Accordingly, obelisks, clepsydras, and stelae are invariably made from coloured Egyptian materials, although their numbers are relatively small. In contrast, columns, capitals, antefixes, altars, pediments, plus the entablature and frieze are consistently carved from non-Egyptian and nearly always uncoloured stones. Albeit not exclusively, a large majority of reliefs in our sample is made from uncoloured non-Egyptian materials: 90% versus 10% in coloured Egyptian materials, whereas coloured non-Egyptian materials are absent. It is noteworthy that architectural elements have very consistent material properties: 95% of all architectural elements in the sample – including reliefs, columns, capitals, antefixes, pediments, the entablature and frieze (41 objects, i.e. 32% of the total sample) – are made from non-Egyptian stones, mostly white marble. The distribution of the material characteristics of statues, finally, is less distinct: the ratio between Egyptian and non-Egyptian materials is approximtely 1:1. With the exception of one object, all statues categorised as made of stones of non-Egyptian origin are marble statues.

1.2.5 Material and stylistic characteristics in relation to object category

The question that follows from the above observation concerns the material and stylistic characteristics of the studied objects in relation to their object categories. In order to increase the sample size and hence the visibility of possible patterns, all architectural elements, as defined in the previous section, will from now on be grouped together. The stylistic and material characteristics of different object categories are presented in Table 4.1.4 below.

While no particular correlation could be observed between the material properties of statues, two clear and opposing trends become visible when we add the stylistic parameter of these objects. Statues with conceptual

Table 4.1.4. Material and stylistic characteristics in relation to object categories (n = 129).

Object category	Material characteristics	Style			Total
		conceptual	conceptual-naturalistic	naturalistic	
statue	coloured Egyptian	31	1	4	69
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	1	31	
	coloured non-Egyptian	1	0	0	
architecture	coloured Egyptian	2	0	0	41
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	25	1	9	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	4	0	
obelisk	coloured Egyptian	12	1	0	13
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
clepsydra	coloured Egyptian	2	0	0	2
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
stela	coloured Egyptian	2	0	0	2
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
altar	coloured Egyptian	0	0	0	2
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	2	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	

styles are nearly always made from naturally coloured Egyptian stones; the statue of a baboon made from *bigio antico* is the only exception in the studied sample. In contrast, a markedly different pattern emerges for statues with naturalistic styles, which are nearly always carved from marble. A different trend can be observed with regard to the stylistic and material characteristics of architectural elements. The previous section has shown that the large majority of architectural objects are carved from white marble. Adding the stylistic component to the analysis demonstrates that the majority of these artefacts is rendered in conceptual styles: 25 of 35 marble architectural objects, i.e. 71%. Therefore, unlike statues with conceptual styles, which are never carved from white marble, a clear correlation seems to exist between these specific material and stylistic characteristics and architectural elements. Indeed, all objects in our sample that are made of marble and executed in conceptual styles are architectural elements. The observation that particular correlations exist between stylistic and material properties in relation to object type is reinforced by the other four object types, namely, obelisks, clepsydras, stelae, and altars. The first three object types, obelisks, clepsydras, and stelae, are all made from coloured Egyptian materials and nearly always rendered in conceptual styles, whereas the two altars in our sample are both carved from uncoloured stones of non-Egyptian origin and in naturalistic styles. Based on this, two inferences can be made. First of all, an overall clear correlation can be observed between the stylistic and material characteristics of the studied objects, on the one hand, and their object categories, on the other. Secondly, different object categories of so-called Aegyptiaca 'behave' in different material and stylistic terms. In order to assess the question if and how these correlations are associated with the subject matters of the objects in question, we need to involve this parameter in our analysis, as presented in the next section.

1.2.6 Subject matter

Subject matter is crucial for current understandings of the objects that we call Aegyptiaca, as it is often used as main heuristic device to define artefacts as Aegyptiaca.[355] The range of subject matters that has been understood to evoke an association with Egypt is quite wide and, consequently, the diversity of the category of so-called Aegyptiaca becomes fully visible especially in terms of this parameter. Moreover, the identification of an artefact's subject matter is not always clear; its current state of preservation and the presence of inscriptions play an important role in this.[356] Taking the wide variety of subject matters into account, the following overviews present the subject matters for each object category separately in order to structure the data. Similarities in typological characteristics are specified for the same reason. While the grouping of the studied objects' subject matters in the overviews below may occasionally change depending on interpretation, I do not believe that these will fundamentally alter the image presented here.

The two (fragments of) *clepsydras* are decorated with relief scenes that depict a king officiating in front of deities. These divinities are so-called month gods, in whose honour a festival would have originally been held on the first day of each month. As such, the relief scenes underline the function of clepsydras as time-measuring devices.[357] One fragment preserves an image of the anthropomorphic month god Min (no. 112), while the more completely preserved specimen (no. 110) shows Ptolemy II, who is accompanied by various deities (Tehit, Ipet-Hemetes, and Horus), officiating in front of the month gods Ptah, Re-Harakhti, and Khonsu, respectively. These gods are depicted in their anthropomorphic form, either with animal heads or without. One of the two *stelae* belongs to the well-known type of 'Horus on the crocodiles' and shows, among other iconographical elements, the young god Horus standing on top of two crocodiles, his head surmounted by a frontal image of the god Bes (no. 126). The other stela is too fragmentarily preserved to identify the subject matter with certainty. It depicts the remains of an anthropomorphic figure, presumably either Qadesh or Nefertem, standing on two lions (no. 119). Figurative representations on *altars* emphasise the cultic domain to which these objects belonged. The front panel of one of the two altars in the sample shows the anthropomorphic figure of an Isis priestess, with images of a cista mystica covering its side panels (no. 068). The other specimen is decorated on all sides (no. 069): the front panel depicts a cista mystica, while ritual tools are shown on the back side (urceus, patera, culter), and images of the deities Harpocrates (anthropomorphic) and Anubis (anthropomorphic with animal head) cover the left and right side panels, respectively. The majority of *obelisks* are inscribed with hieroglyphs. In six cases the inscriptions are accompanied by figurative scenes (on the pyramidion, near the apex of the shaft, or on the obelisks's lower section). These scenes usually depict the king officiating in front of Egyptian deities (no. 082, 085, 087, 090-091), while obelisk no. 089 shows the king receiving gifts from the accompanying Egyptian gods and goddesses. Depicted deities include e-Harakhti, Amun(-Re), Atum, Isis, Thoth, Horus, and perhaps Uto. Three obelisks do not bear any hieroglyphic inscription or figurative decoration. Two of these are completely undecorated; the third has a small dedicatory inscription in Latin (no. 092-093 and 088, respectively).

The subject matters of *statues* are presented in Table 4.1.5. Anthropomorphic statuary clearly prevails over statues with zoomorphic forms and those that combine both formal aspects. Deities occur besides human beings. Four different types of human beings can be identified, namely, dedicants, priests and priestesses, royal figures, and young boys with Horus-locks. Generally speaking, interpretations become fragmented if these types are further specified, and this fragmentation is accompanied by increasing levels of uncertainty in the literature. Sculptures in zoomorphic form are restricted to seven specimens. These portray deities and animals, represented in the current sample by three statues each. Another seven statues integrate both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic formal aspects; among these are six sphinxes. One statue features separate zoomorphic and

355. See also *supra*, section I.2.

356. Forty objects are inscribed (31% of the total sample). Hieroglyphs, including the occasional signs that are considered as so-called 'pseudo-hieroglyphs' (e.g., *supra*, 128-129 no. 046-047), occur on 33 objects. Another six artefacts bear Latin inscriptions, while the statue of a baboon (*supra*, 270-271 no. 129) carries a bilingual inscription in both Latin and Greek.

357. On clepsydras and other instruments for measuring time in ancient Egypt see Clagett (1995); cf. Borchardt (1920), Pogo (1925), and Sloley (1939). For month gods see Long (1987) 147-151.

Table 4.1.5. Subject matter of statues (n = 69). * name of dedicant; ** god(s) depicted; *** integration of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic aspects in a single statue; **** separate anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures combined in a single statue. Uncertainties are indicated by question marks.

Typology			Specification		Count
anthropomorphic (52)	**deity (18)**		Bes		2
			Isis		5
			Isis-Fortuna		1
			Nile		1
			Sarapis		9
	not deity (26)	**dedicant (8)**	*Neshor	**Khnum, Anuket, Satet	1
			Hor-nes	-	1
			-	Amon, Mut, Khonsu, Osiris	1
			-	Horus	1
			Unspecified		4
		priest(-ess) (4)	Isis cult		3
			Unspecified		1
		royal figure (10)	Arsinoe II		1
			Ptolemy II		1
			Ramesses II		2
			Tuya		1
			Ceasarion / Nero / Caracalla?		1
			Pharaoh / Ramesses II?		1
			Ptolemaic queen / Arsinoe II / Drusilla?		1
			Unspecified		2
		boy with Horus-lock (2)	Unspecified		2
		contested (2)	Egyptian priest / youth?		1
			Isis priest(-ess) / Sabina Augusta?		1
	contested (8)		Cleopatra / (Drusilla-)Isis-Aphrodite / Venus?		1
			Egyptian idol / woman / pharaoh?		1
			Harpocrates?		1
			Harpocrates / Eros / musician / child?		1
			Isis / Isis priestess?		1
			Isis / Egyptian queen?		2
			Isis / Isis priestess / Egyptian queen?		1

Table 4.1.5. *continued.*

Typology		Specification	Count
zoomorphic (7)	**deity (3)**	Apis	1
		Thoth	2
	not deity (3)	Baboon	1
		Crocodile	1
		Lion	1
	contested (1)	Horus / falcon?	1
integration* (7)**	**deity (1)**	Horus	1
	sphinx (6)	Amasis	1
		Domitian?	1
		Hatshepsut / concubine Thutmose III?	1
		Unspecified	3
composition** (1)**	**anthropomorphic royal figure & zoomorphic deity (1)**	Hathor & pharaoh	1
contested (2)		Pharaoh / sphinx?	1
		Lion / sphinx?	1

anthropomorphic figures. Table 4.1.6 shows the subject matters of *architectural objects*. A certain overlap can be observed with the formal characteristics of statuary. Hence, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic forms occur, and both can be further subdivided into representations of deities and non-deities. However, this group also contains compositions with one or more subject matters or elements that have secured their current interpretation as Aegyptiaca. These compositions differ in character and include, among other things, Nilotic scenes, processual scenes, and offering and votive scenes that depict a diversity of Egyptian deities and demons. Lastly, architectural objects feature isolated iconographical motifs, such as papyrus plants and winged sun-discs.

The overview demonstrates that some subject matters occur relatively frequently. This is particularly valid for Sarapis and Isis. Sarapis is mostly depicted by statues (n = 9), and occurs moreover on three reliefs. Isis (including particular aspects of this goddess) is depicted by at least six statues and seven architectural objects, as well as one obelisk. However, other than these, no obvious groups of specific themes can be distinguished. The majority of subject matters are attested only once. The many uncertainties over the identification of subject matters further increase the inability to see distinct patterns. It appears that, if there are trends, these relate to general typological characteristics rather than to specific subject matters. Hence, statues of royal figures, dedicants, and sphinxes occur relatively frequently. Nevertheless, the overall picture with regard to the subject matters of the studied objects is diverse and fragmented.

This complicates the assessment of the relations between this parameter, object category, and material and stylistic characteristics. However, it is nonetheless possible to observe some trends. We have seen above that different types of so-called Aegyptiaca behave in different material and stylistic terms. With regard to statuary, we observed that sculptures with conceptual and conceptual-naturalistic styles are nearly always carved from coloured Egyptian stones, while those rendered in naturalistic styles are almost exclusively made from white marble. When we look at the subject matter of statues, it can be observed that the groups with similar typological characteristics largely correspond to either one of these two material and stylistic clusters. Hence, anthropomorphic statues of deities, in particular Sarapis and Isis, priests and priestesses of the Isis cult, and boys with Horus-locks are nearly always made from white marble and rendered in naturalistic

Table 4.1.6. Subject matter of architectural objects (n = 41). * integration of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic aspects in a single object; ** scenes that combine more than one subject matters and/or iconographical elements. Uncertainties are indicated by question marks.

Typology			Specification	Count
anthropomorphic (7)	**deity (3)**		Geb	1
			Isis *pelagia*?	1
			Jupiter-Ammon	1
	not deity (4)	**priest(-ess) (1)**	Isis cult	1
		royal figure (1)	Unspecified	1
		contested (2)	Pharaoh?	2
zoomorphic (6)	**not deity (5)**		Winged scarab	1
			Cobra	4
	contested (1)		Horus / falcon?	1
integration* (3)	**deity (3)**		Hathor	3
composition (18)**	**Nilotic scene (2)**		Egyptian deities (Isis 1x), animals, sphinxes, Egyptian priests	2
	religious procession/ ceremony (4)		Egyptian priests with ceremonial and sacred objects	4
	offering scene (3)		Anedjti, Horus, Osiris	1
			Apis/Hathor?, Isis, Egyptian temple	1
			King officiating in front of demons	1
	votive scene (2)		Isis, Sarapis, non-Egyptian deities	2
	unspecified (7)		Apis, Horus, Isis	1
			Apis?, deity (undefined)?, scepter	1
			Egyptian crowns	1
			Egyptian deities (undefined)	1
			Hand with sceptre (and *ankh*)	2
			Sarapis, Harpocrates, Isis-Demeter, Isis-Persephone, priest	1
other (6)			Papyrus	3
			Palm?	1
			Winged sun-disc	2
contested (1)			Isis / winged sun-disc?	1

styles.[358] By contrast, sculptures of dedicants, royal figures, zoomorphic statues, and those that integrate anthropomorphic and zoomorphic formal aspects are usually made from coloured Egyptian materials and executed in conceptual or conceptual-naturalistic styles. This indicates that certain subject-groups or types of statues tend to be executed in particular materials and styles. Moreover, a stylistic distinction can be proposed for the execution of certain subject matters of the studied architectural objects. While most architectural elements are rendered in conceptual styles,

358. Notable exceptions are two small Sarapis statues in Egyptian travertine (but in naturalistic style): no. 123-124, and a small statuette that may represent Isis in a conceptual style and Egyptian steatite (no. 125).

as shown above, it appears that they often portray Isis when they are executed in naturalistic styles, whether or not accompanied by Sarapis. Accordingly, of the nine architectural artefacts with naturalistic styles in our sample – which constitute a minority, as 78% of architectural elements are in conceptual or conceptual-naturalistic styles – six portray Isis, who is accompanied by Sarapis in three of these cases.[359]

The analysis of subject matter and its relations to other object parameters suggests a correlation between certain subject matters and object types. Despite the small number of clepsydras and altars in our sample, the representations on these objects are in keeping with their respective functions. A similar correlation may be suggested for obelisks. The hieroglyphic inscriptions on most obelisks and figurative (offering) scenes occasionally correspond with the character and function of these objects as royal dedications to Re-Harakhti or other Egyptian deities. Additionally, while the themes of statues and architectural elements are more varied, it appears that the previously noted material and stylistic clusters within these respective object types of so-called Aegyptiaca are largely associated with particular subject matters or typological groups. In order to study whether and to what extent the various correlations between the material and stylistic characteristics, object types, and subject matters that we have charted thus far are associated with or dependent on their dating and provenance, the next section focuses on these aspects.

1.2.7 Dating

The objects in the studied sample cover a period from the Egyptian New Kingdom (ca. 1550-1077 BC) until the Roman Imperial period (30 BC – 395 AD).[360] The chronological distribution of these objects is graphically represented in Fig. 4.1.8. It is noteworthy that artefacts dating from the Roman Imperial age greatly outnumber those from earlier periods, as also noted by Roullet.[361] In this sample, the ratio is approximately 3:1. The

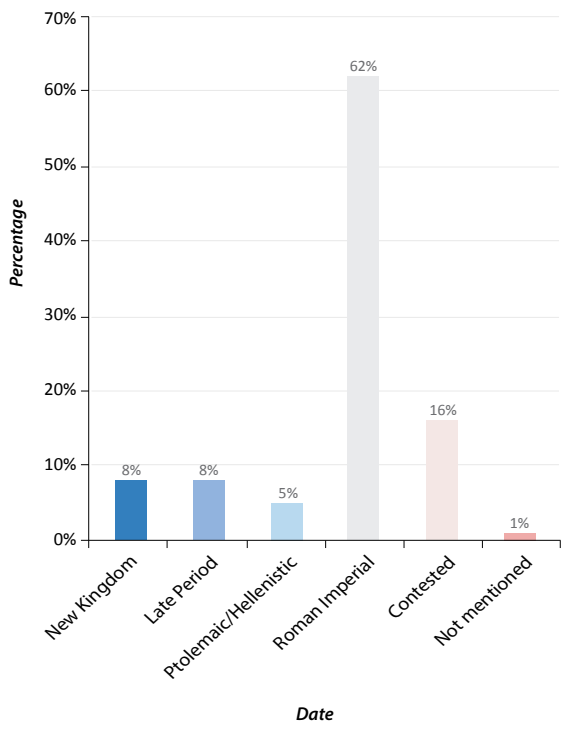


Fig. 4.1.8. Chronological distribution (n = 129).

dating of 21 objects is contested (Table 4.1.7).[362] This relatively high number reflects the difficulties of attaining a precise dating of the objects that we call Aegyptiaca. There are various reasons for this; one is the fact that different opinions on the stylistic and typological periodisation of these objects still prevail.[363] Other reasons, often in combination with stylistic and typological considerations, include the identification of subject matter, the exact dating of the phenomenon of 'empty cartouches', the specific reading of a king's name in hieroglyphs, and the determination of an incorrect terminus ante quem on the basis of a (likewise incorrect) identification of the material used.[364]

359. Isis is once depicted in a conceptual style, on relief fragment no. 043.
360. The oldest object in the sample, the statuette of Sebekhotep (no. 130), dates from the Middle Kingdom but is not taken into account in the present analysis since its material characteristics could not be determined.
361. Roullet (1972) 18.
362. This means that the previously proposed datings fall into more than one of the timeframes used here. Note that the number of objects with disputed dating increases if these periods are broken down into specific dynasties or years. For example, the fragment of a kneeling statue (no. 120) has been variably dated to the 26th and 29th Dynasties, but because these dynasties both belong to the Late Period (Dynasties 25-31) this discrepancy is not visible in the graph.
363. Object numbers 026, 041-042, 044, 072, 078-079, 088, 101, 106, 109, 121, 126, 128.
364. Subject matter: no. 080, 095, 119, 125; empty cartouches: no. 112;

Table 4.1.7. Specification of objects with contested dating (n = 21). NK: New Kingdom; IP3: 3rd Intermediate period; LP: Late Period.

Dating	Material characteristics	Style	Object type	Cat. no.
NK / IP3	coloured Egyptian	conceptual	statue	075
NK / LP	coloured Egyptian	conceptual	stela	119
LP / Ptolemaic	coloured Egyptian	conceptual	statue	072
	coloured Egyptian	naturalistic	statue	101
	coloured Egyptian	conceptual	statue	106
	coloured Egyptian	conceptual	clepsydra	112
	coloured Egyptian	conceptual	stela	126
Ptolemaic / Roman	uncoloured non-Egyptian	naturalistic	statue	026
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	naturalistic	architecture	041
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	naturalistic	architecture	042
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	naturalistic	architecture	044
	coloured Egyptian	naturalistic	statue	079
	coloured Egyptian	conceptual-naturalistic	statue	080
	coloured Egyptian	conceptual	statue	095
	coloured Egyptian	conceptual	statue	128
NK / Ptolemaic / Roman	coloured Egyptian	conceptual	statue	125
LP / Ptolemaic / Roman	coloured Egyptian	conceptual	statue	078
	coloured Egyptian	conceptual	statue	102
	coloured Egyptian	conceptual	statue	109
	coloured Egyptian	conceptual	statue	121
LP / Roman	coloured Egyptian	conceptual	obelisk	088

1.2.8 Material and stylistic characteristics in relation to dating

The next step is to study the relations between dating and other object parameters. Table 4.1.8 presents the chronological distribution of material and stylistic characteristics in relation to dating. The data demonstrate that an overall clear correlation exists between these parameters.

Nearly all objects that date from pre-Roman Imperial periods (henceforth: pre-Roman) are made from coloured Egyptian stones and executed in conceptual styles. This particular material and stylistic configuration applies to 25 of 26 pre-Roman artefacts, or 96%. This indicates a distinct association between, on the one hand, coloured Egyptian stones and conceptual styles and, on the other hand, a pre-Roman date of manufacture. Different chronological trends emerge for the objects in our sample of Roman Imperial age. While coloured Egyptian stones and conceptual styles are attested for objects from this period, it constitutes only one among several other material and stylistic configurations and, moreover, it occurs relatively infrequently. This applies to 8 of 80, or 10%, of all Roman Imperial objects studied here. Relative to artefacts from earlier periods, Roman Imperial objects are therefore characterised by a larger material and stylistic variation. The most prominent material and stylistic settings in this period are combinations between white marble and either conceptual or naturalistic styles (31% and 46%, respectivelely), but other configurations

reading of hieroglyphs: no. 075; material identification: no. 102.

Table 4.1.8. Material and stylistic characteristics in relation to dating (n = 129).

Dating	Material characteristics	Style			Total
		conceptual	conceptual-naturalistic	naturalistic	
New Kingdom	coloured Egyptian	10	0	0	10
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
Late Period	coloured Egyptian	10	0	0	10
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
Ptolemaic	coloured Egyptian	5	0	0	6
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	1	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
Roman Imperial	coloured Egyptian	8	1	2	80
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	25	2	37	
	coloured non-Egyptian	1	4	0	
contested	coloured Egyptian	14	1	2	21
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	4	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
not mentioned	coloured Egyptian	2	0	0	2
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	

occur as well. In addition, in our sample the use of coloured stones of non-Egyptian origin is restricted to the Roman Imperial period.[365]

This indicates an overall chronological differentiation between pre-Roman and Roman Imperial objects in material and stylistic terms. It was shown above that different object categories behave in different material and stylistic terms, and that these differences, in turn, are largely associated with subject matter. Taken together, these findings may suggest that certain types of so-called Aegyptiaca with particular subject matters have specific material and stylistic configurations that are characteristic for certain time periods. In order to study this, we will now involve object category and subject matter into our analysis.

1.2.9 Material, style, and subject matter of object categories in relation to dating

The relations between chronology and object categories show a diverse picture (Table 4.1.9). A distinct chronological differentiation can be suggested for some object types, but it is less clear for others. Despite the small number, clepsydras and stelae date from pre-Roman periods, while both altars in our sample are of Roman Imperial age. The large majority of architectural elements date from the Roman Imperial period.[366] A

365. The material and stylistic characteristics of objects with disputed dating are consistent with the above observations (Table 4.1.7). All seven objects that pre-date the Imperial Roman period (IP3/NK, NK/LP, LP/Ptolemaic) are made from coloured Egyptian materials and predominantly executed in conceptual styles, whereas a larger material and stylistic variety is noticeable for the fourteen objects that may date from the Roman Imperial period (Ptolemaic/Roman, NK/Ptolemaic/Roman, LP/Ptolemaic/Roman, LP/Roman).

366. The three architectural elements with contested dating have been

Table 4.1.9. Chronological distribution of object categories (n = 129).

Dating	Object category					
	statue	architecture	obelisk	clepsydra	stela	altar
New Kingdom	6	0	4	0	0	0
Late Period	6	2	2	0	0	0
Ptolemaic	5	0	0	1	0	0
Roman Imperial	36	36	6	0	0	2
contested	14	3	1	1	2	0
not mentioned	2	0	0	0	0	0

Table 4.1.10. Material and stylistic characteristics of statues in relation to dating (n = 69).

Dating	Material characteristics	Style			Total
		conceptual	conceptual-naturalistic	naturalistic	
New Kingdom	coloured Egyptian	6	0	0	6
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
Late Period	coloured Egyptian	6	0	0	6
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
Ptolemaic	coloured Egyptian	4	0	0	5
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	1	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
Roman Imperial	coloured Egyptian	3	0	2	36
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	1	29	
	coloured non-Egyptian	1	0	0	
contested	coloured Egyptian	10	1	2	14
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	1	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
not mentioned	coloured Egyptian	2	0	0	2
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	

more diverse chronological picture emerges with regard to statues and obelisks. The ratio between pre-Roman and Roman Imperial obelisks is approximately 1:1. While a majority of statues in our sample dates from the Roman Imperial period, pre-Roman statuary occurs relatively frequently as well, indicating that no clear chronological differentiation exists between Roman Imperial and pre-Roman statues.

When we analyse the chronological distribution of the stylistic and material configurations of each object category separately, different patterns can be observed. Both *clepsydras* date from pre-Roman periods, are carved from naturally coloured stones of Egyptian origin, and are executed in conceptual styles. *Stelae* have similar chronological and material/stylistic characteristics, as opposed to *altars*, which date from the Roman Imperial period and are made from white marble and executed in naturalistic styles. *Obelisks* exhibit different but nevertheless distinct chronological and material/stylistic configurations. Hence, whereas the material and stylistic properties of obelisks are clearly correlated (coloured Egyptian stones with predominantly conceptual styles), there is no chronological differentiation. In other words, the material and stylistic properties of obelisks seem to remain constant over time. No chronological differences are noticeable in terms of the decorations on obelisks, either. Specimens with hieroglyphic inscriptions and figurative scenes date from both pre-Roman and Roman Imperial periods, similar to obelisks without any decoration.

With regard to *statues*, different relations between chronology, material, style, and subject matter can be discerned. It has already been demonstrated above that clear correlations exist between the material and stylistic characteristics of statues: between conceptual/conceptual-naturalistic styles and coloured Egyptian stones, on the one hand, and between naturalistic styles and uncoloured non-Egyptian stones, on the other. Interestingly, these patterns also appear to be associated with dating. As Table 4.1.10 shows, statues dating to pre-Roman periods are nearly always carved from coloured Egyptian stones and executed in conceptual styles. Roman Imperial statuary has a totally different material and stylistic make-up: here white marble prevails, mostly rendered in naturalistic styles. Furthermore, it was shown above that the material and stylistic clusters of statues are largely associated with specific subject matters or typological characteristics. When we subsequently look at dating in relation to these object parameters, a chronological differentiation becomes evident. Most pre-Roman statues are sculptures of dedicants, royal figures, zoomorphic statues, or integrate anthropomorphic and zoomorphic formal aspects, which are nearly always made from coloured Egyptian stones and rendered in conceptual styles. By contrast, the majority of Roman Imperial sculptures are anthropomorphic statues of deities, in particular Sarapis and Isis, priests and priestesses of the Isis cult, and boys with Horus-locks. These are nearly always made from white marble and have naturalistic styles.

The previously noted associations between material, style, and chronology are also evident in relation to *architectural objects* (Table 4.1.11). The two pre-Roman architectural elements in our sample are made from coloured Egyptian stones and executed in conceptual styles. As was the case with statues, this particular material and stylistic configuration is not attested for architectural elements of Roman Imperial age. Whereas the use of coloured Egyptian stones for architectural artefacts is restricted to pre-Roman periods, however, the conceptual style clearly is not. It has already been shown that the large majority of architectural elements are carved from white marble and that most of them are rendered in conceptual styles. This particular material and stylistic configuration is clearly associated with a Roman Imperial date of manufacture, as can be seen in Table 4.1.11. Moreover, we have seen that architectural elements in uncoloured non-Egyptian stones and with naturalistic styles are associated with specific subject matters. If we analyse these object parameters in relation to dating, it emerges that the stylistic distinction that was proposed for the execution of certain themes of architectural elements seems to be unrelated to chronology. Despite the stylistic variation of architectural artefacts and its correlations to particular subject matters, it is evident that, rather than

variously dated to the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods (cf. Table 4.1.7). It concerns three marble reliefs (no. 041-042, and 044), of which at least no. 041-042 most likely date to the Roman Imperial period, as most authors have suggested. The use of the term Hellenistic in these particular cases (rather than Ptolemaic) is interesting because it shows, so it seems, where the three reliefs in question fit in the interpretive schemes of previous authors, despite the portrayal on these reliefs of originally Egyptian gods.

Table 4.1.11. Material and stylistic characteristics of architectural objects in relation to dating (n = 41).

Dating	Material characteristics	Style			Total
		conceptual	conceptual-naturalistic	naturalistic	
New Kingdom	coloured Egyptian	0	0	0	0
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
Late Period	coloured Egyptian	2	0	0	2
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
Ptolemaic	coloured Egyptian	0	0	0	0
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
Roman Imperial	coloured Egyptian	0	0	0	36
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	25	1	6	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	4	0	
contested	coloured Egyptian	0	0	0	3
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	3	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
not mentioned	coloured Egyptian	0	0	0	0
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	

style, uncoloured stones of non-Egyptian origin are most closely associated with a Roman Imperial dating.

Four inferences can be made with regard to the dating of the studied objects in relation to other object parameters. Firstly, while a chronological differentiation is evident for some object types, it is less clear for others. Hence, clepsydras, stelae, and altars date from either pre-Roman or Roman Imperial periods, while statues, architectural elements, and obelisks from both timeframes occur. Secondly, chronology is closely associated with the material and stylistic characteristics of most types of so-called Aegyptiaca. Strong correlations exist between a pre-Roman dating and coloured Egyptian stones and conceptual styles, whereas artefacts from the Roman Imperial period are characterised by an overall larger material and stylistic variety. The findings of statues, architecture, clepsydras, stelae, and altars are in line with this general model. Obelisks, however, are a notable exception, in that they are the only type of objects that dates from the Roman Imperial period, and that nevertheless have invariably been carved from coloured Egyptian stones and nearly always in conceptual styles. Thirdly, the correlations between chronology and the material and stylistic characteristics of statues appear to be largely associated with particular themes. And lastly, while the large majority of Roman Imperial statues and architectural elements are made from white marble, these object types demonstrate different stylistic properties. Marble statuary is almost exclusively rendered in naturalistic styles, while the majority of architecture in white marble is executed in conceptual styles. Based on these findings, chronology appears to influence the material and stylistic properties of the objects that we call Aegyptiaca, albeit in different ways and not necessarily in combination with particular object types and subject matters. With this in mind, let us turn to the so-called provenance of these objects, which is closely associated with their dating.

Table 4.1.12. Correlation between provenance and dating (n = 129).

Dating	Provenance			
	import	no import	contested	not mentioned
New Kingdom	10	0	0	0
Late Period	10	0	0	0
Ptolemaic	5	0	1	0
Roman	0	75	4	1
Contested: pre-Roman	8	0	0	0
Contested: pre-Roman or Roman	0	3	10	0
Not mentioned	0	0	0	2
Total	33	78	15	3

1.2.10 Provenance: Egyptian imports versus 'locally crafted' objects

Provenance is meant to distinguish between artefacts that reached Rome as finished objects through importation from Egypt (import) and those that were not brought to Rome from Egypt. As Part I has shown, previous scholarship has traditionally understood these coexisting aspects of 'Egyptian' artefacts in the Roman world as two essentially different phenomena and, as a result, current interpretations are largely built upon this dichotomy. Although the supposed provenance of these objects is an important heuristic device to determine their specific archaeological meaning, the attention that has been devoted to the provenance determination of so-called Aegyptiaca is altogether disproportionately and, moreover, lacks a proper theoretical background. This means that often no explicit distinction is made between, on the one hand, imports from Egypt and, on the other hand, so-called 'locally crafted' artefacts with styles and themes that we associate with Egypt. Moreover, even when a distinction is consciously made, the grounds on which this happens are not always clear.

In the absence of actual evidence for the transportation of 'Aegyptiaca' from Egypt to the Roman world, the (start of the) Roman Imperial period is usually taken as the chronological watershed to distinguish between Egyptian 'originals' and objects that are considered as 'locally crafted' emulations.[367] Hence, the basic, albeit often implicit presumption is that so-called Aegyptiaca that date from pre-Roman phases of Egyptian history were imported from Egypt to Rome in Roman Imperial times, while Roman Imperial emulations are usually considered to be locally crafted objects.[368] Consequently, the dating of these objects closely corresponds to their (actual or presumed) provenance. This relationship is clearly demonstrated in Table 4.1.12. Thirty-three objects in the sample originate from Egypt (26%; see Table 4.1.13 for a specification of their original Egyptian context[369]). The majority, 60%, do not have an Egyptian origin. The provenance of another 15 objects in the studied sample is contested,[370] and for the remaining three objects no data are available with regard to provenance.

367. In fact, not much can be said about the actual origin of these so-called local products, but the prevailing opinion holds that these objects are essentially non-Egyptian and therefore have been made outside of Egypt, more specifically in Rome; see *supra*, section I.2.

368. It should be noted that this traditional chronological division overlooks the fact that the production of artefacts with Egyptian subject matters and in conceptual styles continued in Egypt under Roman rule. Moreover, where terms like 'Ptolemaic' imply an Egyptian cultural and actual background, some Egyptian-themed objects (in white marble!) have been described as 'Hellenistic' in the previous literature, which seems to be indicative of a non-Egyptian background; cf. *infra*, n. 366.

369. For 25 of the 33 imports there is information available on the (actual or presumed) original provenance in Egypt. This information is mostly derived from inscriptions on the relevant objects; exceptions are no. 098 (presumed provenance dependent on the identification of the statue as queen Tuya), no. 128 (dependent on the identification of a specific form of Osiris), and no. 075 (relying on the attribution of the statue to Osorkon I, who ruled from Tanis). The motivation for the attribution of clepsydras no. 110 and 112 to Alexandria (for which see the respective catalogue entries above) is unknown.

370. These objects have been variously considered as Egyptian imports and local productions.

Table 4.1.13. Original Egyptian provenance (n = 25).

Egyptian provenance	Site	Total	Cat. no.
Lower Egypt	Alexandria?	1	112
	Alexandria / Nicopolis?	1	088
	Behbeit el-Hagar	1	074
	Behenet?	1	128
	Busiris / Hermopolis Parva?	2	070-071
	Heliopolis	8	073, 077, 083-085, 087, 118, 127
	Heliopolis?	1	076
	Sais	2	086, 117
	Tanis?	1	075
Upper Egypt	Akhmim?	1	120
	Elephantine	1	104
	Thebes	1	082
	Thebes?	3	098-099, 122
Contested (Lower or Upper Egypt)	Alexandria / Lycopolitan nome	1	110

Table 4.1.14. Specification of object characteristics: Egyptian imports (n = 33).

Object category	Material characteristics	Style			Total
		conceptual	conceptual-naturalistic	naturalistic	
Statue	coloured Egyptian	19	0	1	20
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
Architecture	coloured Egyptian	2	0	0	2
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
Obelisk	coloured Egyptian	7	0	0	7
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
Clepsydra	coloured Egyptian	2	0	0	2
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
Stela	coloured Egyptian	2	0	0	2
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
Altar	coloured Egyptian	0	0	0	0
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	

Table 4.1.15. Specification of object characteristics: artefacts of 'non-Egyptian' origin (n = 78).

Object category	Material characteristics	Style			Total
		conceptual	conceptual-naturalistic	naturalistic	
Statue	coloured Egyptian	2	0	0	34
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	1	30	
	coloured non-Egyptian	1	0	0	
Architecture	coloured Egyptian	0	0	0	38
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	25	1	8	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	4	0	
Obelisk	coloured Egyptian	4	0	0	4
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
Clepsydra	coloured Egyptian	0	0	0	0
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
Stela	coloured Egyptian	0	0	0	0
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	
Altar	coloured Egyptian	0	0	0	2
	uncoloured non-Egyptian	0	0	2	
	coloured non-Egyptian	0	0	0	

To conclude, Tables 4.1.14 and 4.1.15 present a specification of the material and stylistic characteristics and object categories of Egyptian imports and non-imports. These tables show trends that are similar to those discussed above concerning the relation between dating and other object parameters. It stands out that imports from Egypt, regardless of object type, are invariably made from naturally coloured stones of Egyptian origin. Moreover, these objects are nearly always executed in conceptual styles. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that architectural elements are rarely imported. Despite the small numbers, clepsydras and stelae are always imported, whereas altars never originate from Egypt. There appears to be no clear preference with regard to the origin of statues and obelisks in the studied sample.

2. Discussion

We have seen that certain object types in the studied sample tend to be executed in particular materials and styles. Broadly speaking, we have two dominant groups, the first in conceptual styles and coloured Egyptian materials, the second in white marble and naturalistic styles. These groups largely correspond to these objects' respective dates of manufacture. The first material and stylistic configuration mainly applies to pre-Roman artefacts, while the latter is characteristic for objects of Roman Imperial age. This section discusses some of the observed patterns in greater detail, in order to assess the relevance of material use and choice in Roman engagements with and understandings of so-called Aegyptiaca, and to elucidate the role of the studied materials in relation to these objects' other object parameters. On the basis of a discussion of Egyptian imports, the first part evaluates Roman selection criteria by focusing on which objects were transported to the Roman world and, importantly, which were *not*. The second part focuses on Roman Imperial productions. On the one hand, a clear continuation of the production of objects with conceptual styles in naturally coloured hardstones from both Egyptian and non-Egyptian origins is observed, thereby strengthening the idea that certain material properties are important in stone selection. On the other hand, in contrast, Egyptian-looking objects carved out of white marble and executed in naturalistic styles may have to be attributed a different role in the Roman world.

2.1 EGYPTIAN IMPORTS

The results from this research demonstrate that Egyptian imports are highly varied in nature as far as their object types and subject matters are concerned. Hence, we find obelisks that were originally dedicated to deities like Re-Harakhte and Atum, zoomorphic sculptures of gods including Hathor, Horus, and Thoth, anthropomorphic statues of various Egyptian kings, queens, and private individuals, sculptures of lions and sphinxes, decorated wall-reliefs depicting offering scenes, and waterclocks showing a range of Egyptian deities. This heterogeneity has been repeatedly mentioned in previous studies, and most authors agree that no coherent, religiously motivated background can be discerned in the selection of imported 'Aegyptiaca'.[371] This, in combination with the acknowledgement that several Egyptian imports functioned in essentially non-cultic contexts, is generally regarded as conclusive evidence that these objects were not primarily selected for their religious content or significance; instead, most authors argue that they mainly served to create an exotic atmosphere.[372]

If not primarily cultic, then how can the selection of Egyptian imports in Rome be understood? Were there any particular criteria by which Romans selected these objects, and if there were, what did they entail? Several scholars have addressed this question and forwarded many different motivations. Alfano basically considers the corpus of imports as a random collection of Egyptian artefacts that resulted from casual collection without any particular underlying selection criteria.[373] Random

371. See for instance Lembke (1994, 35) on Egyptian imports in the Iseum Campense: "Im Sinne der Gestaltung ägyptischer Kultanlagen fehlt den Objekten jede Homogeneität, die auf ein geschlossenes Ausstattungsprogramm hinweisen könnte".

372. Some authors go further in their rejection of religious connotations underlying the selection of Egyptian imports than others. For instance, Alfano (2001, 287) dismissed the choice for Egyptian imports as altogether illogical, and she essentially considered the assemblage of objects as an indication of the Roman misunderstanding of Egyptian art and religion that would have nothing to do with Egyptian cults. A similar forceful dismissal of cultic connotations associated with the selection of Egyptian imports in favour of a strong emphasis on exoticism is forwarded by Ziegler (1994, 18), Egelhaaf-Gaiser (2000, 179), and Parlasca (2004, 406). More nuanced views can be found in Lembke (1994, esp. 136), Versluys & Meyboom (2000, 127), Versluys (1997; 2002, 355), Malaise (2005, 204-210, including a review of previous interpretations), Swetnam-Burland (2007, 114; 2015, 30), and Bommas (2012, 195-200). For a radically different view in defense of a meaningful Egyptian religious understanding of the sculptural decoration of the Iseum Campense see Quack (2003); partially similar explanations are given in Sist (2008).

373. The following quotation is particularly illustrative of Alfano's understanding (2001, 287): "sphinxes were brought to Rome in large quantities without selective criteria, based on casual

choice is also mentioned by Roullet; furthermore, she notes the disproportionate representation of artefacts from the reign of particular pharaohs in the corpus of Egyptian imports in Rome and suggests that this may be indicative of a deliberate selection strategy.[374] Based on the observation that a majority of imports originate from sites in the Delta region, Lembke emphasises accessibility and ease of transport to Rome.[375] Others note the frequency with which particular object types and subject matters, like obelisks and sculptures of lions and sphinxes, occur in the corpus of imports, and thereby seem to suggest that the selection may have primarily been determined by a preference for 'typically Egyptian' objects.[376] Most recently, the question of selection was addressed anew by Swetnam-Burland, who effectively expresses the difficulties in getting a better grip on the corpus of Egyptian imports: "Romans living in Italy were drawn to pieces with iconography or texts that drew on Egypt's Pharaonic past or spoke of its traditions. Yet beyond this, it is difficult to identify patterns in the materials except in a broad sense".[377]

However, as the analysis of Egyptian imports in this study shows, a very specific and remarkable consistent pattern is evident concerning the material and stylistic characteristics of these objects. The studied imports are nearly always executed in conceptual styles, and they are invariably carved from naturally coloured stones of Egyptian origin.[378] These appear to be the two factors that all the "anonymous and historically important sphinxes", which, according to Alfano, were taken to Rome "without selective criteria, based on casual collection", have in common, and these aspects connect *all* the otherwise widely diverse Egyptian imports.[379] Could it be, then, that Romans considered particular material and stylistic properties to be significant aspects of Egyptian imports, and that these properties were part of a deliberate Roman selection strategy? Although they were not necessarily the only aspects involved in a possible selection procedure, given the consistency of this observation it deserves further attention. In what follows I will essentially focus on material properties. After that, stylistic and material properties will be discussed together in order to assess the possible agency of Egyptian imports.

It should not be surprising to find that the materials of all imports originate from Egyptian sources, given the rich and varied geology of Egypt.[380] Perhaps more surprising is the fact that these Egyptian stones are all naturally coloured types. None of the Egyptian imports in the studied sample are made from lime- or sandstone.[381] This is particularly interesting considering that these softstones were quarried in much larger quantities than coloured hardstones.[382] Estimations of the total extracted volumes of lime- and sandstone in ancient Egypt are in the order of 20 and 15 million tons,

collection, which included indiscriminately anonymous sphinxes and historically important sphinxes representing pharaohs from different epochs […]".

374. According to Roullet (1972, 14-16), these pharaohs (Ramesses II, Psamtik II, and Nectanebo I and II) would have been of special importance to Romans. Alternatively, she proposes a more pragmatic explanation for the large number of objects from the reign of these kings in the corpus of Egyptian imports in Rome: "the delta temples (Tanis, Bubastis, etc.) were full of Ramesses II's monuments which were moved to Alexandria". These ideas are repeated in Capriotti Vittozzi (1990, 53 n. 17); see now also Swetnam-Burland (2015) 31.

375. Lembke (1994) 35.

376. Sist (2008, 67-69) notes a particular preference for obelisks, lions and sphinxes; see already the remarks by Roullet (1972, 13) and Lembke (1994, 36).

377. Swetnam-Burland (2015) 30.

378. A brief note must be added on the burning of limestone in limekilns and its possible distorting effect. This practice has been widely attested in Rome: the so-called *calcararii* were active well into the Renaissance (Lanciani 1980, 190-197; cf. Caldwell 2011, 3 and n. 12). This may distort the picture presented here. That said, modern, well-documented excavations in Rome have not yielded any 'Aegyptiaca' in limestone, nor have imports from sandstone (which was not burnt for lime) been found; instead, recent finds fit well with the trend outlined here. For lime burning in Egypt, cf. *infra*, n. 468.

379. Cf. *supra*, n. 373.

380. The materials in the studied sample present a good cross-section of the most extensively employed stone types in Egypt for sculptural and architectural purposes, including especially granite and granodiorite from Aswan, greywacke from the Wadi Hammamat, Egyptian travertine, and steatite. In addition to these frequently used stones, the sample also includes less common materials, like dolerite porphyry and diorite. For a selective bibliography on the geology of Egypt, with a particular focus on archaeologically relevant stones and their applications in Antiquity, see *supra*, n. 299.

381. Although strict criteria were maintained in this study for the selection of objects, this has not influenced the observed pattern in any way: there are no Egyptian imports from lime- and sandstone in the entire corpus of so-called Aegyptiaca from Rome.

382. This was already briefly noted in specific connection to the Egyptian imports in the Iseum Campense: see Lembke (1994) 35-36; cf. the remarks by Swetnam-Burland (2015) 30.

respectively.[383] In contrast, the total quarried volume of granite and granodiorite from Aswan – the only stones "that were used […] on anything like the scale of limestone and sandstone" – is likely to be in the range of some million tons only.[384]

A survey of Egyptian imports that have been discovered at sites in the Roman world other than Rome indicates that the imports found in Rome by no means constitute an isolated example. As Table 4.2.1 shows, these other imports reveal a similar pattern with regard to the selection of materials.[385] The large majority of these artefacts are made from naturally coloured stones.[386] While imports from sandstone are altogether absent, a mere two of 59 listed imports are made from limestone.[387]

383. Klemm and Klemm (2001) 638-639; cf. Aston *et al*. (2000) 6.

384. Aston *et al*. (2000) 6; cf. Lucas – Harris (1962) 57-59, Arnold (1991) 36, Klemm and Klemm (2001) 635, and ibid. (2008) 236.

385. See Table 4.2.2 for an explanation of the used abbreviations. The overview does not claim to be exhaustive; rather, it serves to give a good idea of the characteristics of Egyptian imports discovered at sites in the Roman world other than Rome. Material characterisations were mainly made on the basis of colour pictures and indications in the consulted literature; in some cases materials were examined in person. Bricault (2001) and Kleibl's inventory of Isis sanctuaries (2009) served as the main sources for the subsequent overview.

386. Moreover, the range of stone types and the distribution of these materials are largely similar to those of imports in Rome. Like in Rome, Aswan granite and granodiorite prevail; stone types that are not present in Rome include anorthosite gneiss from Chephren's quarry near Gebel el-Asr (see Harrell and Brown 1994), and dark-brown (nummulithic?) limestone: although previously characterised as greywacke, the rock of an Atum statue from Herculaneum is full of forminafera (up to ca. 7 mm), which are indicative of its sedimentary origin.

387. These are a sphinx inscribed for Amenhotep III (18th Dynasty) from Diocletian's palace at Split, and a stela, originally part of a back-pillar of an early Ptolemaic statue, from the Isis temple in Pompeii. The find circumstances of this 'stela', which was attached to a statue base so that the hieroglyphic writing with which it is covered was visible to visitors of the temple, seem to indicate that the selection of this stela was primarily determined by the hieroglyphic writing rather than by any material preferences. Pirelli (1998, 641-643) suggests that its selection may have been determined by a particular link between the contents of the inscription and the initiation of Pompeian members into the cult of Isis; cf. Malaise (2005) 207. A male torso from Aquileia is also made from limestone, but archaeometrical analysis has shown that the stone is of local Italian rather than Egyptian origins: Aquileia, Museo Archeologico, inv. 810 = Dolzani (1954) 3-6 no. 2, and fig. 2 (H. 24 cm). Moreover, two limestone statuettes of Apis were found at Citium (Cyprus), but these are not demonstrably imported: Kater-Sibbes (1975) vol. II, 4 no. 264. A 19th Dynasty statuette in limestone was previously said to originate from a tomb on the Maltese island of Gozo, where it would have been found in 1713, but recent studies have convincingly proven this assumption wrong, and instead argue that it was brought to the island somewhere in the 19th century: see Meza (2007), cf. Moss (1949).

388. See Harrell (2012a) 13-17 Table 1 and 17-19 Table 1 for lime- and sandstones quarries, respectively. For Egyptian limestone see

2.1.1 Alternatives and availability

The obvious predominance of coloured stones in the corpus of Egyptian imports in the Roman world suggests that material choice was indeed relevant to the Roman selection of Egyptian objects. However, only through an assessment of the existence and availability of alternatives in lime- and sandstone can we gain a better understanding of the importance of material aspects in the selection procedure. Were there lime- and/or sandstone alternatives to the wide range of Egyptian imports that have the fact that they are all carved from naturally coloured stones in common, and if there were, were these alternatives available for transportation to the Roman world? Or are the observed patterns logical outcomes of the relationships between the material properties and types of these objects? For instance, if all known clepsydras are made from coloured stones, the absence of specimens in other materials in Rome is of course not surprising. In such a case, the Roman selection procedure of Egyptian objects may have been primarily determined by other criteria like object type or specific subject matters, rather than by preferences for certain materials. On the other hand, if alternatives in lime- and sandstone exist, the absence of these materials in the studied sample and, more generally, in the Roman world, may point to a deliberate selection strategy for objects made from particular materials.

In order to explore this, we must turn to the use of lime- and sandstone in Egypt. Limestone is the fundamental stone of northern Egypt. Deposits of limestone occur almost continuously in the Nile valley, from just south of Esna to the Mediterranean coast and on to the adjacent desert plateaux; no less than 89 ancient limestone quarries have been identified. Sandstone, on the other hand, is the primary material of southern Egypt. Outcrops of sandstone occur almost continuously in the Nile valley and on the desert plateaux to the east and west from Esna, down southwards to northern Sudan. In total, 36 ancient sandstone quarries have been identified.[388] Because of their wide availability

Table 4.2.1. Overview of Egyptian imports in the Roman world.

Site	Material	Subject matter	Dating	Reign	Original context	Inscription
ITALY						
Aquileia						
(1): V.116	GD	ASP	P	?	?	-
(3): 1	GD	ASP?	LP	?	?	-
(3): 3	GD	V	LP	?	?	++
(3): 4	GD	V	LP	?	?	++
Benevento						
(4): 253	AG	ZS	LP	?	?	-
(4): 254	AG	ZS	LP	?	?	-
(4): 261	GD	ASD	P	?	?	-
(4): 266	GD	S	P	?	?	-
(4): 268	GD	ASR	MK/IP2	Mershepsesre Ini II	Karnak	+
(4): 269	GD	ZS	P	?	?	-
(4): 272	G	S	P	?	?	-
(4): 275	G	S	P	?	?	-
(4): 277	G	S	P-R	?	?	-
(4): 282	GD	ASP	NK-IP3	Ramesses II/ Sheshonq II	Memphis?	+
(4): 306	GD	S	P	?	?	-
(4): 39	G	S	P	?	?	-
(4): p. 111-2	GD	ASD?	P	?	?	-
Baia						
(2): II.15	GD	ASP	P	?	?	++
Chieti						
(1): V.154	GR	ASP	LP	?	?	++
(5): I.5	GD	ASR?	P	?	?	-
Cumae						
(2): II.12	GD	ASD?	P	?	?	?
(2): II.13	GD	ASP	LP	?	?	++
(2): II.14	?	ZS	P	?	?	?
Florence						
(1): V.141	GR	ASD	LP	Amasis	?	+

Table 4.2.1. *continued.*

Site	Material	Subject matter	Dating	Reign	Original context	Inscription
Grottaferrata						
(6)	GD	ASR	NK	Seti I	Heliopolis	+v
Herculaneum						
(2): II.82, (7)	LD	ASD	NK-LP-P	Amenhotep III?	Kher-Aha	+
Manfredonia						
(5): XVII	?	V	LP	Psamtik II	?	++
Ostia						
(1): V.30	?	ASD?	P	?	?	++
(1): V.35	GR	ASD	LP	?	?	++
Pompeii						
(2): III.108	GR	RE	LP	Psamtik II	Heliopolis	+
(2): III.118	L	V	P	?	Herakleopolis?	++
Puteoli						
(2): II.6	GD	ASP	LP	?	?	++
(2): II.7	GD	ASP	LP	?	?	++
(29): 73	TR	V	P	?	?	-
Sorrento						
(25): I	?	ASP	LP	?	?	++
(25): IV-VI	GD	ASR	NK	Seti I	Abydos	+
Syracuse						
(23): 17	GD	ASP	LP	?	?	++
(23): 19	?	V	NK	Ramesses II	?	+
Tivoli						
(28): 161 no. 1	D	ASR	NK	Ramesses II	Heliopolis	+
Torre di S. Giovanni di Sinis						
(9): 1	ST	V	P-R	?	?	++
Treia						
(1): V.184, (26): II.2.S	GD	ASR?	P	?	?	-
(1): V.185, (26): II.1.S	GD	ASR	P	?	?	-
(26): II.3.S	GR	ASR?	LP-P	?	?	-
Verona						
(1): V.87, (5): III.21	G	ASR?	P-R	?	?	-

Table 4.2.1. *continued.*

Site	Material	Subject matter	Dating	Reign	Original context	Inscription
OUTSIDE ITALY						
Adana (Turkey)						
(16): 220, (17)	GD	ASP	MK	?	?	++
Antwerp (Belgium)						
(20-21), (22): 6	GD	ASP	LP-P-R	?	?	-
Beirut (Lebanon)						
(8): 27	GD	ASP	P	?	?	++
Cherchel (Algeria)						
(10): 94, (11-12)	GD	ASP	P	?	Memphis	++
(10): 95, (11-12)	GD	ASR	NK	Thutmose I	Abydos	+
Delos (Greece)						
(13)	GR	ASP	P	?	Sais	++
Ephesos (Turkey)						
(14)	G	V	P	Ptolemy II	?	++
Istanbul (Turkey)						
(18)	G	O	NK	Thutmose III	Thebes	+
Ohrid (Republic of Macedonia)						
Robevi House	TR	ASD	P	?	?	-
Petra (Jordan)						
(8): 26, (15)	GR	ASP	LP	?	Athribis?	++
Split (Croatia)						
(5): 54	GD	S	NK	Seti I/Ramesses II?	?	+
(5): 55, (27): 165 n. 55	L	S	NK	Amenhotep III	?	+
(5): 64	G	ASR	P	?	?	-
Thessaloniki (Greece)						
(19): 205	G	S	P	?	?	-
Vienna (Austria)						
(24): 47	AG	ASP	NK	?	Heliopolis	++

Table 4.2.2. Key to Table 4.2.1.

References			
(1)	*Iside* (1997)	(16)	Erman (1883)
(2)	*Egittomania* (2006)	(17)	Picaud & Podvin (2011)
(3)	Dolzani (1954)	(18)	Iversen (1972)
(4)	Müller (1969)	(19)	Kleibl (2009)
(5)	Budischovsky (1977)	(20)	De Wit (1964)
(6)	Capriotti Vittozzi (2010)	(21)	Rantz (1976)
(7)	Capriotti Vittozzi (2008a)	(22)	Rantz (1989)
(8)	Malaise (2004b)	(23)	Sfameni Gasparro (1973)
(9)	Malaise (1972a)	(24)	Hölzl (2007)
(10)	Gsell (1952)	(25)	Di Savoia-Aosta-Habsburg (1975)
(11)	El-Alfi (1978)	(26)	Capriotti Vittozzi (1999b)
(12)	Capriotti Vittozzi (2011)	(27)	Herrmann and van den Hoek (2013)
(13)	Leclant – de Meulenaere (1957)	(28)	Mari (2003)
(14)	Langmann *et al.* (1984)	(29)	*Augusto e le Campania* (2014)
(15)	Meza (1995)		
Stone materials		**Subject matter**	
AG	Anorthosite gneiss	ASD	Anthropomorphic statue (deity)
D	Diorite	ASP	Anthropomorphic statue (private)
G	Granite	ASR	Anthropomorphic statue (royal)
GD	Granodiorite	O	Obelisk
GR	Greywacke	RE	Relief
L	Limestone	S	Sphinx
LD	Limestone (dark-brown)	ZS	Zoomorphic statue
ST	Steatite	V	Various
TR	Travertine		
Dating		**Inscription**	
OK	Old Kingdom	+	Royal name
IP1	1st Intermediate Period	++	Inscribed, no secure dating
MK	Middle Kingdom	-	No inscription
IP2	2nd Intermediate Period		
NK	New Kingdom		
IP3	3rd Intermediate Period		
LP	Late Period		
P	Ptolemaic Period		
R	Roman Imperial		

and relative softness, which implies that these materials could be easily quarried and worked with, lime- and sandstone were extensively used for architectural and sculptural purposes throughout Egyptian history.[389]

Appendix D below presents an overview of the applications of these materials, focusing on parallels with the imports from Egypt in the studied sample (stylistically, typologically, thematically, chronologically, size-wise, etc.).[390] This makes it abundantly clear that there were alternatives available in Egypt for the various object types and subject matters of so-called Aegyptiaca that were brought to Rome in Roman Imperial times. Parallels in lime- and/or sandstone exist for practically every import in coloured stone. There appear to be certain tendencies in the relationships between the material (and stylistic) properties of objects and object types, as a result of which some parallels with other materials are more common than others. The majority of clepsydras are made from coloured hardstones, as are nearly all obelisks of monumental scale. It is therefore not surprising that the specimens of clepsydras and obelisks that were transported to Rome are consistently made from naturally coloured materials, although it should be noted that alternatives in lime-/sandstone also existed for these object types. Perhaps more surprising, and therefore significant, is the consistent occurrence in Rome of types of imports in coloured materials, for which alternatives in softstones could be readily found or even prevailed in Egypt. From the small Horus-stela, to naophoros statues, to statues of lions, to colossal royal sculptures in conceptual styles: all these themes and types of objects could be executed just as well in lime- or sandstone as in naturally coloured stones. Indeed, while sphinxes and temple reliefs in lime- and sandstone greatly outnumber specimens made from coloured hardstones, only specimens made from relatively less common naturally coloured materials were brought to Rome.

In sum, the studied sample of Egyptian imports is not representative of the repertoire of stone objects in Egypt, at least not in terms of its material make-up. The consequent absence of imports in lime- and sandstone suggests that objects with specific material properties were preferred. However, before formulating such a conclusion, the availability of alternatives should be considered. The parallels discussed in Appendix D were found widely across Egypt, including several sites in Upper Egypt (Thebes and its surroundings in particular, as well as El Kab), the Faiyum Oasis (Tebtunis and Medinet Madi), and Lower Egypt (Memphis, Heliopolis, and Saqqara). Were these sites accessible for Romans and were their objects available for transportation to Rome? Or were there only objects in coloured hardstones to choose from, if there was any choice at all? The short answer is that there is little direct information on this aspect of the objects that we call Aegyptiaca.[391]

also Aston et al. (2000) 12-15 Table 2.1, Harrell (1992), Klemm and Klemm (2008) 23-145, ibid. (2010), De Putter – Karlshausen (1992) 63-64, Arnold (1991) 27-29, and the geological map in Harrell and Storemyr (2009). On sandstone see Aston et al. (2000) 12-15 Table 2.1, Klemm and Klemm (2008) 167-213, Arnold (1991) 27-30, and De Putter – Karlshausen (1992) 92.

389. It is often assumed that lime- and sandstone were especially used for non-architectural purposes when more attractive and more costly 'ornamental' stones were not available or unaffordable (see, e.g., Harrell 2012b, 9). Artefacts in these materials were often, if not nearly always, painted "to conceal [their] bland appearance" (Aston *et al*. 2000, 42; cf. Harrell 2012a, 3-4: "the otherwise drab-looking building stones were usually painted in bright colors"). On the polychromy of Egyptian sculpture see Reuterswärd (1958). Statues of limestone (and sandstone) were usually entirely painted, whereas particular details, such as hair, jewellery, or eyes, of statues in hard-stones like granite and granodiorite could be painted, as well: see, e.g., the 5th Dynasty statue of Sekhemka from Saqqara, now in Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. A 105: Andreu *et al*. (1997) 58-59 no. 15 (C. Ziegler), and a granite sphinx inscribed for Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahari, now in Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. 2299: *Hatshepsut: from queen to pharaoh* (2005) 164-165 no. 88b (C.A. Keller).

390. In order to prevent long lists with references in the main text, the results of the survey have been collected in a separate appendix. Naturally, this overview is not exhaustive. As indicated above, it serves to give a general idea of the existence or absence of alternatives in lime- and sandstone.

391. Besides the availability of so-called Aegyptiaca, the logistics of their transportation to Rome also remains poorly understood. Except for some exceptional cases, like the transport of the Vatican obelisk under Caligula from Alexandria to Rome, we do not know under which circumstances these objects reached Rome; cf. Swetnam-Burland (2007) 124 with n. 24-25 (on the Vatican obelisk, cf. *infra*, Appendix C). Roullet (1972, 17) suggests that Egyptian priests functioned as middlemen and that they were charged to order statues and reliefs for temples in Europe, as they would have been "able to maintain the links between the old pharaonic land and the Roman Empire outside"; cf. Quack (2003) 64-65. However, there is no evidence to support this assertion. It is usually assumed that the importation of monumental objects from Egypt was an Imperial privilege (see, e.g., Lembke 1994, 135: "Die Export großer Mengen von Kunstobjekten aus der kaiserlichen Provinz Ägypten, die in

In terms of the geographical and chronological distribution of objects in lime- and sandstone, we can only determine that there were no regions or periods in Egypt where and when artefacts in these materials do not occur, which makes it unlikely that objects in these softstones would not have been available for Romans.[392] In fact, the only concrete evidence for the availability of so-called Aegyptiaca is the corpus of Egyptian imports that have been rediscovered in Rome and at other Roman sites. Some of these objects carry hieroglyphic inscriptions with indications about their original Egyptian provenance, and this information is often used to assess the question of availability. As several authors have noted, the majority of inscribed imports originate from sites in Lower Egypt, in particular from Heliopolis.[393] We know from Strabo that Heliopolis was sacked in 525 BC by Cambyses' army, and, against this background, the author incidentally notes that obelisks from Heliopolis were taken to Rome and Thebes.[394] Based on this, should we imagine the Sun City entirely in ruins after it was sacked and, if that were the case, could this help explain the large number of imports that have been found in the Roman world and that originates from this city? In other words, were these objects readily available for transportation *because* that city was in ruins? This is what Paul Stanwick suggests by observing that the sack of Heliopolis by the Persians created an "ample quarry for *aegyptiaca*".[395] These are interesting questions that cannot be easily answered, but it is a fact that a particular geographical tendency towards the northern regions of Egypt can be observed among the imports in Rome. Therefore, we can only go as far as asking more specifically whether or not alternatives in lime- and sandstone were available at the *specific* sites where objects that ended up in Rome originated from. As we have seen, the available indications suggest that there were indeed alternatives at these sites. Parallels in softstones have been found at the sites of known suppliers of imports in the corpus of Rome, including Memphis, Thebes, and especially Heliopolis.

However, while inscriptions are a useful source of information for the places of origin of Egyptian artefacts – that is, the sites where they were *first* used – it is important to consider that these are not necessarily

die Iseen von Rom und Benevent gelangten, ist mit Sicherheit nur einem Princeps vorbehalten gewesen"). The available information on the transportation of obelisks seems to confirm that this was indeed the case. However, if we consider the corpus of imports as a whole, there are large differences between the various objects, also in terms of dimensions. Hence, while the transport of huge monolithic obelisks, ordered by emperors, necessitated the construction of large ships, as we know from literary sources, the portability of other objects in our sample is much greater. Therefore, these objects may have reached Rome in a range of different manners. In other words, imports were not necessarily part of the same supply network. See also the comment by Müller (1969, 67) on the importation of a small statue from Egypt to Benevento: "Die kleine Statue wurde vermutlich von einem Privatmann aus Ägypten nach Benevent gebracht […]".

392. However, some geographical and chronological trends emerge. Although objects in lime- and sandstone have been found all across Egypt, the geographical distribution of objects in these materials generally follows the geological division of a limestone region in the north and sandstone deposits in the south. In addition, while coloured hardstones were much less used overall than softstones, the Late Period marks a notable exception, particularly the 26th and 30th Dynasties, as has been noted by many authors: Bothmer (1960) 5, Silverman (1997) 117, Quack (2003) 59, De Putter (2006) 89, and Russmann (2010) 944; cf. *infra*, 361-362 with notes. Due to the establishment of political authority in the Delta region at that time, most construction work focused on the northern regions of Egypt. As a result, coloured hardstones figure disproportionately in the archaeological record of northern Egypt in the Late Period.

393. As confirmed by the site distribution of the (defined or presumed) original provenance of Egyptian imports in Roullet's study (Roullet 1972, 153-156): Heliopolis 10; Alexandria 6; Memphis 3; Thebes (including Karnak) 3; Sais 2; Behbeit el-Hagar 2; Hermopolis Parva 2; Elephantine 1; Akhmim 1; Hermopolis Magna 1. Lembke's hypothesis that easy accessibility would have been one of the determining criteria for the Roman selection of Egyptian imports is based on the observation that the majority of these objects originates from sites in Lower Egypt (cf. *supra*, 322). A similar but less distinct pattern emerges from Egyptian imports at other sites than Rome (based on the information in Table 4.2.1 above): Heliopolis 3, Memphis 2, Kher-Aha (near Heliopolis) 1, Sais 1, Athribis (modern Tell Atrib) 1 (all Lower Egypt); Thebes (including Karnak) 3, Abydos 2, Herakleopolis 1 (Upper Egypt).

394. *Geography* 17.1.27; cf. *infra*, Appendix B.

395. Stanwick (2002) 19; for a similar notion see now also Swetnam-Burland (2015) 31. Would this, in turn, imply that objects from sites that were still in function were not available for transportation to other sites? According to Yoyotte, this was not necessarily the case. He sees no reason to believe that the transportation of *pharaonica* from Heliopolis caused the cessation of cult practices in that city: "Colonnes et architraves, montants et linteaux de porte étaient autant de monolithes rapportés, de caractère, peut-on-dire, « semi-mobilier », dont le démontage n'entraînait pas la démolition de tout l'édifice. Rien n'interdit de croire que le culte pouvait encore être rendu dans la Ville du Soleil à l'époque romaine au milieu d'édifices mutilés" (Yoyotte 2003, 235 n. 69). See also, in general, Capriotti Vittozzi (2013) 111.

the places where the Romans took them from. Although it is of course possible that the Romans visited sites like Memphis or Heliopolis to select pieces for transportation to Rome, there is no evidence to confirm this. Consequently, the information from inscriptions is no straightforward indicator of the extent of the Roman exploitation of Egypt.[396] Additionally, there are some indications that Egyptian objects that ended up in Rome were already on the move before they were transported to the other side of the Mediterranean. We will now turn to this circulation in order to explore an alternative possibility for the Roman selection of Egyptian objects. Filtering, particularly of specific material properties, will be a key concept in this.

The circulation of Egyptian objects started long before the Roman Imperial period.[397] An intensification of this practice can be observed during the 1st millennium BC, in particular in the northern Delta region.[398] Especially Alexandria participated in this network of Egyptian objects in motion. Considerable numbers of Egyptian imports, dating from the Middle Kingdom up until the Late Period, have been found in this city. Until recently, most of these so-called *pharaonica*[399] came from the Serapeum, but underwater explorations off the coast of the city since the early 1990s have substantially enriched the corpus of Egyptian imports.[400] The overview of *pharaonica alexandrina* shows a notable scarcity of artefacts in lime- and sandstone. Instead, naturally coloured types predominate, particularly granite, granodiorite, and greywacke.[401] Object types include anthropomorphic royal and private sculpture, zoomorphic sculptures of deities (e.g., of Horus in falcon-form and Sekhmet),

396. Scholars have often regarded it as such: Heinz (2010, 26) recently used the data on the original provenance of Egyptian imports in Rome to illustrate the "penetrating exploitation of Egypt by the Romans". In similar vein, Bommas (2012, 195) speaks about "the fact that several Egyptian sites were deliberately exploited to furnish the Iseum [Campense] at Rome".

397. On the reuse of Egyptian artefacts in Egypt see Brand (2010) with relevant literature. For a concise overview of the circulation of so-called Aegyptiaca outside Egypt, a process that can be attested at least since the Bronze Age, see Mol (2015a) 14-25. An early example of Egyptian sculpture in motion across the modern borders of Egypt comes from Kerma in Upper-Nubia, where several centuries-old Egyptian statues were reused in funerary contexts during the 17th-16th century BC: Valbelle (2011).

398. A good example is the large-scale reuse of statues, sphinxes, obelisks, columns, and other objects from Pi-Ramesses, the capital built by Ramesses II during the 19th Dynasty (early 13th century BC), at sites like Leontopolis, Bubastis, and, most notably, Tanis, during the 21st and 22nd Dynasties (ca. late 11th – late 8th century BC). The large quantities of objects dating from the reign of Ramesses II at Tanis initially even led excavators to erroneously believe that Tanis actually was Pi-Ramesses (Shaw and Nicholson 1995, 282-283). On the reuse of Egyptian objects at Tanis see, e.g., Montet (1966) 9-11, Zivie-Coche (2008) 2-4, and Brand (2010) 5; cf. Yoyotte (1998) 201, and 206 n. 30.

399. This term is often used to describe the totality of so-called Aegyptiaca from Alexandria, and it covers both imports from other Egyptian sites that pre-date the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (and hence the foundation of the city), as well as objects that date from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (e.g. Yoyotte 1998, 199; cf. Malaise 2005, 204-210 for an extensive overview of the various understandings and applications of this term). I use the term here to refer to the first group only, namely, pre-Ptolemaic artefacts that were reused in Alexandria: Ptolemaic and Roman 'Aegyptiaca', which have been discovered in Alexandria, were not necessarily brought from other sites to Alexandria, but they may have originally functioned in the city instead.

400. Tkaczow's catalogue, which does not include the underwater finds, contains 40 entries of pre-Ptolemaic imports in Alexandria, most of them from the Serapeum (Tcakzow 1993, 230-242, no. 119-152; cf. Savvopoulos and Bianchi 2012, 177-187 and the bibliography in Yoyotte 1998, 212 n. 59; on the Serapeum see, *in extenso*, Sabottka 2008; cf. McKenzie 2007, 53-55). The findings from Alexandria's eastern harbour and fort Qa'it Bey have substantially enlarged the corpus of pre-Ptolemaic Aegyptiaca from the city. By 1997, the list of so-called Aegyptiaca from Alexandria included some 600 items (Gallo 1997b, xxiii-xxiv n. 18). No synthesis has been compiled thus far. Grimal has published brief reports with inventories of a selection of the finds (Grimal 1995, 596-600, 1996, 563-567, and 1997, 376-377), while several other articles discuss one or more artefacts (not necessarily from underwater excavations): e.g., Abd el-Fattah and Gallo (1998) and Gallo (2002). Moreover, some of the recent findings have been published by Corteggiani (1998) and in *Egypt's Sunken Treasures* (2008): 355 no. 451-452, and 358-360 no. 461-466 (all entries by J. Yoyotte). Finally, Savvopoulos (2010b) contains some pictures of unpublished pre-Ptolemaic imports in Alexandria: 147-149 (sculpture) and 163-164 (architecture and obelisks). The article by Yoyotte (1998) provides some preliminary reflections on Alexandria's (pre-Ptolemaic) *pharaonica* on the basis of hundred dateable items with inscriptions.

401. The material distribution of the 40 pre-Ptolemaic entries in Tcakzow (1993) is as follows: grey and black granite (all granodiorite?) 16; red granite 10; basalt 5 (including greywacke?); sandstone (presumably including quartzite) 4; granite (undefined red or black) 1; 'spath calcaire' 1; no data 1; Pharaonic blocks in sandstone, travertine, and granite (entry no. 137). The image that emerges from the recent underwater finds is consistent with this pattern. The published material invariably concerns objects made from coloured hardstones, and the same stone types are predominant in the record of unpublished objects (Empereur 1995, Corteggiani 1998, 28-29 with n. 9, and Yoyotte 1998, 201: "there were few limestone blocks compared to an abundance of those of hard rock", and 203: "The sculptures and blocks are in granite or granitoïd Aswan stone, some others come from the greywacke of Wadi Hammâmât").

sphinxes, (fragments of) obelisks, and architectural elements. These objects, executed in conceptual styles, cover the period between the 12th and 30th Dynasties; the majority of them date from the New Kingdom, and from the reign of Ramesses II in particular.[402] Lastly, several authors have noticed that the majority of these imports originate from Heliopolis. The disproportionate representation of Heliopolitan objects in Alexandria has even led Paolo Gallo to wonder if any structures in the Sun City were left untouched.[403]

It is clear that the importation of *pharaonica* to Alexandria started in the Ptolemaic period, but the debate about when the majority of these objects were first erected in Alexandria is ongoing.[404] Interestingly, artefacts with conceptual styles from Alexandria, which date to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods and which therefore may have originally functioned in the city,[405] also fit this pattern of characteristics. They are typologically and thematically varied, as well, and likewise show a notable lack of lime- and sandstone.[406] The geographical distribution of Ptolemaic royal sculptures with conceptual styles in Egypt demonstrates this particularly clearly. As Stanwick's research has shown, these sculptures are as often made from limestone as from granite.[407] However, although royal sculptures in limestone have been found widely across Egypt, none of the fourteen specimens from Alexandria are made from limestone; they are all are sculpted out of granite instead.[408]

402. The chronological distribution of *pharaonica* in Tcakzow (1993) is as follows: Middle Kingdom 1; New Kingdom 21; Late Period 12; no specific date 5; the remaining entry (no. 137) contains several blocks from the period between the 12th and 26th Dynasties. A similar date range is given for the underwater findings: Yoyotte (1998) 203; cf. Savvopoulos (2010a) 84.

403. Gallo (1997b) xxiv: "Il numero di monumenti eliopolitani rinvenuti nei *serapea* della metropoli alessandrina e della Capitale dell'Impero è tale che ci si chiede se nell II sec. d.C. l'antica città del dio Sole potesse vantare l'esistenza di qualche tempio ancora intatto". In similar vein, Yoyotte (1998, 203) has stated that "unless the still ongoing evaluation of the entire corpus [of Alexandrian *pharaonica*] radically changes matters, it looks very much as if the vast temples of the sun complex had at one time constituted the main – if not the only – reserve from which to draw obelisks, statues, sphinxes, and was likewise the main reserve of prefabricated architectural elements for building and fitting out Alexandrian temples in the ancient style"; cf. Abd el-Fattah and Gallo (1998) 11, Ashton (2004) 18, McKenzie (2007) 55, and Goddio and Yoyotte (2008) 267.

404. It is certain that Ptolemy II (285-246 BC) erected an obelisk from the 30th Dynasty in the Arsinoeion (*infra*, n. 412). However, there are two prevailing opinions concerning the importation of the other *pharaonica*. Some authors date this practice essentially to the Roman Imperial period, while others believe that it started in the (early) Ptolemaic period. The "Roman Imperial" thesis is supported by the work of Paolo Gallo and Kyriakos Savvopoulos: Gallo (1997b) xxiii-xxv; Abd el-Fattah and Gallo (1998) 11, and Savvopoulos (2010a) 83-85. See also Savvopoulos and Bianchi (2012) 21-22, who argue that this "Egyptianization of Alexandria's cultural character" through the incorporation of pre-Ptolemaic 'Aegyptiaca' was a deliberate attempt to "promote continuity". For the "Ptolemaic" thesis see Empereur (1995), Corteggiani (1998) 28-30, Arnold (1999) 308-309, Versluys (2002) 328-329, McKenzie *et al*. (2004) 100-101, Abd el-Gelil *et al*. (2008) 8, and Swetnam-Burland (2015) 31. On the question when the importation of Egyptian objects to Alexandria took place, see *in extenso* Yoyotte (1998); cf. Ashton (2004) 18-19. The available indications to date this relocation of these artefacts are scarce. It has been argued that the submerged pre-Ptolemaic 'Aegyptiaca' from the waters near fort Qa'it Bey were deposited there due to the collapse of an early Ptolemaic lighthouse, which would provide an early Ptolemaic terminus ante quem for the presence of imports in Alexandria, but this thesis is difficult to prove (see Yoyotte 2003, 203-204 with n. 16; cf. Savvopoulos 2010a, 84 n. 28, who mentions the Ptolemaic reuse of a small group of objects from the city's royal quarters from the 30th Dynasty).

405. See also Corteggiani (1998) 35, and 39.

406. Tcakzow (1993) 183-229 no. 1-118 (Ptolemaic period), and 243-284 no. 153-268 (Roman period). Sandstone is altogether absent from the corpus of Ptolemaic and Roman Imperial artefacts. Ptolemaic examples in limestone mainly concern sphinxes (from the Serapeum and other mainland Alexandrian sites: Tkaczow 1993, 189 no. 11a, 192 no. 17, and 197 no. 30-32), as well as a pair of statues of the Memphite priest Psenptais I from the Serapeum (Tcakzow 1993, 188 no. 9: reign Ptolemy X; *contra* Savvoupoulos and Bianchi 2012, 116-119 no. 34: reign Ptolemy III). Besides coloured hardstones and limestone, marble frequently occurs in the material record from Ptolemaic and Roman Alexandria. However, this material was mostly used for objects in naturalistic styles, which suggests that a correlation existed between marble and stylistic properties of objects made from this material (similar to so-called Aegyptiaca of Roman age in marble!). Ptolemaic royal sculptures clearly show this. Statues of Ptolemaic kings and queens in marble are nearly always executed in naturalistic styles: the "Greek-style royal representations" in Ashton's Appendix 1 are almost invariably made from marble (Ashton 2001, 54-58). See also De Putter (2000, 96), who notes that "œuvres de pur style pharaonique en marbre" and "œuvres de style « mèlange » en marbre" are almost non-existent, and hence concludes that "les marbres d'importation n'ont quasiment servi qu'à la sculpture de pur style hellénistique". The statue of a less than life-size Ptolemaic king (Ptolemy VIII?) marks a notable exception (now in Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, inv. 7780): see Stanwick (2002) 114 no. C12 with fig. 98-99.

407. Each of these materials account for 30% of the entire corpus: Stanwick (2002) 34.

408. The fourteen specimens from Alexandria constitute the single largest concentration of these sculptures with known context (49 in total); based on information from Stanwick (2002) 214 fig. 198, and 11 with Table 2.2.

2.1.2 Alexandria: a comparative model?

When we compare the Egyptian imports in Alexandria to those in Rome, striking similarities become visible. First and foremost, both corpora share a similar, atypical material profile, which is not representative for the repertoire of stone objects in Egypt as a whole. Artefacts in coloured hardstones clearly outnumber those made from lime- and sandstone. Moreover, similarities exist between stylistic properties, object types, chronological aspects, and original provenance. Like in Alexandria, the largest number of imports in Rome with a presumed or defined original provenance comes from Heliopolis. The chronological profiles of the *pharaonica* of Alexandria and those of Rome are also comparable: both corpora mainly contain objects dating from the New Kingdom (in particular 18th and 19th Dynasties), and the Late Period (especially 26th and 30th Dynasties). The object types of the collections of imports in Rome and Alexandria are equally diverse and generally well comparable. These collections contain a similar range of object types, including royal and private anthropomorphic sculpture, zoomorphic sculpture, sphinxes, obelisks, and so on.[409] Lastly, most, if not nearly all artefacts are executed in conceptual styles.

The parallel between Egyptian imports in Rome and those in Alexandria has been drawn before. Several authors have wondered whether or not, and if so, to what extent Alexandria served as an example for Roman engagements with Egyptian objects. Gallo has even stated that nearly all Egyptian imports that have been discovered in Rome reached that city *via* Alexandria: "lo studio [of the pre-Ptolemaic Egyptian imports in Alexandria] rivela anche come la quasi totalità dei monumenti egiziani ritrovati a Roma e provenienti dalle varie località del Delta raggiungesse la Capitale dell'Impero *via* Alessandria".[410] While this statement is not further explained, there are indeed some indications that Egyptian imports that were rediscovered in Rome had been in Alexandria before they were despatched.[411] Based on a reconstruction of its original Latin inscription, we know that the obelisk that is now in St. Peter's Square stood in the Forum Julium in Alexandria before Caligula ordered its transportation to Rome.[412]

409. There is, however, one important difference between Alexandria and Rome with regard to the object types of imports. While imported architectural elements are rare in Rome and the Roman world – the studied sample contains only two decorated relief slabs – numerous examples have been found in Alexandria. Besides relief-covered blocks, architectural imports in Alexandria include columns and column drums, architraves, door posts, lintels, and naoi. See, for instance, five architectural elements inscribed for Apries in granite (26th Dynasty; *Egypt's Sunken Treasures* 2008, 359-360 no. 462-466), and bundled columns inscribed for Tuthmose IV (18th Dynasty; Yoyotte 2003, 214-215).

410. Gallo (1997b) xxiii-xxiv n. 18; and, again, in note 20: "probabilmente fu portata a Roma da Alessandria, dove già si trovava in epoca imperiale". Similar ideas are forwarded by Ensoli (the sphinx of Amasis from Sais was transported to Rome "forse da Alessandria come molte altre sculture saitiche"; in *Iside* 1997, 391 V.8; for the sphinx cf. *supra*, 246-247 no. 117) and Baines and Whitehouse, who wonder "inwieweit Alexandria als Vorbild für die demonstrative Zurschaustellung von Obelisken seitens der Römer gedient hat und ob nicht einige Denkmäler von dort stammen" (Baines – Whitehouse 2005, 408-409). In a more general sense, Lembke (1994, 55) notes "bauliche und gestalterische Tendenzen […] die einen Einfluß des ptolemäischen Baus [i.e., of the Serapeum in Alexandria] auf die Gestaltung des Iseum Campense in Erwägung ziehen lassen"; see also Raue (1999) 16-17. Yoyotte (1998, 205) disagrees with the assimilation between *pharaonica* from Rome and Alexandria, because the imports in Rome would "come from the most diverse locations" in Egypt, as opposed to Alexandrian *pharaonica* that largely originate from Heliopolis; see also Malaise (2005) 204-205.

411. Alexandria does not emerge as a major supplier of so-called Aegyptiaca for transportation to Rome on the basis of inscriptions. None of the six objects in Roullet's Appendix III that according to Roullet would originate from Alexandria are confirmed through (hieroglyphic) inscriptions; cf. *supra*, n. 393. Rather, she attributes them to that city on the basis of presumed Alexandrian workmanship (Roullet's catalogue numbers 144b and 147), or bases the attribution on written evidence (which informs us that the relevant object, the Vatican obelisk, was *re*-used in Ptolemaic Alexandria and did not originate from that city; Roullet's catalogue number 68). Finally, in the case of the three lions no arguments are given to support the attribution to Alexandria (Roullet's catalogue numbers 268-270).

412. The inscription records that the obelisk was erected on the Forum Julium by Cornelius Gallus, prefect of Egypt under the first years of Augustus' reign (see Iversen 1968, fig. 1). However, scholars disagree about the earliest history of the obelisk. Some believe that it was originally erected on the Forum Julium around 30 BC (McKenzie 2007, 79, and Curran *et al*. 2009, 44-46), while others identify the Vatican obelisk with the uninscribed obelisk that is described by Pliny (*Natural History* 36.14.67-69) and erected by Ptolemy II (285-246 BC) in the Arsinoeion, the sanctuary Ptolemy built in Alexandria in honour of his deceased wife, Arsinoe II, around 270 BC (Roullet 1972, 67-69 no. 68, and Baines – Whitehouse 2005, 409). The Arsinoeion obelisk, Pliny adds, was originally erected during the reign of Necthebis/Nencoreus, whom most scholars have identified as the 30th Dynasty king Nectanebo I or II (e.g., Roullet 1972, 67-68 no. 68, and McKenzie 2007, 51-52), perhaps at Heliopolis (Stanwick 2002, 19). According to McKenzie (2007, 51-52) the Arsinoeion

One of the two decorated relief-blocks in the studied sample from Rome may provide another indication of the circulation of Egyptian objects via Alexandria. The slab belongs to a series of six similar relief-blocks in greywacke that originate from the temple of Atum in Heliopolis, as can be inferred from the hieroglyphic inscriptions. Together, these six slabs are the only known remains of what appears to have been one or more gateways of this Heliopolitan temple. The block in our sample was discovered in 1709 on the Aventine Hill in Rome; all other reliefs were discovered in Alexandria between the 18th and 19th centuries.[413] This may indicate that the block in Rome was only brought to that city after its reuse in Alexandria; this possibility is also noted by Jean Yoyotte.[414]

The similarities between the corpora of Egyptian imports in Alexandria and Rome, in particular with regard to their distinct, non-representative material make-up, and the available indications for the presence in Alexandria of Egyptian artefacts before they were brought to Rome, lead to the following questions. Could it be that the imports that ended up in Rome and at other sites in the Roman world are a selection of what was available in Alexandria? Or is it possible that Alexandria more generally served as a model, functioning as a kind of filter, for the Roman selection of and ideas about Egyptian objects, in which the materials used evidently played a crucial role?[415] This may suggest that the studied Egyptian imports are an outcome of ongoing processes of selection and filtering that had perhaps started even before the Roman annexation of Egypt.[416]

2.1.3 Conclusions

The discussion in this section demonstrates that Romans targeted objects with specific material properties when selecting them for transportation from Egypt to Rome. It is difficult to tell whether this was part of a deliberate Roman selection strategy, or whether Romans capitalised upon an already pre-established tradition, or whether this resulted from a combination of these two, but it is evident that objects in coloured hardstones were preferred over those in softstones. Besides material properties, the stylistic characteristics of these objects stand out clearly, as nearly all imports in Rome (and Alexandria) are executed in conceptual styles. This contradicts the previously forwarded hypothesis that the corpus of Egyptian imports would have resulted from random collection. Of course, this does not necessarily imply that other criteria played no role in the Roman selection of Egyptian objects, including other object parameters like typology or specific subject matters, and practical aspects like accessibility and transportability; they may well have. Yet, if we consider Egyptian imports as a group, it becomes clearly evident

obelisk was moved to the Forum Julium in ca. 12/14-15 AD because it was in the way of the dockyards; this would contradict the identification of the Vatican obelisk as the obelisk erected by Ptolemy II in the Arsinoeion. Cf. *supra*, 188-189 no. 088.

413. Yoyotte convincingly argues that the presumption that two of these blocks were unearthed in Rosetta is wrong. Instead, all blocks were discovered between 1764 and 1870 in Alexandria (Yoyotte 1998, 215 with notes, and 2003, 220-221 no. a-f); on the relief-block from Rome see also *supra*, 248-249 no. 118. Yoyotte suggests that these slabs were originally part of gateway(s) in front of the temple that separated profane from sacred space rather than intercolumnar walls, as they are usually interpreted: ibid. (2003) 230-240; see also Lucarelli 2010.

414. The date of these blocks' transportation from Heliopolis to Alexandria remains unclear, as does their Alexandrian use-context. Therefore, while it cannot be excluded that the slab from Rome was taken from Heliopolis and brought directly to Rome, "one may just as well imagine that a piece was taken out of a recycled structure in an Egyptian or Egyptianising sanctuary in Alexandria at the time when the authentic witnesses of the Isis mysteries swarmed into the empire's capital" (Yoyotte 1998, 217; for a similar view, see ibid. 2003, 235). An examination of the slab found in Rome, which was unfortunately not possible for the present study, might clarify the situation. It is clear that some of the greywacke blocks underwent modifications before they were incorporated in their supposed new structure in Alexandria; these include the addition of a dedication in Greek on one of the blocks, the drilling of holes in at least two others, and cropping (Yoyotte 2003, 219-220). The hypothesis that this slab was transported to Rome after it had been reused in Alexandria would therefore be strengthened if the Roman slab showed traces of modifications similar to the other preserved specimens.

415. Besides the literal transportation of Egyptian objects to Rome from Alexandria, developments in Alexandria may also have influenced Roman engagements with Egyptian artefacts in a more figurative sense, as that city provided a model for the Roman selection of objects for transportation to Rome. This might explain the more varied Egyptian origins of imports in Rome relative to those in Alexandria, as noted by Yoyotte (1998, 205) and Malaise (2005, 204-205); cf. *supra*, n. 410.

416. For a similar view that emphasises Roman engagements with Egyptian material culture as a continuation of ongoing processes see now also Swetnam-Burland (2015) 31: "The Romans were […] the inheritors of long-standing traditions in which conquerors manifested their control of Egypt through the manipulation of its pre-existing material culture, whether by reinstalling monuments in new locations within Egypt, removing the names of Egyptian kings, or carting materials away to their capital cities".

that specific material and stylistic properties are the two constant, and therefore important, characteristics that all these objects have in common.

How can this evident preference be understood, and what can it possibly tell us about Roman understandings of these objects? The predominance of coloured hardstones in the corpus of Egyptian imports in Rome and other Roman sites has on occasion been noted before, and has been explained in very general terms as a Roman predilection for such materials, or is considered to be a result of the higher quality of these materials in comparison to softstones.[417] Alternatively, it has been suggested that the visual appearance of these materials emphasised the alterity of 'typically Egyptian' object types and subject matters, like obelisks and sculptures of animals, either as part of intentional or unintentional Roman strategies of 'othering'.[418] It is not inconceivable that the aforementioned considerations contributed to the ways in which Roman viewers would have perceived these objects, since the Egyptian imports were able to evoke different kinds of associations through their specific characteristics, including particular material and stylistic properties.

As the discussion in Part II has demonstrated, stones came with all kinds of associations in the Roman world. Specific types, in particular those with distinct visual characteristics, were especially desirable because they could be easily identified and thus spoke of distant sources, including all the notions of luxury, prestige, and strangeness or exoticism that this entailed. Lime- and sandstone were generally less suitable for such purposes, because they have less distinct visual characteristics, and hence they are less easily identifiable. As a result, the presence of these materials, or their capacity to evoke the aforementioned kinds of associations, is less strong in comparison to the stones from which the Egyptian objects that were selected for transportation to Rome are carved. Pink granite and grey granodiorite from Aswan, from which the majority of Egyptian imports in the studied sample are made, are good examples of Egyptian materials with distinct visual qualities, which, for that reason, were among the most sought-after materials in the Roman world.

However, besides the specific materiality of Egyptian imports, which resulted from their particular material properties, these objects were able to do much more, in particular through the combination between their material properties with distinct stylistic characteristics and other object parameters. As we have seen above, notions of imperial dynastic belonging may have come to reside in greywacke through its repeated use for imperial portraits.[419] In a similar vein, a cognitive link may have been created between Egypt and coloured Egyptian hardstones.[420] This may have come to exist through the repetitive co-occurrence between Egyptian imports and these materials, in particular since the objects that are carved out of these materials combine their specific material properties with other distinctly 'un-Roman' object parameters, such as conceptual styles, subject matters like sphinxes and pharaohs, object types like obelisks and clepsydras, and hieroglyphic inscriptions.[421] The specific object parameters of Egyptian imports enhanced one another and made the presence of these objects as strong as possible. As a result, Egyptian objects that were selected by Romans for transport to Rome stand out in otherness, and possibly entailed specific notions of Egypt as well. The atypical material make-up of Egyptian imports in Rome may indicate that these particular connotations were important motivators for Roman engagements with Egyptian objects. As the previous discussion has demonstrated, the artefacts in coloured hardstones that ended up in Rome are not typically Egyptian, since there were many (and sometimes many more)

417. Müller (1969) 38 and Lembke (1994) 53, respectively.

418. On the reinforcement of the exotic character of typically Egyptian sculptural types and themes through naturally coloured stones see Lembke (1994) 36. On material use as part of a deliberate Roman strategy of 'othering', aiming in particular at a certain 'distinct Egyptianness', see Versluys (2013a) 250-257, esp. 256. On 'othering' as a universal and essentially unconscious concept within religious practices, and the role of materials and material properties in this see Mol (2015b) 97-104, esp. 102-104.

419. *Supra*, 60.

420. Since this cognitive link may already have existed before the Roman Imperial period, as the discussion in section IV.2.1.2 has suggested, it is possible that Romans capitalised upon a pre-established tradition and thereby further strengthened the mental association between the material properties of Egyptian imports and notions of Egypt.

421. Through the repetitive co-occurrence between, on the one hand, these parameters, by themselves and in relation to one another, and, on the other hand, Egyptian imports, a complex and dynamic web of object parameters and cognitive links may have been created, in which notions of Egypt will have always been more or less prominently present; cf. Versluys (2016), esp. 85. On the enmeshment of cognitive links between so-called Aegyptiaca and notions of Egypt, which may involve concealing and subsequent revealing, see Mol (2013).

typologically and stylistically similar alternatives in lime- and sandstone. However, the efficacy of parallels made from these softstones would have been less strong due to these materials' less potent material properties to signal something 'different' or 'Egyptian'. Hence, the persistent selection by Romans of Egyptian objects for transport to Rome in coloured hardstones, which emphasised their presence as something distinctly different and possibly specifically Egyptian, may indeed indicate that (intentional or unintentional) 'othering' was considered as an important aspect of these objects by Romans.

2.2 ROMAN IMPERIAL PRODUCTIONS

Among the objects of Roman Imperial date in the studied sample that were not evidently imported as finished objects from Egypt, lime- and sandstone are again altogether absent. The majority of Roman Imperial objects are carved from white marble. Other frequently occurring materials are naturally coloured stones of Egyptian origin and some with non-Egyptian origins. The dating of these objects is not always clear. As the entries in this study's corpus and Table 4.1.7 in the previous section have demonstrated, this mainly results from the current state of preservation and the absence of inscriptions. If we only take those objects into account that are invariably dated to the Roman Imperial period, the sample contains white marble, granite, granodiorite, travertine, and *bigio antico*. With the exception of the statue of a baboon in *bigio antico* (no. 129) and four relief columns in granodiorite from Elba Island (no. 113-116), the materials are all of Egyptian origins.

The observation that Egyptian materials were used in Roman Imperial times for the production of objects with conceptual styles and/or originally Egyptian subject matters deserves closer attention. As we have seen above, in particular granite and granodiorite from Aswan were extensively used for the fabrication of statuary and other objects in Pharaonic times, and it appears that their popularity continued in Roman Imperial times, both within and outside Egypt, for the production of so-called Aegyptiaca in Rome. This is clearly reflected in the example of the two over-life-size statues in the Vatican Museum, which were found together with other 'Aegyptiaca' in the Horti Sallustiani.[422] One of them is a Ptolemaic 'original' that represents queen Arsinoe II. The identification and dating of the other sculpture are disputed, but according to a recent hypothesis it appears to be a Roman emulation based on the Ptolemaic statue of Arsinoe II. Indeed, there are striking similarities between the two statues with regard to their iconographical scheme, stylistic execution, and dimensions. Furthermore, the materials from which the sculptures are carved are comparable, as both statues are made from granitoid stones from Aswan. However, whereas the Ptolemaic statue is made from pink granite, its emulation is carved from a stone that is gradational between granite and granodiorite, and which may even classify as granodiorite proper. In other words, the materials used are comparable but not identical. It is evident that the two blocks of stone were not extracted from the exact same quarry location. This can hardly be surprising when we consider the chronological distance between the extraction of the blocks and the large variation of granitoid stones at Aswan.[423] Nevertheless, if the Vatican sculpture is indeed a Roman emulation made after the Ptolemaic statue of Arsinoe II, the similarities between the materials used do suggest that care was taken to select a block of stone that closely resembled the material of the Ptolemaic model. Of course, we do not know whether the emulation was carved from a block of imported raw material that was locally available in Rome, perhaps in one of the city's stone repositories, or whether it was obtained directly from the quarries at Aswan on special commission, which might attest to a specific knowledge of where to obtain stones with particular material characteristics. However, it is a fact that the

422. See *supra*, 166-167 no. 077 and 202-203 no. 095.

423. The block used for the statue of Arsinoe II was most likely quarried in the early 3rd century BC, while that of the emulation may have been obtained in Roman Imperial times. Since the quarries at Aswan were continuously worked between the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, and considering that they comprise an area of 20 km^2 in which large variations naturally occur, it would have been exceptional, if not impossible, to find two exactly identical blocks of stone, in particular when the moment of extraction is separated by several centuries. Even blocks of stone that were likely extracted at the same time and from the same quarry location, as may be suggested, for instance, for the blocks of the contemporaneous sculptures in granite of Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II (*supra*, 164-165 no. 076) or the two granodiorite statues of Thoth of Nectanebo II (*supra*, 152-155 no. 070-071), are not entirely identical in textural and structural terms.

sculpture is carved from granitoid stone from Aswan, like the Ptolemaic model on which it was likely based. Therefore, the material selection was presumably determined by a desire to recreate the sculpture after a particular model.

This is consistent with the commonly held assumption that Egyptian-looking artefacts of Roman manufacture were often based on Egyptian imports,[424] and it shows that material choice was an integral part of this process of emulation. Moreover, there are some indications to suggest that a development in material use for the production of so-called Aegyptiaca took place *within* the Roman Imperial period. The statue of a baboon from the Iseum Campense is one of the few Roman Imperial objects in the studied sample that can be precisely dated.[425] The consular names in the Latin inscription allow the sculpture to be dated to the year 159 AD. Like the previously discussed emulation of Arsinoe II, this statue was likely made after the example of Egyptian imports. Two Late Period sculptures of Thoth were found in proximity to this Roman baboon, and all three were likely on display in the Iseum Campense, albeit perhaps in different parts of the sanctuary.[426] A comparison between these three sculptures reveals close iconographical and stylistic similarities. All three show a squatting baboon on a rectangular base, sitting with its front paws perched on bent knees and with its tail resting to the right side of its body. The sculptures are also comparable in terms of their dimensions; the figures of the baboons are just over one meter tall. Based on these resemblances, the Roman baboon is usually considered to have been modelled after the two Egyptian imports, which were likely on display in the Isis sanctuary at the time when the Roman baboon was manufactured.[427] However, there is a notable difference between the materials from which the three sculptures in question are made. Although the stone of the Roman baboon generally resembles that of the two Egyptian imports, particularly in terms of the medium grey colour that it shares with the Aswan granodiorite of the Late Period baboons, the *bigio antico* from which it is carved is one of the very few naturally coloured materials in the studied sample that do not originate from an Egyptian source.[428]

Interestingly, a similar phenomenon can be observed at the Villa Hadriana near Tivoli. The sculptural decoration of the so-called Canopus[429] included a group of at least six statues in conceptual styles, representing various Egyptian deities and other subject matters.[430] These sculptures are dated to the Hadrianic period,[431] and they are invariably made from black and grey limestones, of which some exhibit extensive white veining. These are

424. Swetnam-Burland (2015) 60; cf. Roullet (1972) 18 and Lembke (1994) 41-42.

425. Cf. *supra*, 270-271 no. 129.

426. This might be indicated by the respective find locations of these three sculptures; for the Late Period statues of Thoth, see *supra*, 152-155 no. 070-071.

427. Lembke (1994) 238 E36; cf. Gregarek (1999) 210 no. C111 and Swetnam-Burland (2015) 60 and n. 138. The importation of objects from Egypt to the Iseum Campense is usually ascribed to the reign of Domitian who had the sanctuary restored and refurbished after the devastating fire in the Campus Martius of 80 AD: Lembke (1994) 92-92, and 135.

428. Other sculptures of baboons in *bigio antico* that reproduce a similar iconographical scheme in are in Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 2937/S (H. 75 cm; Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 39 no. 6), and Liverpool, World Museum, inv. 59.148.57 (H. 46 cm; 2nd century AD or later; Roullet 1972, 126 no. 251, and Bartman 2011, 176 with fig. 12.8).

429. See Grenier (1989) for a reconstruction of the sculptural decoration of the nymphaeum as a monumental map of Egypt with religious underpinnings that focuses on the regenerative power of the Nile. For criticism on this reconstruction see Versluys (2002) 24-26 with n. 71.

430. These six statues were excavated in 1736 and are now in the Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Egizio, inv. 22801 (Isis/priestess), 22802 (Isis/musician priestess), 22817 (dedicant), 22815 (Ptah), 22816 (priest/young god: Nefertem?), 22807 (double-faced herm of Isis/Apis or Osiris/Apis) (see Raeder 1983, 115-119 no. I.137-138 and I.140-143, and Grenier 1989, 936-942 and 951-952). On the basis of similarities in dimensions, subject matters, and stone types, several other statues may be added to this group, although their provenance from the so-called Canopus is not secured. These include three statues in München, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, inv. Gl. WAF 32 (Min/Horus) and Gl. WAF 14-15 (Osirantinoos) (see Grenier 1989, 943-945, and Raeder 1983, 154 no. III.34 and 151-152 no. III.27-28, respectively), three fragmentarily preserved statues in Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 413E-415E (perhaps found in the Villa Hadriana around 1650?; Grenier 1989, 935 and 942, *contra* Raeder 1983, 183 no. IV.10-12), and sculptures of a male and female standing figure found in 1769 in the Villa Hadriana (Grenier 1989, 942-943 and 959-960, and Raeder 1983, 44 no. I.19-20). Grenier (1989, 945-946) adds another sculpture that is only known from an early 18th century engraving.

431. Malaise (1972a) 105-107 no. 3-8, Roullet (1972) 93 no. 126, 94 no. 128-129, 100 no. 149, 116 no. 205, and 118 no. 213, and Gregarek (1999) 195 no. C10-11 and 201-202 no. C48-49. The additional sculptures in München (Roullet 1972a, 96 no. 139 and 106 no. 168-169), Madrid (Roullet 1972a, 106 no. 167b and 117-118 no. 211-212) and the specimens found in 1769 (Roullet 1972, 123 no. 233-234) are also dated to the Hadrianic period.

so-called *neri (*and *bigi*?) *antichi*, which were obtained from several (non-Egyptian) sources across the Mediterranean, including Turkey, Tunisia, Greece, and Italy.[432] The use of naturally coloured stones from other than Egyptian sources for the production of objects with originally Egyptian subject matters and in conceptual styles in the Hadrianic and Antonine periods is evident here. This is particularly interesting in comparison to the dark coloured materials of so-called Aegyptiaca from the Iseum in Benevento of Domitianic age, which all originate from Egypt.[433] How can this apparent shift of material choice be understood?

While exploring possible explanations for this observed trend it is important to note that it was not limited to the production of objects that we call Aegyptiaca. Egyptian greywacke was among the most widely used dark coloured stones for Roman sculpture during the 1st and early 2nd centuries AD, particularly in the Flavian period. However, in the course of the first half of the 2nd century AD, its use started to wane and greywacke fell completely out of use around the middle of that century.[434] Harald Mielsch suggests that this development resulted from a shortage of workmen with the required skills to work hardstones like greywacke, but this is not very likely since the production of sculpture in other hard materials like granite continued over the course of the 2nd century AD.[435] Instead, the reason probably has to be sought in contemporary developments in Roman stone production and supply. The decrease in the use of dark coloured Egyptian stones like greywacke and granodiorite in the early 2nd century AD coincided with an increased use of other dark coloured stones, notably *nero antico*, *bigio antico*, and *bigio morato*, and by the mid-2nd century AD dark Egyptian stones were largely replaced by these coloured materials.[436] The motivations for this changed pattern of supply are not entirely clear, but it is possible that practical and economic considerations were involved. These marbles and limestones stones are considerably softer than hardstones like greywacke and granodiorite, which implies that they can be more easily dressed into the desired shape.[437] Moreover, as blocks of these softstones can be quarried with comparatively greater ease, these materials may have been supplied at lower prices.[438]

Yet, regardless of the specific reasons, it is a fact that in the course of the 2nd century AD, a certain number of sculptures were produced with originally Egyptian subject matters and in conceptual styles, but from non-Egyptian materials, whereas sculptures with similar thematic and stylistic characteristics were made from Egyptian stones earlier. This shift is part of a wider development in Roman stone supply and demonstrates to what extent the production of so-called Aegyptiaca had become an integral part of the Roman world. However, while no longer originating from Egypt, the selection of alternative materials retained the important aspect of visual appearance. *Nero* and *bigio antico* resemble

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432. The so-called Aegyptiaca in question are most likely carved from *nero antico* from Göktepe, Turkey: see Bruno *et al*. (2015) 463; on *nero* and *bigio antico* in general see *supra*, 76 and n. 318.

433. The studied sample is not of much help in this respect. The only two objects that have invariably been dated to the Roman Imperial period and that are made from dark coloured materials are two sphinxes in Aswan granodiorite. Of these, one has been dated to the first half of the 1st century AD (which fits the pattern described here), whereas the other specimen is dated to the Roman Imperial period without further specification (see *supra*, 204-207 no. 096 and 097, respectively). Domitianic 'Aegyptiaca' from Benevento in dark coloured stones are made from either Aswan granodiorite or greywacke from the Wadi Hammamat. In granodiorite: two baboons (Museo del Sannio, inv. 1893 and 1897: Müller 1969, 41-42 no. 252 and 48 no. 256, Gregarek 1999, 209-210 no. C106-107, and *Egittomania* 2006, 137 no. II.88); a falcon (Museo del Sannio, inv. 1896: Müller 1969, 47-48 no. 255 and Gregarek 1999, 209 no. C107); a statue of Domitian as pharaoh (Museo del Sannio, inv. 1903: Müller 1969, 55-56 no. 260 and *Egittomania* 2006, 138 no. II.92); an Apis bull (Museo del Sannio, inv. 1918: Müller 1969, 86-87 no. 280, Gregarek 1999, 209 no. C106, and *Egittomania* 2006, 141 no. II.98); a statue of an Egyptian deity with an *ankh*-sign (Museo del Sannio, inv. 1919: Müller 1969, 88-91 no. 281, Gregarek 1999, 193 no. C1, and *Egittomania* 2006, 141 no. II.100). In greywacke: royal head (Museo del Sannio, inv. 1901: Müller 1969, 60-61 no. 263 and *Egittomania* 2006, 138 no. II.93).

434. Belli Pasqua (1995) 52-56.

435. Mielsch (1985) 26; cf. Belli Pasqua (1995) 57.

436. Gregarek (1999) 37 and 112; on the increased use in the 2nd century AD of *neri antichi* from Tunisia and Turkey, especially from the reign of emperor Hadrian onwards, see Russell (2013a) 92 and Bruno *et al*. (2015), respectively.

437. See, e.g., Lazzarini (2002) 265 and Bruno *et al*. (2015) 467.

438. This may be suggested by the lower price of *marmor lesbium*, namely *bigio antico* from the island of Lesbos, in comparison to Aswan granite on Diocletian's Price Edict: see *supra*, 53 and Table 2.2.3. See also Roullet (1972, 19), who notes that "Roman Egyptomania inspired a new taste for coloured stones not used, or used only at an early period, in Egypt itself. The Romans were the first to use the Egyptian red porphyry, never worked in Egypt […] Dark coloured marble, from Greece or Italy, was much in favour, especially in Hadrian's time. It was a cheaper substitute for Egyptian stones and was easier to work"; cf. Müskens (2014b) 127-128 with n. 12.

Egyptian greywacke and granodiorite in general terms of colour, and more specifically the white and yellowish calcitic veining that is sometimes observed in these marbles is reminiscent of the feldspar phenocrysts that commonly occur in Aswan granodiorites. As such, the *bigio antico* from which the baboon from the Iseum Campense is made can probably be understood as a substitute for Egyptian granodiorite from which the two Late Period baboons were made, which likely served as a model for the former sculpture.[439]

2.2.1 Conclusions

The important question that follows from the preceding discussion is what the different material choices implied for Roman perceptions of these so-called Egyptian objects. For example, while all three sculptures of baboons from the Iseum Campense share iconographical and stylistic similarities, were the two Late Period baboons that represent Thoth in Aswan granodiorite regarded differently than their Roman Imperial counterpart in an Egyptian-looking stone that originated from elsewhere? Although not every Roman viewer would have had this particular knowledge, we can reasonably assume that Egyptian materials could be distinguished from those originating from elsewhere, at least by some viewers, as the discussion on Roman appreciations of stones has demonstrated.[440] Did this influence the way in which the objects in question were perceived?

Such questions are difficult to answer in the absence of contemporary Roman viewer responses. As demonstrated in section IV.2.1.3 above, objects carved from naturally coloured stones could signal ideas of otherness and perhaps Egyptianness, in particular in combination with other distinctly 'un-Roman' object parameters like conceptual styles and specific subject matters. It is evident that the Roman-made statue of the baboon *looks* distinctly Egyptian, as attested by the specific combination between, on the one hand, the natural colouration of the stone from which it is made, which, as argued above, resembles Aswan granodiorite in terms of colour and texture, and, on the other hand, its stylistic, thematic, and iconographical object parameters. Since the baboon in *bigio antico* from the Iseum Campense is part of a series of statues of baboons carved out of this stone, which were all manufactured at a later date than the two typologically and stylistically similar Late Period baboons in Aswan granodiorite,[441] it could be that the grey colour of *bigio antico* had become conceptually linked to the particular iconographical scheme of a baboon seated on a base executed in a conceptual style, and that the Egyptian background of the materials that previously had been used for the production of typologically and stylistically similar sculptures was gradually concealed. Since there are no indications to confirm that the Egyptian authenticity of stone materials played a role in Roman perceptions of the objects that we call Aegyptiaca,[442]

439. Cf. Gregarek (1999, 111): "In dieses Jahrhundert [i.e., 2nd century AD, Hadrianic and Antonine periods] datieren die meisten Darstellungen ägyptischer Gottheiten, die überwiegend die schwarzen „Ersatzmarmore" Nero und Bigio antico sowie Bigio morato verwendeten und damit, einfacher zu beschaffen und zu bearbeiten, den vorzugsweise im 1. Jahrhundert verwendeten Basalt und Granit ablösten". In similar vein, the occasional use of *rosso antico* (from the Mani Peninsula, Greece) for the production of objects that we call Aegyptiaca in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD can perhaps be understood as a substitute for pink Aswan granite (or to imitate the effect of coppery bronze?: Gregarek 2002, 206, cf. *supra*, n. 255). Relevant examples in *rosso antico* include: 1). Statue of Antinous in Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, inv. Gl. WAF 24 (reign of Hadrian; from the Villa Hadriana?; Grenier 1989, 966 with n. 78 and pl. 37; cf. Roullet 1972, 86 no. 98: "cut in red marble to imitate some Egyptian dark stone"). 2). A bust of an Isis priest in Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. 1214/S (reign of Hadrian, from the Villa Hadriana?; *Iside* 1997, 418-420 V.39 [S. Ensoli]). 3-4). Two naophoros statues in a private collection, one of them inscribed with pseudo-hieroglyphs (3rd century AD, said to be from Rome, Campo dei Fiori; *Marmi colorati* 2002, 344-345 no. 46-47 [D. Del Bufalo]). On substitution stones, see *supra*, section II.2.2.2.

440. See *supra*, section II.2.2.

441. Cf. *supra*, n. 428.

442. According to recent translations, an inscription on the north face of Domitian's obelisk on Piazza Navona would add the word 'true', or 'real' to specify the granite from which it is made: "He [i.e., Domitian] has erected this obelisk in *real* granite for his father Re-Horakhty […]" (my italics). This translation was first suggested by Grenier (1987, 939 with n. 7), and it was later followed by Lembke (1994, 211) and Darwall-Smith (1996, 146). However, according to a recent reading by Prof. O.E. Kaper, the relevant passage is ambiguous and the suggested translation speculative (pers. comm. 5 April 2016). Kaper agrees instead with an earlier reading by Erman (1917, 19; later followed in Malaise 1972a, 205 n. 2), according to which the passage *m inr m3t* ("of granite stone") is followed by *mḥ*, which translates as "2 ¼ cubits high" and should be a reference to the dimensions of the obelisk. However, since the obelisk is ca. 16.5 m high, and the dimensions in the passage correspond to ca. 1.13 m, it cannot refer to the height of the obelisk, as Erman already observed;

and as the three sculptures were probably on display in the same use-context, is it possible, then, that the Roman baboon, like the two 'originals' from Late Period Egypt, evoked similar associations through their specific object parameters, regardless of the different geological provenance of the stones from which these respective statues were carved?

Moreover, if certain objects were able to evoke particular associations of otherness and Egyptianness through specific object parameters, what about artefacts with different properties? As the analysis in section IV.1.2.6 has shown, most objects depicting Isis and Sarapis contrast sharply in materials used and stylistic execution with Egyptian objects that were transported to Rome and the aforementioned Roman emulations. Because of the white marble from which artefacts portraying Isis and Sarapis are carved and their naturalistic stylistic execution, these objects have much in common with representations of other, 'quintessentially Roman' deities, like Venus or Jupiter. Indeed, it is often only through the presence of particular attributes or iconographical details that such statues can be identified as Isis and Sarapis with certainty.[443] Could it be, then, that the specific material and stylistic properties of objects representing Isis and Sarapis evoked associations that were not so much about the 'foreign' and the Egyptian 'other' as that they were about the 'familiar', essentially Roman 'self' instead, and that they were perceived accordingly by their Roman viewers? In other words, did these objects affect Roman viewers differently than the aforementioned Egyptian imports and Roman-made emulations *because* they were made from white marble and were executed in naturalistic styles (regardless of their originally Egyptian subject matters)?

In a recent contribution, Mol has pointed out that the emphatically Roman visual appearance of statues of the originally Egyptian goddess Isis was by no means exceptional in the Roman world.[444] The Roman pantheon included other 'foreign' gods, like Cybele and Ceres, and they too were often represented in white marble and naturalistic styles, that is, like essentially 'Roman' or 'familiar' deities. Mol hypothesises that this might be linked to the fact that such sculptures were actually venerated in religious practices, in contrast to the numerous Egyptian imports that, according to her, would have mainly served to create a distinctly Egyptian *decorum*. Therefore, while certain different, 'un-Roman' elements were retained, perhaps for reasons of what the author calls ritual necessity, the incorporation of non-local elements into the Roman cults of Isis would have had its limits. Considering this, Mol wonders if it "could be that this goddess [i.e., Isis] had to remain recognisable and accessible in order to be venerated by Romans, and that therefore she could not be portrayed in Egyptian granite and in an Egyptian style?".[445]

This cognitive approach is interesting to conclude the present discussion, not only because it provides a hypothesis for the striking absence of Isis statues in coloured hardstones and conceptual styles in Rome and the Roman world,[446] or because it may help in explaining the predominant material and stylistic

according to Kaper the relevant passage might refer to the width of the shaft's base. For an assessment of the relevance of concepts of authenticity for Roman understandings of the objects that we call Aegyptiaca in general, see Swetnam-Burland (2007), esp. 114-119; for Domitian's obelisk, cf. *supra*, 190-191 no. 089.

443. Consequently, problems arise if distinctive features are not available, as the problematic identification of the so-called Venus Esquilina effectively illustrates (*supra*, 110 no. 028, and n. 100).

444. Mol (2014), esp. 114-117.

445. My translation; original quotation in Dutch (Mol 2014, 117): "Zou het zo kunnen zijn dat deze godin [i.e., Isis] herkenbaar en toegankelijk moest blijven om echt aanbeden te kunnen worden door Romeinen, en dat zij juist daarom niet van Egyptisch graniet en in Egyptische stijl kon worden weergegeven?".

446. This observation, already made by Mol (2014, 115 and 2015b, 105), is supported by the results of this study. The sculptures in the studied sample that are invariably identified as representations of the goddess Isis are consistently made from white marble and in naturalistic styles. In the case of statues with other material and stylistic characteristics, the identification of the subject matter as Isis is either contested (*supra*, 262-263 no. 125; moreover, the dimensions of this particular statuette argue against a function as cult statue) or speculative, at best (*supra*, 280-281 no. 134). An Isis statue found in 1642 in the area of the Iseum Campense may be an exception: according to contemporary viewers, it was made of Egyptian stone, which, as Lembke (1994, 230-231 E23) suggests, may be Egyptian (coloured) hardstone. However, this suggestion cannot be verified since the present whereabouts of the statue are unknown. A similar trend can be observed at other sites than Rome. There are a few Egyptian imports that are believed to represent Isis in coloured stones and conceptual styles; however, like with the examples from Rome, the identification as Isis is not always evident. These examples include a small head of a statuette of Isis and a fragment of a statuette of the enthroned goddess (?) from Benevento (both Ptolemaic) (Müller 1969, 57-58 no. 261 and 111-112, respectively); a headless bust of Isis (?) from Cumae (late Ptolemaic) (*Egittomania* 2006, 83 no. II.12 [E. Nuzzo]), another headless bust of Isis from Ohrid (Ptolemaic), and a head of Isis from Florence, dated to the Late Period (*Iside* 1997, 483 no. V.141 [M.C. Guidotti]).

configuration of architectural elements in the studied corpus,[447] but also because it once more emphasises the way in which objects are capable of affecting their viewers in different ways, in particular through their material and stylistic characteristics. Therefore, while we often still categorise artefacts carved from white marble and executed in naturalistic styles that portray deities like Isis and Sarapis, who had become part and parcel of the Roman pantheon, as Aegyptiaca, or, more specifically, as Egyptianising artefacts, and thereby presume from the onset that such objects were perceived as quintessentially 'Egyptian' by Romans, a bottom-up, object-centred perspective indicates that they could signal many other things than 'Egyptianness' or 'otherness' to their Roman viewers, including notions about the (Roman) 'self'.

447. The analysis in section IV.1.2.5 has shown that the large majority of architectural objects is carved out of white marble and executed in conceptual styles, as opposed to marble statuary that nearly always occurs in combination with naturalistic styles. If the marble architectural reliefs were part of the walls of sanctuaries dedicated to Isis and Sarapis and therefore functioned in religious settings, as is usually presumed, and if they had to retain a certain familiarity to remain conceivable by Roman viewers, as Mol suggests, then their execution in coloured hardstones may have been one conceptual step too far away for Romans. This might help explain the scarcity of architectural elements in coloured materials of Egyptian origin and with conceptual styles, which is the most notable difference between the corpora of Egyptian imports in Rome and Alexandria (cf. *supra*, n. 409). The use of white marble for architectural elements may have prevented their agency from becoming too strong and hence inconceivable, while their execution in conceptual styles may have contributed to the religious apartness that is needed to enable religious experience (cf. Mol 2015b, 97-105). This notion warrants further research.

Outlook

Current approaches to so-called Aegyptiaca are often still plagued by top-down projections of modern definitions and understandings of Egypt and Egyptian material culture onto the Roman world. This has resulted in persistent monolithic views that consider Egyptian and Egyptian-looking artefacts as representations of Egyptian culture. This is particularly evident in the overarching interpretations that have been put forward to account for these objects, which are typically expressed in binary oppositions, such as authentic versus copy, religious versus exotic, and understanding versus misunderstanding. Central to these views and the interpretations that result from them is the fact that the Roman meaning of these artefacts would be essentially determined by their *Egyptianness*. However, this is problematic, because such interpretations often say more about modern understandings of Egyptian material culture than about Roman ones. We have singled out *Egyptianness* as the most important characteristic of artefacts that we believe to be somehow associated with Egypt and, subsequently, we presume that Romans maintained the same criteria to understand them. Therefore, traditional approaches complicate a bottom-up assessment of *Roman* understandings of the objects that *we* call Aegyptiaca and that *we* have reduced to mere Egyptian meanings.

By redirecting questions of what these objects mean to what they do and how they were capable to affect Roman viewers, this study has aimed to move beyond monolithic and essentially modern interpretations of so-called Aegyptiaca as cultural representations of Egypt. As such, this 'beyond representation' approach aimed to work towards more flexible and specifically Roman understandings of material culture, in which our ethnically and/or culturally defined categories collapse, as the assessment of the premises underlying current understandings of Aegyptiaca has demonstrated. Despite the different perspectives and approaches that this book has addressed, it focuses on a single message: we should study the objects that we call Aegyptiaca in their own right, without reducing them from the onset to fixed (Egyptian) meanings. I have proposed in this particular study that, in order to assess the associations that so-called Aegyptiaca were able to evoke, we need a more integrated approach, one that also accommodates the physicality of these objects, which has remained underexplored in view of the strong reliance on their representational aspects. Starting from this novel focus on the stone materials of a selection of Aegyptiaca Romana, the material data were subsequently studied in relation to other object parameters that have traditionally received more attention, like subject matter and style. In doing so, the structural complexities of these objects were unravelled through an analysis of the internal relationships between their various properties, all of which, by themselves or in relation to others, may have contributed to their particular impact. This demonstrates that the category of objects that we usually call Aegyptiaca comprises clusters of artefacts with distinctly different material and stylistic properties, which appear to be closely associated with these objects' date of manufacture, provenance, object categories, and, albeit with more diversity, particular subject matters. Egyptian imports and their Roman emulations stand out through their atypical material profile and their consistent execution in conceptual styles, while a second group of Roman productions combines white marble with either naturalistic or conceptual styles, depending on their respective object types and subject matters. These two predominant clusters largely correspond to the so-called Egyptian and Egyptianising subdivisions of Aegyptiaca that prevail in existing literature. However, rather than explaining the observed differences in simplistic (and etic) oppositions like understanding versus misunderstanding, I have argued that their distinctly different material and stylistic configurations affected the associations that these artefacts were able to evoke: they mattered from a Roman perspective. *Egyptianness* may have been among these associations, but these objects were able to do much more by means of their specific characteristics. Material choice appears to have been an important factor in the selection of Egyptian artefacts for transport to Rome. Through their specific materiality, these objects were capable of communicating notions of luxury, prestige, and

strangeness or exoticism to Roman viewers. At the same time, the materials of Egyptian imports enhanced their stylistic and thematic execution in their alterity and otherness, in contrast to Roman productions made out of white marble and executed in naturalistic styles, which, by means of their specific material and characteristic properties, may have signalled familiarity as part of the Roman 'self'.

While these are undoubtedly only a few of the associations that so-called Aegyptiaca were able to evoke, they nevertheless illustrate that aprioristic reductions of these objects to Egyptian meanings by definition entail an oversimplification of how these objects were perceived by Romans. I have suggested that, in order to assess the ways in which these objects were possibly relevant to Romans, it is useful to start by making the physical properties of artefacts and their interrelations central to our investigation, since these are powerful agents that are able to affect human behaviour. Yet, at the same time, this study shows how difficult it is to go from the physicality of the studied objects to wider patterns of behaviour that they enforce and, as such, how difficult it is to give specific answers to questions of *how* these objects were perceived and *what* they did exactly, and herein lies an important challenge for future research.

This book has focused on the social and historical context in which so-called Aegyptiaca were used and perceived in its broadest sense, namely, the Roman world. However, the ways people perceive things are always in flux. Therefore, we cannot really speak about 'the Roman understandings' of the totality of objects that we associate with Egypt, since there will have been many different perceptions, depending on the specific socio-historical and functional contexts in which these artefacts were used and viewed. To gain closer insight into these various Roman understandings of the studied objects, contextual analysis is as important as it is notoriously difficult. This study has taken a first step towards a contextual analysis by only including artefacts with known find locations. A more in-depth analysis of the functioning of these objects in their Roman use-contexts may help to address questions of how exactly these objects were used and which associations were capitalised upon. Therefore, contextual specification should be considered as an important next step to further break down the persistent view that these objects would (only) represent something Egyptian. Ultimately, this also implies breaking down the isolation that a focus on the seemingly coherent category of Aegyptiaca by definition entails. Only through assessing the working relations between all objects that inhabited the same environment, including those that we do not associate with Egypt and which we therefore call, for instance, Roman or Greek, can we work towards an object-centred, bottom-up perspective that studies material culture in its own right, and can we truly move 'beyond representation'.

Appendices

A. Excerpt of Winckelmann's letter to Philipp von Stosch (Rome, 10 April 1761)[448]

"In der ersten Classe der Kunst der Egypter sind zwei verschiedene Stile zu merken; der Aeltere und der Nachfolgende; und zum Dritten finden sich Nachahmungen Egyptischer Werke: von allen drei Arten werde ich die vornemste Werke anzeigen. Der ältere Stil hat vermuthlich gedauret bis zur Eroberung des Cambyses, und der nachfolgende und spätere ist von der Zeit der Persischen und nachher der Griechischen Regierung über Egypten; in beiden ist zum Ersten die Bildung, Zweitens die Zeichnung und Drittens die Bekleidung der Figuren zu betrachten. In dem älteren Stil scheinet die Bildung des Gesichts zum Theil nach der Natur genommen, noch mehr aber nach ein angenommes Systema geformet zu sein. Die Köpfe haben alle eine den Sinesen ähnliche Bildung durch die platte und schräg gezogene Augen, und durch den aufwerts gezogenen Schnitt des Mundes: das Kinn ist kleinlich, und das Oval der Form des Gesichts ist dadurch unvollkommen. Daß man angenommenen Regeln und nicht bloß nach der Natur gearbeitet, zeiget die Form sonderlich der Füße, deren Zehen einen geringeren Abfall in der Länge mit einander haben, als es sich in der Natur findet, und dieses erscheinet noch deutlicher in der Zeichnung des Ganzen. Die Zeichnung der Figuren dieses Aelteren Stils ist völlig Idealisch: sie bestehet mehrentheils aus geraden Linien, welche wenig ausschweifen oder sich senken; es find Muskeln und Knochen wenig, Nerven aber und Adern gar nicht angedeutet. Der Stand dieser Figuren ist bekannt.

Die Bekleidung an Männlichen Figuren ist ein Schurz um den Unterleib; an Weiblichen Figuren ist dieselbe nur durch einen hervor springenden Rand an den Beinen und am Halse angedeutet, und die Anzeige der Kleidung dienet der Einbildung, sich dieselbe vorzustellen, wo sie an dem übrigen Körper gar nicht sichtbar ist. Die vornemste Figur dieses Stils ist Männlich und sitzend, von Alabaster welcher bei Theben gebrochen wurde, und ist größer als die Natur: der Stuhl auf welchem sie sitzet, ist ohne der Lehne, 4 Palme hoch, welches die Größe derselben mit anzeigen kann, und hinten und vorne am Stuhle stehen hieroglyphen.[449] *Ferner ist ein Anubis von Granit in Lebensgröße anzuführen, mit einem Kopfe welcher zu gleich etwas von einem Löwen, von einer Katze und vom Hunde hat: der Hinter-Kopf ist mit einer Egyptischen Haube bedecket, und auf dem Kopfe erhebet sich ein sogenannter Nimbus einen Palm hoch. Es befindet sich auch hier unter andern eine mit untergeschlagenen Beinen auf die Knie sitzende Weibliche Figur, in Lebensgröße, von schwarzen Granite, welche drei kleine erhoben gearbeitete Figuren vor sich hält. Derjenige welcher sie für den Athanas. Kircher in seinem Egyptischen Oedipo gezeichnet, hat sich begnüget, an statt dreier Figuren nur eine einzige zu sehen. Es stand dieses Werck ehemahls zu Rignano, auf der Straße nach Loretto.*

Der folgende und spätere Stil der Egyptischen Kunst ist von dem Aelteren Stile sehr verschieden, welches billig hätte von denen sollen bemerket worden seyn, die sich unterfangen haben, von der Kunst dieses Volks zu schreiben. Es ist zu glauben, daß die Egyptische Künstler unter der Persischen Regierung, da sie mehr Verkehr mit den Griechen als vorher hatten, sonderlich aber nachher unter den Königen aus Griechischen Geblüte, die Werke der Kunst von Griechischen Künstlern nachzuahmen angefangen haben. Und dieses sehen wir Erstlich in der Bildung, die in den Köpfen der Figuren dieses Stils den Griechischen Köpfen ähnlicher kommt; auch Hände und Füße sind mehr nach der Natur gebildet. In der Villa, von welcher wir reden [i.e. Villa Albani, where Winckelmann resided to study the Cardinal's collections of antiquities], sind zwar Statuen aus dieser Zeit, aber ohne eigene Köpfe, Hände und Füße, und ich muß hier zum Beweiß eine weibliche Figur von Basalt und unter Lebensgröße im Campidoglio anführen. Was die Zeichnung betrifft, so ist dieselbe an den mehresten Statuen nicht verschieden von dem ältesten Stile, an einigen aber ist es der Stand. In der Bekleidung aber ist ein mercklicher Unterschied: denn Erstlich zeiget sich an den Weiblichen Figuren dieser Art ein Unterkleid von leichten Zeuge, welches über die Hüften kann angeleget seyn, und ein anderes welches

448. Quotation from Winckelmann (1954) 135-137 no. 400.

449. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. A22 (*supra*, 256-257 no. 122).

wie ein Oberhembde ist, und die Brüste bedecket bis am Halfe; ferner ein Rock mit kurzen Ermeln, welcher bis unter die Brüste gehet, und außerdem ein Mantel. Dieser ist an einer Figur in Lebensgröße dieser Villa an zwei feiner Enden über die Schultern gezogen; das eine Ende ist um die eine Brust unten herum genommen und mit dem andern Ende zwischen den Brüsten zusammen gebunden, so daß zugleich der Rock unter die Brüste durch dieses Band gehalten, und in die Höhe gezogen wird. Hierdurch ziehen sich an dem Rocke Falten, welche aufwerts von beyden Seiten, auf den Lenden und Beinen gezogen werden, und von den Brüsten herunter hängen zwischen den Beinen ein paar senkrechte Falten. Diese Figuren sind ohne Hieroglyphen.

Die Nachahmungen Egyptischer Werke sind zur Zeit Kayser Hadrians gemachet, und leicht zu kennen, so wohl an der Bildung, als an der Zeichnung und Kleidung. Die schönsten Werke dieser Art in dieser Villa sind zwo Weibliche Figuren in schwarzen Marmor, und eine Männliche Figur in Roßo antico, an welcher die Beine und Arme noch nicht ergänzet sind. Diese scheinet einen Egyptischen Antinous vor zustellen, wie der fälschlich sogenannte Götze von weißen Marmor im Campidoglio; ja die zwo große Statuen von röthlichen Granite zu Tivoli sind nichts anders als Statuen dieses Lieblings, welches ich in der Geschichte der Kunst, wider die gemeine Meinung, zu erweisen suchen werde".

B. Selected Greek and Latin sources

Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 1.8.2 (on Megarian and Pentelic marble statues, from Megara and Mount Pentelikon respectively, and the suitability of statuary for certain use-contexts; translation D.R. Shackleton Bailey):

"I have paid L. Cincius the HS 20,400 for the Megarian statues in accordance with your earlier letter. I am already quite enchanted with your Pentelic herms with the bronze heads, about which you write to me, so please send them and the statues and any other things you think would do credit to the place in question and to my enthusiasm and to your good taste, as many and as soon as possible, especially any you think suitable to a lecture hall and colonnade"

Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 1.9.2 (on statues in Megarian marble, translation D.R. Shackleton Bailey):

"I am eagerly expecting the Megarian statues and the herms you wrote to me about. Anything you may have of the same sort which you think suitable for the Academy, don't hesitate to send it and trust my purse […] Things that are specially suitable for a lecture hall are what I want"

Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 12.35 (on laws prohibiting the excessive private use of imported stones; translation D.R. Shackleton Bailey):

"Before I left your house a little while ago it never occurred to me that a fine has to be paid on a monument equal to the excess of the expenditure over the legal maximum, whatever that is"

Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 13.6.1 (on the imposition of taxes on marble columns by Julius Caesar in 45 BC; translation D.R. Shackleton Bailey):

"You have done quite right about the aqueduct. I think you may find that I am not liable to any pillar tax, though I fancy I heard from Camillus that the law has been changed"

***Codex Theodosianus* 10.19.2** (Imperial decree of Justinian of 363 AD allowing private citizens to open new stone quarries; translation C. Pharr):

"Emperor Julian Augustus to Rufinus, Count of the Orient. Since the desire for marble has enormously increased the price of such stone, in order that this expensive wish may be alleviated by an abundant supply, We permit that all men who wish to quarry shall have the license granted to them. For We consider that the result will be that very many veins of glistening stone will also come to light and into use. Given on the eleventh day before the kalends of November at Antioch in the year of the fourth consulship of Julian Augustus and the consulship of Sallustius – October 22, 363"

***Codex Theodosianus* 10.19.13** (Imperial decree of Arcadius of 393 AD prohibiting private citizens from quarrying marble; translation C. Pharr):

"The same Augustuses to Rufinus, Praetorian Prefect. We command that the hands of private persons shall be prohibited from operating any marble quarry whatever, so that the prosecution of such operations may be more freely indulged on fiscal lands. But if any person, working secretly, should hereafter attempt such operations, all that he may cut out shall be vindicated to the ownership of the fisc and of the public. Given on the day before the ides of February at Constantinople in the year of the third consulship of Theodosius Augustus and the consulship of Abundantius – February 12, 393"

***Codex Theodosianus* 11.28.9** (remission of taxes for everyone except marble contractors located near Constantinople, issued in 414 AD; translation C. Pharr):

"The same Augustuses to Anthemius, Praetorian Prefect. Throughout all the provinces of the Orient from the eleventh year of the indiction of Valens up to the fifth year of the indiction just completed, namely, for forty years, that is, from the year of the consulship of the sainted Valens Augustus to the time of the seventh consulship of My most invincible uncle Honorius

and My second consulship, We grant the remission of delinquent taxes of all general tax accounts, with equal balance, to the decurions as well as to the private and patrimonial taxpayers, and also to the taxpayers of the divine imperial household, for every right subject to State service, likewise for the accounts due for cellar supplies, with the exception of the accounts due from the taxpayers of the mines and quarries of the three districts, Docimeum, Proconnesus, and the Troad, whether such taxes are due as payments in kind or bronze or money or gold or silver, so that none of these payments shall be due to the State storehouses or the chest of the prefect or to Our treasury. For the time following, the tax payments due from the sixth year of the indiction to the present twelfth year shall be reserved for needs as they arise. Given on the fifth day before the ides of April at Constantinople in the year of the consulship of Constantius and Constans – April 9, 414"

Dio Cassius 56.30.3-4 (on Augustus' saying that he found Rome built of brick and left it in marble; translation E. Cary):

"He did not thereby refer literally to the appearance of its buildings, but rather to the strength of the empire"

Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses* 79.2 (on *africano* from Teos, Turkey, *cipollino* from Euboea, Karystos/Styra, Greece, *pavonazzetto*/white marble from Dokimeion, Turkey; translation H. Lamar Crosby):

"And again, if there were utility in beautifully coloured and variegated marbles, the same statement could be made about the cities of Teos and Carystus, as well as about certain Egyptian and Phrygian cities in whose vicinity the mountains are of variegated stone—in fact, I hear that among their sarcophagi the very ancient ones are of this same rock—yet, for all that, they are no better or more fortunate than any of the very lowly and pitiful cities"

Juvenal, *Satires* 14.305-308 (on statues and columns made from Phrygian stone, i.e. *pavonazzetto*/white marble from Dokimeion, Turkey; translation S. Morton Braund)

"The millionaire Licinus stations his fire buckets and tells his cohort of slaves to keep watch through the night, terrified for his amber and statues and columns of Phrygian marble and ivory and plaques of tortoiseshell"

Livy, 6.4.12 (on the *magnificentia* of buildings in imported stones; translation B.O. Foster):

"That same year, that the City might not grow in private buildings only, the Capitol was provided with a substructure of hewn stone, a work which even amidst the present splendours of the City is deserving of remark"

Livy, 42.3.1-11 (the first recorded import of marble to Rome in 173 BC by the censor Quintus Fulvius Flaccus; translation E.T. Sage and A.C. Schlesinger):

"In the same year the temple of Juno Lacinia was stripped of its roof. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus as censor was building the temple to Fortuna Equestris which he had vowed while praetor in Spain during the Celtiberian war, striving zealously that there should be no temple in Rome larger or more splendid. Considering that it would add great beauty to the temple if the roof tiles were of marble, he set out for Bruttium and stripped the temple of Juno Lacinia of its tiles up to half their number, thinking that these would be sufficient to cover the building which was now being erected. Ships were made ready to load and transport them, the inhabitants being prevented by the censor's high office from forbidding the sacrilege. When the censor returned the tiles were unloaded from the ships and were being taken to the temple. Although nothing was said as to where they were obtained, yet such an act could not be concealed. There was accordingly an outcry in the senate: from all sides the demand was made that the consuls should lay the question before that body. But when the censor was summoned and entered the senatehouse, one and all assailed him to his face far more violently: the most venerable shrine of that region, a shrine which neither Pyrrhus nor Hannibal had violated, he had not been content with violating but had shamefully robbed it of its covering and well-nigh destroyed it. The top, they said, had been torn from the temple and the bare framing laid open to be rotted by the rains. Was it for this, they demanded, that a censor was chosen to control behaviour? That the magistrate to whom had been entrusted, in the fashion of the forefathers, the duty of enforcing the repair of public shrines and of

contracting for their maintenance, was himself roving through the cities of the allies plundering the temples and stripping off the roofs of sacred edifices! A thing, they continued, which might well seem unworthy if done to private buildings of the allies, he was doing when he destroyed the temples of the immortal gods, and fastening upon the Roman people the guilt of impiety, building temples with the ruins of temples, just as if the immortal gods were not the same everywhere, but that some should be worshipped and adorned with the spoils of others! When it was clear, before the vote was taken, what the sentiment of the Fathers was, when the motion was put, all unanimously decreed that a contract should be let for carrying the tiles back to the temple and that atonements should be offered to Juno. Those matters which concerned expiation were scrupulously performed; the contractors reported that the tiles had been left in the court of the temple because no workman could devise a plan for replacing them"

Lucian, *Hippias, or the Bath* 5-6 (description of a Roman bath house that contains *serpentino* from Krokees, Greece, *pavonazzetto* from Dokimeion, Turkey, and *giallo antico* from Chemtou, Tunisia; translation A.M. Harmon):

"The entrance is high, with a flight of broad steps of which the tread is greater than the pitch, to make them easy to ascend. On entering, one is received into a public hall of good size, with ample accommodations for servants and attendants. On the left are the lounging-rooms, also of just the right sort for a bath, attractive, brightly lighted retreats. Then, beside them, a hall, larger than need be for the purposes of a bath, but necessary for the reception of the rich. Next, capacious locker-rooms to undress in, on each side, with a very high and brilliantly lighted hall between them, in which are three swimming-pools of cold water; it is finished in Laconian marble, and has two statues of white marble in the ancient technique, one of Hygieia, the other of Aesculapius.

On leaving this hall, you come into another which is slightly warmed instead of meeting you at once with fierce heat; it is oblong, and has an apse at each side. Next it, on the right, is a very bright hall, nicely fitted up for massage, which has on each side an entrance decorated with Phrygian marble, and receives those who come in from the exercising-floor. Then near this is another hall, the most beautiful in the world, in which one can sit or stand with comfort, linger without danger and stroll about with profit. It also is refulgent with Phrygian marble clear to the roof. Next comes the hot corridor, faced with Numidian marble. The hall beyond it is very beautiful, full of abundant light and aglow with colour like that of purple hangings. It contains three hot tubs"

Martial, *Epigrams* 1.88.1-7 (on Parian marble, translation D.R. Shackleton Bailey):

"Alcimus, whom snatched from your master in your burgeoning years the Labican soil covers with light turf, take no tottering masses of Parian stone, gifts of vain labor doomed to fall, but take, my dear boy, boxwood easily shaped and the vine's dim shade and green meadows dewy with my tears, memorials of my sorrow"

Martial, *Epigrams* 8.55.6-10 (Martial on a Numidian lion in Rome's Colosseum and its comparison to the colours of the marble from the animal's homeland, *marmor Numidicum*, i.e. *giallo antico*; translation D.R. Shackleton Bailey):

"He was but one, but one before whose rule the very lions would tremble, to whom marble-painted Numidia would give a diadem. When his curving mane stood erect, what beauty, what dignity did its golden shadow shed over his neck!"

Ovid, *The art of love* 3.125 (on the increasing demand for marble around the beginning of the 1st century AD; translation J.H. Mozley):

"mountains diminish as the marble is dug from them"

Paulus Silentiarius, *Description of Hagia Sophia* 617-663 (on the marble decoration on the walls and pavings of the restored church of Hagia Sophia under Justinian in 573 AD and on the effect caused by its sight; translation Mango 1972, 85-86):

"Yet who, even in the thundering strains of Homer, shall sing the marble meadows gathered upon the mighty walls and spreading pavement of the lofty church?

Mining [tools of] toothed steel have cut these from the green flanks of Carystus and have left the speckled Phrygian stone, sometimes rosy mixed with white, sometimes gleaming with purple and silver flowers. There is a wealth of porphyry stone, too, besprinkled with little bright stars that had laden the river-boat on the broad Nile. You may see the bright green stone of Laconia and the glittering marble with wavy veins found in the deep gullies of the Iasian peaks, exhibiting slanting streaks of blood-red and livid white; the pale yellow with swirling red from the Lydian headland; the glittering crocus-like golden stone which the Libyan sun, warming it with its golden light, has produced on the steep flanks of the Moorish hills; that of glittering black upon which the Celtic crags, deep in ice, have poured here and there an abundance of milk; the pale onyx with glint of precious metal; and that which the land of Atrax yields, not from some upland glen, but from the level plain: in parts vivid green not unlike emerald, in others of a darker green, almost blue. It has spots resembling snow next to flashes of black so that in one stone various beauties mingle"

Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 1.18.6 (describing the Olympieion in Athens; translation W.H.S. Jones):

"Before the entrance to the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus—Hadrian the Roman emperor dedicated the temple and the statue, one worth seeing, which in size exceeds all other statues save the colossi at Rhodes and Rome, and is made of ivory and gold with an artistic skill which is remarkable when the size is taken into account—before the entrance, I say, stand statues of Hadrian, two of Thasian stone, two of Egyptian. Before the pillars stand bronze statues which the Athenians call "colonies"

Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 3.21.4 (on the quarries of *serpentino* at Krokees, Greece; translation W.H.S. Jones):

"As you go down to the sea towards Gythium you come to a village called Croceae and a quarry. It is not a continuous stretch of rock, but the stones they dig out are shaped like river pebbles; they are hard to work, but when worked sanctuaries of the gods might be adorned with them, while they are especially adapted for beautifying swimming-baths and fountains"

Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 8.24.12 (on the use of black stone for statues of the Nile; translation W.H.S. Jones):

"The images of all rivers except the Nile in Egypt are made of white marble; but the images of the Nile, because it descends to the sea through Aethiopia, they are accustomed to make of black stone"

Pliny, *Natural History* 34.16.34 (on the introduction of marble sculpture in Italy after the conquest of Asia in 189 BC: cf. *NH* 33.53.148; translation H. Rackham):

"And it seems to me surprising that although the initiation of statuary in Italy dates so far back, the images of the gods dedicated in the shrines should have been more usually of wood or terracotta right down to the conquest of Asia, which introduced luxury here"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.1.2-3 (criticism on the use of marble and corruption of his time; translation D.E. Eichholz):

"Headlands are laid open to the sea, and nature is flattened. We remove the barriers created to serve as the boundaries of nations, and ships are built specially for marble. And so, over the waves of the sea, Nature's wildest element, mountain ranges are transported to and fro, and even then with greater justification than we can find for climbing to the clouds in search of vessels to keep our drinks cool, and for hollowing out rocks that almost reach the heavens, so that we may drink from ice. When we hear of the prices paid for these vessels, when we see the masses of marble that are being conveyed or hauled, we should each of us reflect, and at the same time think how much more happily many people live without them. That men should do such things, or rather endure them, for no purpose or pleasure except to lie amid spotted marbles, just as if these delights were not taken from us by the darkness of night, which is half our life's span!"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.2.6 (on the import of 360 columns of Lucullean marble, i.e. *africano*, by the aedil M. Aemilius Scaurus in 58 BC to embellish an ephemeral theatre and subsequent transportation of some of these columns to the aedil's private home; translation D.E. Eichholz):

"In the aedileship of Marcus Scaurus there was the spectacle of 360 columns being taken to the stage of an improvised theatre that was intended to be used barely for a month, and the laws were silent. Of course, it was the official pleasures of the community for which some allowance was being made by our laws. But why should this, of all excuses, have been made? Or what route is more commonly taken by vices in their surreptitious approach than the official one? How else have ivory, gold and precious stones come to be used in private life? Or what have we left entirely to the gods? Very well; some allowance was being made for the pleasures of the community. Were not the laws silent also when the largest of those columns, which were each fully 38 feet long and of Lucullean marble, were placed in the hall of Scaurus' house? And there was no secrecy or concealment. A sewer contractor forced Scaurus to give him security against possible damage to the drains when the columns were being hauled to the Palatine. Would it not have been more expedient, therefore, when so harmful a precedent was being set, to afford some security for our morals? The laws were still silent when these great masses of marble were dragged to a private house past the earthenware pediments of temples!"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.3.7-8 (on the first occurrence in Rome of white marble from Mount Hymettos in Greece, 95 BC, also the first occurrence of marble in a private home; translation D.E. Eichholz):

"the orator Lucius Crassus, having been the first to install, also on the Palatine, columns of foreign marble, columns which were after all merely of Hymettus marble and not more than six in number or more than 12 feet each in length, was in consequence nicknamed by Marcus Brutus the Palatine Venus"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.4.14 (on Parian marble and Luna marble from Carrara, Italy; translation D.E. Eichholz):

"All these artists used only white marble from the island of Paros, a stone which they proceeded to call 'lychnites', since, according to Varro, it was quarried in galleries by the light of oil lamps. However, many whiter varieties have been discovered since their time, some indeed only recently, as is the case with the Luna quarries"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.5.44-45 (on the Greek appreciation of stone materials, and on white Thasian marble and *bigio antico* from Lesbos; translation D.E. Eichholz):

"in those times no value was attached to marble with markings. Apart from the marble of the Cyclades, sculptors worked in that of Thasos, which rivals it, and of Lesbos, which has a slightly more bluish tinge. Markings of various colours and decorations of marble in general are first mentioned by that most accurate exponent of the details of high living, Menander, and even he rarely alludes to them. Marble columns were certainly used in temples, not, however, as an embellishment, since embellishments as such were not yet appreciated, but merely because there was no way of erecting stronger columns"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.5.46 (on the prestige of marble and Chian marble, i.e. *portasanta*; translation D.E. Eichholz):

"In my opinion, the first specimens of our favourite marbles with their parti-coloured markings appeared from the quarries of Chios when the people of that island were building their walls. Hence the witty remark made at the expense of this work by Cicero. It was their practice to show it as a splendid structure to all their visitors; and his remark to them was 'I should be much more amazed if you had made it of stone from Tibur.' And, heaven knows, painting would not have been valued at all, let alone so highly, had marbles enjoyed any considerable prestige"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.7.48 (on the first occurrence of walls with marble veneer and columns of Carystan marble, i.e. *cipollino*, and white Luna marble from Carrara, Italy by Mamurra, Julius Caesar's *praefectum fabrum*, after 55 BC; translation D.E. Eichholz):

"The first man in Rome to cover with marble veneer whole walls in his house, which was on the Caelian Hill, was, according to Cornelius Nepos, Mamurra, a Roman Knight and a native of Formiae, who was Gaius (Julius) Caesar's chief engineer in Gaul. That such a man should have sponsored the invention is enough to make it utterly improper. For this is the Mamurra who was reviled by Catullus of Verona in his poems, the

Mamurra whose house, as a matter of fact, proclaims more clearly than Catullus himself that he 'possesses all that Shaggy Gaul possessed.' Incidentally Nepos adds also that he was the first to have only marble columns in his whole house and that these were all solid columns of Carystus or Luna marble"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.8.49-50 (on the introduction in Rome of Numidian marble, i.e. *giallo antico*, by the consul M. Lepidus in 78 BC, and of Lucullean marble, i.e. *africano*, by the consul L. Lucullus in 74 BC; translation D.E. Eichholz):

"Marcus Lepidus, who was consul with Quintus Catulus, was the very first to lay down door-sills of Numidian marble in his house; and for this he was sharply criticized. He was consul in the 676th year after the founding of the city. This is the first indication that I can find of the importing of Numidian marble. The marble, however, was not in the form of columns or slabs, like that of Carystus mentioned above, but came in blocks to be used in the most sordid manner—as door-sills! Four years after the consulship of this Lepidus came that of Lucius Lucullus, who gave his name, as is evident from the facts, to Lucullean marble. He took a great delight in this marble and introduced it to Rome, although it is in general black and all other marbles are favoured because of their markings or colours. It is found in the island of Chios and is almost the only marble to have derived its name from that of a devotee"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.11.55-58 (on Lacedaemonian serpentine, i.e. *serpentino* from Krokees in Greece, plus several Egyptian stones: Augustean and Tiberian marble, named after the eponymous emperors, probably igneous or metamorphic rocks, Memphis stone – dolomite?, red porphyry known as Imperial porphyry from Mons Porphyrites, and *basanites*, i.e. greywacke from Wadi Hammamat; translation D.E. Eichholz):

"It is not important to mention the colours and species of marbles when they are so well known, nor is it easy to list them when they are so numerous. For there are few places for which a characteristic marble is not found to exist. […] Not all of them occur in quarries, but many are found scattered also beneath the earth's surface, some indeed being very valuable, like the green Lacedaemonian, which is brighter than any other marble, or the Augustean and, more recently, the Tiberian, which were found in Egypt for the first time during the principates of Augustus and Tiberius respectively. From serpentine, the markings of which resemble snakes—hence its name—these stones differ in that their markings are grouped differently. Those of the Augustean curl over like waves so as to form coils, while the Tiberian has scattered greyish-white spots which are not rolled into coils. Another difference is that only quite small columns made of serpentine are to be found. It has two varieties: one is soft and white, the other hard and dark […] Another stone, named from its place of origin, is the Memphis stone, which is like a gem […] In Egypt too there is red porphyry, of which a variety mottled with white dots is known as 'leptopsephos' […] The Egyptians also discovered in Ethiopia what is called 'basanites,' a stone which in colour and hardness resembles iron: hence the name they have given it"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.12.59-61 (on several varieties and sources of onyx marble, i.e. alabaster, and their respective valuation and appreciation; translation D.E. Eichholz):

"Onyx marble was supposed by our old authorities to occur in the mountains of Arabia and nowhere else […] This stone is sometimes called 'alabastrites', for it is hollowed out to be used also as unguent jars […] It occurs in the neighbourhood of Thebes in Egypt and of Damascus in Syria. The latter variety is whiter than the rest, but that of Carmania is the most excellent. Next comes the Indian, and then of course there is that of Syria and the province of Asia, while the least valuable is the Cappadocian, which has no lustre whatsoever. The specimens most warmly recommended are the honey-coloured, marked with spirals, and opaque. A colour resembling that of horn, or else gleaming white, and any suggestion of a glassy look are serious faults in onyx marble […]"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.13.62 (on Parian and Arabian *lygdinus*, possibly white marble, and suggesting pure whiteness as a reason for a stone's appreciation; translation D.E. Eichholz):

"Many people consider that for the preservation of unguents there is little to choose between onyx marble and the 'lygdinus', which is found in Paros in pieces no

larger than a dish or mixing bowl, although in earlier times it was normally imported only from Arabia. It is of an exceptionally brilliant whiteness"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.13.63 (on *pyrrhopoecilos*, 'mottled red', i.e. the red/pink granite from Aswan in Egypt; translation D.E. Eichholz):

"The Thebaic stone mottled with gold spots is found in a part of Africa that has been assigned to Egypt […] The granite of Syene is found in the neighbourhood of Aswan in the Thebaid and in earlier times was known as 'pyrrhopoecilos'"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.24.110 (on the extravagant use of marble in houses and elite competition in the late 1st century BC – early 1st century AD; translation D.E. Eichholz):

"Our most scrupulous authorities are agreed that in the consulship of Marcus Lepidus and Quintus Catulus as fine a house as any in Rome was that of Lepidus himself; but, I swear, within 35 years the same house was not among the first hundred. Confronted by this assessment, anyone who so wishes may count the cost of the masses of marble, the paintings, the regal budgets, the cost, in fact, of a hundred houses, each of which rivalled one that had been the finest and the most highly appreciated in its time, houses that were themselves to be surpassed by countless others right up to the present day"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.34.113-115 (on the import of 360 columns of Lucullean marble, i.e. *africano*, by the aedil M. Aemilius Scaurus in 58 BC to embellish a theatre and subsequent transportation of some of these columns to the aedil's private home; translation D.E. Eichholz):

"I shall show that even their madness was outdone by the resources of a private individual, Marcus Scaurus, whose aedileship may perhaps have done more than anything to undermine morality, and whose powerful ascendancy may have been a more mischievous achievement on the part of his stepfather Sulla than the killing by proscription of so many thousands of people. As aedile he constructed the greatest of all the works ever made by man, a work that surpassed not merely those erected for a limited period but even those intended to last for ever. This was his theatre, which had a stage arranged in three storeys with 360 columns; and this, if you please, in a community that had not tolerated the presence of six columns of Hymettus marble without reviling a leading citizen. The lowest storey of the stage was of marble, and the middle one of glass (an extravagance unparalleled even in later times), while the top storey was made of gilded planks. The columns of the lowest storey were, as I have stated, each 38 feet high"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.27.131 (on *lapis sarcophagus*, a volcanic andesite from Assos, Turkey; translation D.E. Eichholz):

"At Assos in the Troad we find the Sarcophagus stone, which splits along a line of cleavage […] There are similar stones both in Lycia and in the East"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.61.185 (on the first use of marble crustae in Rome, *scutulata pavimenta*, in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in 149 BC; translation D.E. Eichholz):

"At Rome the first floor with a diamond pattern was constructed in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus after the beginning of the Third Punic War"

Plutarchus, *Moralia* 395B (on a visitor who commented on the statues of the Temple at Delphi; translation F.C. Babbitt):

"The appearance and technique of the statues had only a moderate attraction for the foreign visitor, who, apparently, was a connoisseur in works of art. He did, however, admire the patina of the bronze, for it bore no resemblance to verdigris or rust, but the bronze was smooth and shining with a deep blue tinge, so that it gave an added touch to the sea-captains (for he had begun his sight-seeing with them), as they stood there with the true complexion of the sea and its deepest depths"

Propertius, *Elegies* 2.31.3-8 (on the use of *giallo antico* in the portico of the temple of Apollo Palatinus; translation G.P. Goold):

"The whole of it had been marked out for a promenade with Afric columns, between which stood the many daughters of old Danaus"

Seneca, *Epistles* 86.6 (criticism on the extravagance and the use of marble in Scipio's villa; translation R.M. Gummerie):

"But who in these days could bear to bathe in such a fashion? 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, if their borders are not faced over on all sides with difficult patterns, arranged in many colours like paintings; if our vaulted ceilings are not buried in glass; if our swimming-pools are not lined with Thasian marble, once a rare and wonderful sight in any temple—pools into which we let down our bodies after they have been drained weak by abundant perspiration; and finally, if the water has not poured from silver spigots. I have so far been speaking of the ordinary bathing-establishments; what shall I say when I come to those of the freedmen? What a vast number of statues, of columns that support nothing, but are built for decoration, merely in order to spend money! And what masses of water that fall crashing from level to level! We have become so luxurious that we will have nothing but precious stones to walk upon"

Sidonius Apollinaris, *Letters* 2.2.7 (on the absence of colourful marbles in a private house – Parian marble, *cipollino* from Karystos, Prokonnesian marble, Phrygian *pavonazzetto*, Numidian *giallo antico*, *serpentino* from Krokees near Sparta, Greece, and Ethiopian stone, i.e. pink/red granite from Aswan; translation W.B. Anderson):

"If you ask what I have to show in the way of marble, it is true that Paros, Carystos and Proconnesos, Phrygians, Numidians and Spartans have not deposited here slabs from hill-faces in many colours, nor do any stone surfaces, stained with a natural tinge among the Ethiopian crags with their purple precipices, furnish a counterfeit imitation of sprinkled bran. But although I am not enriched by the chill starkness of foreign rocks, still my buildings—call them cottages or huts as you please—have their native coolness"

Statius, *Silvae* 1.2.145-157 (on the marbles in a 'lofty mansion': Libyan stone?, *pavonazzetto*/white marble from Dokimeion, Turkey, *serpentino* from the region of Laconia, Greece, alabaster, *cipollino* ['the vein that matches the deep sea'], Imperial porphyry ['Oebelian purple and the blender of the Tyrian cauldron']; translation D.R. Shackleton Bailey):

"A lofty mansion spreads open a shining home and the rejoicing swans flap upon the famed entrance. The dwelling deserves the goddess, nor seems it mean after the bright stars. Here is Libyan stone and Phrygian, here hard Laconian rock shows green, here are versatile alabaster and the vein that matches the deep sea, here marble oft envied by Oebalian purple and the blender of the Tyrian cauldron. Airy gables rest on countless columns, beams glitter allied with Dalmatian ore. Cool descends from ancient trees shutting out the sunshine, translucent fountains live in marble. Nor does Nature observe her order: here Sirius is chill, midwinter warm. The house tempers the changing year to its liking"

Statius, *Silvae* 1.5.30-41 (on the [lacking] marbles in the baths of Claudius Etruscus, son of a court official of emperor Domitian: Thasian white marble, *cipollino*, alabaster, *serpentino*, *giallo antico*, Imperial porphyry, *pavonazzetto*/white marble from Dokimeion, Turkey; translation D.R. Shackleton Bailey):

"In no other grotto did you ever dwell in wealthier style […] Not Thasos or wavy Carystos are admitted here, alabaster sulks afar, serpentine grumbles in exclusion; shines only stone hewn from Numidia's yellow quarries and that other at which Tyre's and Sidon's purple would weep for envy, only what Attis himself bloodied with gleaming flecks in Synnas' hollow cave. Scarce is there space for Eurotas, whose long green streak picks out Synnas"

Statius, *Silvae* 4.2.26-29 (on several types of stone in the Domus Flavia and the relative valuation of coloured stones over white marbles; translation D.R. Shackleton Bailey):

"Here contend the mountains of Libya and the gleaming stone of Ilium, dark Syene too and Chios, and rocks to rival the grey-green sea, and Luna, substituted only to support the columns"

Strabo, *Geography* 5.2.5 (on the white marble and *bardiglio* quarries at Luna, now Carrara, Italy; translation H.L. Jones):

"And the quarries of marble, both white and mottled bluish-grey marble, are so numerous, and of such quality (for they yield monolithic slabs and columns), that the material for most of the superior works of art in Rome and the rest of the cities are supplied therefrom; and, indeed, the marble is easy to export, since the quarries lie above the sea and near it, and since the Tiber in its turn takes up the cargo from the sea and conveys it to Rome"

Strabo, *Geography* 9.1.23 (on Hymettus and Pentelic marble, from Mount Hymettos and Mount Pentelikon in Greece respectively; translation H.L. Jones):

"Near the city are most excellent quarries of marble, the Hymettian and Pentelic"

Strabo, *Geography* 9.5.16 (on Scyrian variegated marble, i.e. *breccia di Settebasi* from the Island of Skyros, and the increasing demand for coloured stones around the time of Augustus at the expense of the value of white marble; translation H.L. Jones):

"Now Skyros is chiefly commended by the place it occupies in the ancient legends, but there are other things which cause it to be widely mentioned, as, for instance, the excellence of Scyrian goats, and the quarries of the Scyrian variegated marble, which is comparable to the Carystian marble, and to the Docimaean or Synnadic, and to the Hierapolitic. For at Rome are to be seen monolithic columns and great slabs of the variegated marble; and with this marble the city is being adorned both at public and at private expense; and it has caused the quarries of white marble to be of little worth"

Strabo, *Geography* 10.1.6 (on *cipollino* from Euboea, Karystos/Styra, Greece; translation H.L. Jones):

"Carystus is at the foot of the mountain Ochê; and near it are Styra and Marmarium, in which latter are the quarry of the Carystian columns"

Strabo, *Geography* 12.8.14 (on white marble and *pavonazzetto* from Dokimeion, Turkey, and the increasing demand for marble around the beginning of the 1st century AD; translation H.L. Jones):

"Synnada is not a large city […] and beyond it is Docimaea, a village, and also the quarry of 'Synnadic' marble […] At first this quarry yielded only stones of small size, but on account of the present extravagance of the Romans great monolithic pillars are taken from it […] so that, although the transportation of such heavy burdens to the sea is difficult, still, both pillars and slabs, remarkable for their size and beauty, are conveyed to Rome"

Strabo, *Geography* 13.1.16 (on Prokonnesian marble from the Island of Marmara, Turkey; translation H.L. Jones):

"On the coasting-voyage from Parium to Priapus lie both the old Proconnesus and the present Proconnesus, the latter having a city and also a great quarry of white marble that is very highly commended; at any rate, the most beautiful works of art in the cities of that part of the world, and especially those in Cyzicus, are made of this marble"

Strabo, *Geography* 14.1.35 (on *portasanta* from the Island of Chios, Greece; translation H.L. Jones):

"And the island also has a marble quarry"

Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 28.3 (on the Augustan marble revolution; translation J.C. Rolfe):

"Since the city was not adorned as the dignity of the empire demanded, and was exposed to flood and fire, he so beautified it that he could justly boast that he had found it built of brick and left it in marble"

Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 72.1 (on Augustus' modesty in his house on the Palatine Hill and the absence of sumptuous decorative stones and tufa columns instead; translation J.C. Rolfe):

"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"

Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 46 (on Julius Caesar's alleged predilection for marble; translation J.C. Rolfe):

"Many have written that he was very fond of elegance and luxury; that having laid the foundations of a country-house on his estate at Nemi and finished it at great cost, he tore it all down because it did not suit him in every particular, although at the time he was still poor and heavily in debt; and that he carried tesselated and mosaic floors about with him on his campaigns"

Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 85 (on the cenotaph of Julius Caesar in *giallo antico*; translation J.C. Rolfe):

"Afterwards they set up in the Forum a solid column of Numidian marble almost twenty feet high, inscribed upon it, "To the Father of his Country""

Suetonius, *Divus Tiberius* 49.2 (on the increased state control of quarries and mines under Tiberius; translation J.C. Rolfe):

"many states and individuals were deprived of immunities of long standing, and of the right of working mines and collecting revenues"

Suetonius, *Nero* 50 (on Nero's funerary tomb on the Pincio; translation J.C. Rolfe):

"In that monument his sarcophagus of porphyry, with an altar of Luna marble standing above it, is enclosed by a balustrade of Thasian stone"

Tibullus, *Elegies* 3.3.13-14 (on *pavonazzetto*/white marble from Dokimeion, Turkey, *rosso antico* from Cape Taenaron, Mani Peninsula, Greece, and *cipollino* from Karystos/Styra, Euboea, Greece; translation J.P. Postgate)

"what good a house that rests on pillars from Phrygian quarries, or, Taenaros, from thine, or thine, Carystos"

Velleius Paterculus, *History of Rome* 1.11.5 (on the construction of the first temple of marble in Rome in 146 BC, i.e. the temple of Jupiter-Stator, commissioned by the Roman general Quintus Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus; translation F.W. Shipley):

"This same Metellus was the first of all to build a temple of marble, which he erected in the midst of these very monuments, thereby becoming the pioneer in this form of munificence, or shall we call it luxury?"

Vitruvius, *On architecture* 7.pref.17 (on the *magnificentia* of constructions in marble; translation F. Granger):

"But if it had been of marble so as to be impressive by a costly magnificence, no less than marked by a skilful precision, it would have a name among the buildings of the first and highest class"

C. Ancient authors on the transportation of obelisks to and use in Rome

Ammianus Marcellinus 17.4.12-15 (excerpt from Chapter 4, entitled "By order of Constantius Augustus an obelisk is set up at Rome in the Circus Maximus; also an account of obelisks and hieroglyphs", on the transport from Egypt and erection in the Circus Maximus of the Laterano obelisk under Constantius II; translation J.C. Rolfe):

"And because sycophants, after their fashion, kept puffing up Constantius and endlessly dinning it into his ears that, whereas Octavianus Augustus had brought over two obelisks from the city of Heliopolis in Egypt, one of which was set up in the Circus Maximus, the other in the Campus Martius, as for this one recently brought in, he neither ventured to meddle with it nor move it, overawed by the difficulties caused by its size—let me inform those who do not know it that that early emperor, after bringing over several obelisks, passed by this one and left it untouched because it was consecrated as a special gift to the Sun God, and because being placed in the sacred part of his sumptuous temple, which might not be profaned, there it towered aloft like the peak of the world. But Constantine, making little account of that, tore the huge mass from its foundations; and since he rightly thought that he was committing no sacrilege if he took this marvel from one temple and consecrated it at Rome, that is to say, in the temple of the whole world, he let it lie for a long time, while the things necessary for its transfer were being provided. And when it had been conveyed down the channel of the Nile and landed at Alexandria, a ship of a size hitherto unknown was constructed, to be rowed by three hundred oarsmen. After these provisions, the aforesaid emperor departed this life and the urgency of the enterprise waned, but at last the obelisk was loaded on the ship, after long delay, and brought over the sea and up the channel of the Tiber, which seemed to fear that it could hardly forward over the difficulties of its outward course to the walls of its foster-child the gift which the almost unknown Nile had sent. But it was brought to the vicus Alexandri distant three miles from the city. There it was put on cradles and carefully drawn through the Ostian Gate and by the Piscina Publica and brought into the Circus Maximus. After this there remained only the raising, which it was thought could be accomplished only with great difficulty, perhaps not at all. But it was done in the following manner: to tall beams which were brought and raised on end (so that you would see a very grove of derricks) were fastened long and heavy ropes in the likeness of a manifold web hiding the sky with their excessive numbers. To these was attached that veritable mountain engraved over with written characters, and it was gradually drawn up on high through the empty air, and after hanging for a long time, while many thousand men turned wheels resembling millstones, it was finally placed in the middle of the circus and capped by a bronze globe gleaming with gold-leaf; this was immediately struck by a bolt of the divine fire and therefore removed and replaced by a bronze figure of a torch, likewise overlaid with gold-foil and glowing like a mass of flame"

Ammianus Marcellinus 17.4.16 (on obelisks in Rome: the Vatican obelisk, the Trinità dei Monti obelisk, plus the Esquiline and Quirinal obelisks; translation J.C. Rolfe):

"And subsequent generations have brought over other obelisks, of which one was set up on the Vatican, another in the gardens of Sallust, and two at the mausoleum of Augustus"

Pliny, *Natural History* 16.76.201-202 (on the transportation of the Vatican obelisk to Rome; translation H. Rackham):

"An especially wonderful fir was seen in the ship which brought from Egypt at the order of the emperor Gaius the obelisk erected in the Vatican Circus and four shafts of the same stone to serve as its base. It is certain that nothing more wonderful than this ship has ever been seen on the sea: it carried one hundred and twenty bushels of lentils for ballast, and its length took up a large part of the left side of the harbour of Ostia, for under the emperor Claudius it was sunk there, with three moles as high as towers erected upon it that had

been made of Pozzuoli cement for the purpose and conveyed to the place. It took four men to span the girth of this tree with their arms"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.14.70 (on the transport of obelisks to Rome; translation D.E. Eichholz):

"Above all, there came also the difficult task of transporting obelisks to Rome by sea. The ships used attracted much attention from sightseers. That which carried the first of two obelisks was solemnly laid up by Augustus of Revered Memory in a permanent dock at Pozzuoli to celebrate the remarkable achievement; but later it was destroyed by fire. The ship used by the Emperor Gaius for bringing a third was carefully preserved for several years by Claudius of Revered Memory, for it was the most amazing thing that had ever been seen at sea. Then caissons made of cement were erected in its hull at Pozzuoli; whereupon it was towed to Ostia and sunk there by order of the emperor, so to contribute to his harbour-works. Then there is another problem, that of providing ships that can carry obelisks up the Tiber; and the successful experiment shows that the river has just as deep a channel as the Nile"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.14.71-15.72 (on the Flaminian and Montecitorio obelisks, erected by Augustus in the Circus Maximus and Campus Martius, respectively, translation D.E. Eichholz):

"The obelisk placed by Augustus of Revered Memory in the Circus Maximus was cut by King Psemetnepserphreus, who was reigning when Pythagoras was in Egypt, and measures 85 feet and 9 inches, apart from its base, which forms part of the same stone. The obelisk in the Campus Martius, however, which is 9 feet less, was cut by Sesothis. Both have inscriptions comprising an account of natural science according to the theories of the Egyptian sages. The one in the Campus was put to use in a remarkable way by Augustus of Revered Memory so as to mark the sun's shadow and thereby the lengths of days and nights. A pavement was laid down for a distance appropriate to the height of the obelisk so that the shadow cast at noon on the shortest day of the year might exactly coincide with it. Bronze rods let into the pavement were meant to measure the shadow day by day as it gradually became shorter and then lengthened again. This device deserves to be carefully studied, and was contrived by the mathematician Novius Facundus. He placed on the pinnacle a gilt ball, at the top of which the shadow would be concentrated, for otherwise the shadow cast by the tip of the obelisk would have lacked definition"

Pliny, *Natural History* 36.15.74 (on the Vatican obelisk; translation D.E. Eichholz):

"The third obelisk in Rome stands in the Vatican Circus that was built by the emperors Gaius and Nero. It was the only one of the three that was broken during its removal. It was made by Nencoreus, the son of Sesosis"

Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.27 (on obelisks from Heliopolis in Egypt; translation H.L. Jones):

"Two of these, which were not completely spoiled, were brought to Rome"

D. Various uses of lime- and sandstone in Egypt

Statues

The corpus of Egyptian statuary in lime- and sandstone is large and varied.[450] It appears that some sculptural types were more commonly executed in these materials than others, but all types exist.[451] Hence, we find lime- and sandstone statues of deities in anthropomorphic form, private sculptures including statues of dedicants, priests, and kings and queens, zoomorphic statues of deities and animals, and sphinxes.

Examples of anthropomorphic deities include two statues of Bes,[452] and two statues of the goddess Mut that date from the 18th Dynasty.[453] Examples of private sculpture that are typologically and stylistically closely related to the imported objects of private individuals in Rome include an early 18th Dynasty kneeling offering statuette of the Overseer of the Workhouse of Amun at Karnak, Setau, who presents the cobra goddess Nekhbet, the lower part of a 19th Dynasty kneeling naophoros statue of Hori who presents a naos with an image of Ptah inside, and two Ptolemaic standing naophoros statues in the British Museum.[454]

Royal sculptures that are typologically and stylistically related to the ones found at Rome include two fragmentarily preserved limestone statues inscribed for Ptolemy VI and his wife Cleopatra II. Dating from the mid-2nd century BC, these statues, which originate from Karnak, are well comparable to the mid-3rd century BC granite statues of Ptolemy II and his wife Arsinoe II from the Horti Sallustiani in Rome.[455] Like the two imports in Rome, the statues of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II may have originally formed a pair. Moreover, they have similar iconographical schemes – all four statues are standing figures with the left foot forward – and they are of comparable, over-life-size dimensions.[456] Typologically and stylistically similar royal sculptures in limestone date from the New Kingdom[457] and the Ptolemaic period,[458] and also

450. Limestone was first used as the medium for statues as early as the late Predynastic period or First Dynasty, and it continued to be used for sculptural purposes throughout all subsequent periods of Egyptian history. Sandstone was rarely used for statues before the Middle Kingdom, but, from that period onwards, it frequently was the medium of choice for statues.

451. The survey for instance yielded more statues in lime- and sandstone of royal figures and private individuals than examples of deities in anthropomorphic form.

452. One of these statues comes from the temple of Nectanebo I near the Serapeum at Saqqara and dates from the 30th Dynasty (limestone, H. 92 cm; now in Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. N 437). The other (Ptolemaic?) statue is from the temple at Dendera (sandstone; preserved height 96 cm, i.e., from head through knees; now in Cairo, Egyptian Museum, inv. CG 38705: see Daressy 1906, pl. 29).

453. The first specimen comes from the temple of Amenhotep III at Thebes (preserved height 140 cm, i.e., the bust; now in London, British Museum, inv. EA 648), another one is depicted in *Ägypten. Götter. Menschen. Pharaonen* (2014) 112-113 (E. Vassilika).

454. Statuette of Setau: limestone; H. 26.5 cm, now in Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. N 4196: see Andreu *et al*. (1997) 116-117 no. 49 (G. Andreu). Statue of Hori: limestone; preserved height 33 cm, i.e., lower part until waist; now in London, British Museum, inv. EA 845: see Bierbrier (1982) pl. 36-39. Two standing naophoros statues in the British Museum: inv. EA 92 (limestone; preserved height 69 cm, head and feet lost: a priest who presents a naos that contains a figure of the anthropomorphic deity Khonspakhered), and inv. EA 69486 (limestone; preserved height 38 cm, i.e., from midriff to lower legs: Wennefer, the High-Priest of Thoth, who presents a naos with the a squatting image of a baboon).

455. See *supra*, 164-167 no. 076-077. On this comparison see also Thiers (2002) 393-394.

456. The estimated original height of the sculptures of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II is between 2.5 and 3 m (Thiers 2002), versus 2.66 and 2.70 m for the statues of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, respectively (Ptolemy VI: preserved height 126 cm, i.e., torso; now in Cairo, Egyptian Museum, inv. JE 41218: see Stanwick 2002, 108 no. B11 and Thiers 2002, 392-394 with fig. 2; Cleopatra II: preserved in two fragments, head and torso = H. 88 cm, abdomen/thighs = H. 99 cm; now Caracol, inv. R177 and Cheikh Labib, inv. 94CL1421, respectively: see Stanwick 2002, 109 B14 and Thiers 2002, 389-392 with fig. 1).

457. Colossal royal statue showing Ramesses II in traditional pose with the left leg forward and the arms (probably) stretched along the side, from Heliopolis: Balboush (1979) 28 and pl. 5-7.

458. The more completely preserved and stylistically and typologically comparable specimens include an over-life-size standing statue of Ptolemy XII from the Soknebtunis temple at Tebtunis dating from ca. 55 BC (limestone; H. 211 cm, now in Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum, inv. 22979: see Stanwick 2002, 123 no. E3 with fig. 157-159), a standing queen dated to the 3rd century BC (limestone; preserved height 66 cm, i.e., from head through upper legs, now in Cairo, Egyptian Museum, inv. CG 678: see Stanwick 2002, 105-106 no. A45 with fig. 43), and the upper part of a statue of a standing Ptolemaic queen in sandstone, dated to the first half of the 2nd century BC (preserved height 101 cm, i.e., head through knees; now in Turin, Museo Egizio, inv. 1386: see Stanwick 2002, 111 no. B29 and Capriotti Vittozzi 1998 with pl. 7).

include two specimens of Nectanebo I (Late Period, 30th Dynasty).[459] Kneeling royal statues were also executed in limestone as evident from a 19th Dynasty specimen from Heliopolis.[460] Zoomorphic sculptures of deities in limestone notably include several specimens of Apis and Hathor in their bovine forms, which are well comparable in terms of their stylistic execution, iconographical scheme, and (sometimes) dimensions to the so-called Apis Brancaccio that was perhaps imported from Egypt to Rome.[461] Sculptures of other deities were executed in lime- and sandstone as well.[462]

Among the zoomorphic sculptures of animals in limestone, statues representing lions can be particularly noted.[463] Sphinxes, finally, can be readily found in both sand- and limestone. From the New Kingdom onwards, large numbers of sphinxes lined the processual ways to sacred or royal temples. Hundreds of examples, mostly in sandstone, are known from the sphinx alleys of the temple complex at Karnak alone, and another several hundred human-headed specimens in limestone lined the dromos of the Serapeum at Saqqara.[464]

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459. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, inv. JE 87298, from Hermopolis; preserved height 240 cm, i.e., head through knees: see Josephson (1995) fig. 8. Another specimen that is attributed to the same pharaoh stands at the entrance of Minya Museum: see Josephson (1997) pl. 9d.

460. Kneeling statue of king Sety II wearing a *nemes*-headdress. The king is depicted squatting on a rectangular base and sits against an inscribed back-pillar while presenting an offering table (160 x 51 x 83, H x W x D); from Heliopolis, presumably from the temple of Atum: El-Sawi (1990) with pl. 55-56 and Raue (1999) 374 XIX.6-5.2.

461. The more completely preserved specimens include the statue of Apis from the Serapeum at Saqqara that presumably dates from the reign of the 30th Dynasty king Nectanebo I; originally painted; 126 x 176 cm (H x L), now in Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. N 390: see Andreu *et al*. (1997) 200-201 no. 101 (C. Ziegler), and a 19th Dynasty statue of Hathor from Deir el-Medina; 44 x 72 cm (H x L), now in Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. E 16379 A: see Barbotin (2007) 150 no. 88. Fragmentarily preserved examples include a head of an Apis bull dating from the Late Period (Turin, Museo Egizio, inv. C 826), and a 19th Dynasty head in painted limestone of Hathor from Deir el-Medina in Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. E 16380, for which see Barbotin (2007) 151 no. 89 and *Le règne animal* (2014) 236-237 no. 257 (P. Rigault). For the statue of Apis Brancaccio see *supra*, 216-217 no. 102. Iconographically and stylistically related is the statue of the Mnevis-bull who protects an image of king Siptah (19th Dynasty, from Heliopolis; now in Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 25764, preserved dimensions 120 x 34 x 17, H x W x H): Daressy (1918) and Raue (1999) 375-376 XIX.7-4.1.

462. For example, a pair of squatting baboons (Thoth) in limestone from Thebes (now in London, British Museum, inv. EA 1232 and 1233); a statue of a Horus-falcon in limestone (reign of Nectanebo II?, now in Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. E 11152: see *Le règne animal* 2014, 322 no. 354 [S. Guichard]); and another specimen in sandstone (standing at the temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari). Other deities include a seated statue in limestone of the jackal-headed god Anubis with a small figurine of Osiris from Saqqara (26th Dynasty; now in Cairo, Egyptian Museum, inv. CG 38570: see Daressy 1906, pl. 31); and another seated statue in limestone of the warrior god Montu with a bull's head and anthropomorphic body from the temple of Medamud (Ptolemaic period; now in Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. E 12922: see *Le règne animal* 2014, 249 no. 274 [F. Maruéjol]).

463. Three lions from the dromos of the Serapeum at Saqqara, dated to the reign of the 30th Dynasty pharaoh Nectanebo I, are now in Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. N 432 b: see *Egyptomania* (1994) 345-347 no. 208 (C. Ziegler); 56 x 124 (H x W). A typologically and stylistically similar but smaller lion of Ptolemaic age is in Turin, Museo Egizio, inv. C 866: see *Sfinx. De wachters van Egypte* (2006) 188 no. 16 (S.-A. Ashton); 38 x 70 (H x W). The Serapeum lions are well comparable to a pair of lions that are usually connected to the Iseum Campense in Rome (Rome, Musei Vaticani, inv. 22676 and 22677); they are excluded from the corpus in this study since their findspot is unknown. The Vatican lions are made from granodiorite, inscribed with hieroglyphs (on the basis of which they can be dated to the reign of Nectanebo I), and are somewhat larger than the specimens in limestone (77 x 195 and 77 x 180 cm, respectively; H x W); see Lembke (1994) 223-224 no. 13-14, and pl. 32.

464. The sphinxes from Karnak are of various dates and types, including ram-headed sphinxes inscribed for the 18th Dynasty king Amenhotep III and Ramesses II (19th Dynasty), and human-headed sphinxes inscribed for Nectanebo I (30th Dynasty): see De Putter (2006) 88 and Sourouzian (2006) 106-110. The Serapeum sphinxes are usually dated to the 30th Dynasty or early Ptolemaic period; it is estimated that approximately 600 sphinxes lined the dromos to the Serapeum. Eleven of these are in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. ÄS 5756-5767): see *Ägypten Griechenland Rom* (2005) 478-479 no. 31-32 (U. Höckmann), six in Paris (Musée du Louvre, inv. N 391), five in Cairo (Egyptian Museum, inv. CG685 and 1193-1196), and two in Berlin (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. 7777 and 7778); see De Putter (2006) 90 fig. 9 and Arnold (1999) 109-100 with n. 60. Additional examples can be easily added from other sites, for instance two human-headed specimens with *nemes*-headdresses, inscribed for Ramesses III (20th Dynasty), from Heliopolis (170 x 93, L x H): see Saleh (1983) 54 with pl. 44; a series of 2nd century BC sphinxes from the Renenutet temple in Medinet Madi: see Stanwick (2002) 112 no. C3-C4 with literature; and another specimen inscribed for Nectanebo I from the temple of Nechbet at El Kab (now in Brussel, Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, inv. E 7702): see *Sfinx. De wachters van Egypte* (2006) 188 no. 18 (L. Delvaux). A pair of sphinxes in limestone dating from the reign of the co-regency between Hatshepsut and Tuthmose III (18th Dynasty) provide a typologically and chronologically parallel for one of the granodiorite sphinxes that was transported to Rome (cf. *supra*, 210-211 no. 099): one of these two sphinxes is in Cairo, Egyptian Museum, inv. JE 53113, the other one in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 31.3.94: see *Hatshepsut: from queen to pharaoh* (2005) 166 no.

Architecture

Lime- and sandstone were commonly used for the production of architectural elements of all kinds throughout Egyptian history. If we consider the corpus of Egyptian architectural stone elements as a whole, it appears that lime- and sandstone are by far the most extensively used materials. Limestone was the primary building material of entire Egypt until the 18th Dynasty, when it lost its leading position to sandstone in the region south of Thebes, yet it retained its status as principal building stone throughout Antiquity north of Thebes.[465] The systematic use of sandstone in monumental architecture started in the 11th Dynasty in the mortuary temple of king Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari in Thebes. However, it was not until the re-establishment of authority at Thebes, and the concomitant shift of building activity towards the south at the beginning of the New Kingdom, that sandstone replaced limestone as the principal building material in Thebes and southward.[466] Most of the major temple complexes standing today, situated in southern Egypt, are made of sandstone, including the temples of Isis at Philae and that of Horus at Edfu.[467] However, while lime- and sandstone were overall the most widely used construction materials, the Late Period forms a notable exception. Particularly in the 26th and 30th Dynasties, naturally coloured hardstones were widely employed in monumental constructions.[468] During the reign of Nectanebo II (30th Dynasty) constructions were occasionally even entirely built from materials like granite and greywacke.[469] Examples include the

89 (C.A. Keller).

465. Large volumes of limestone were needed in particular to build the pyramid complexes at Giza and Dahshur in the Old Kingdom: an estimated 9 million tons was needed between the reigns of the 4th Dynasty kings Sneferu and Menkaure alone; see Lehner (1985) 109. Examples of architectural elements in limestone from the late 18th Dynasty on include wall reliefs from the 18th Dynasty tomb of Horemheb from Saqqara (now in Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, inv. KS 1885, and Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. B 57: Andreu *et al*. 1997, 134-135 [G. Andreu]), as well as several elements dating from the Late Period like capitals and architraves; occasionally, entire temples were constructed of limestone in the Late Period (De Putter – Karlshausen 1992, 69). For an example of a Ptolemaic Hathor-capital in limestone, see *Egyptomania* (1994) 339-340 no. 203 (C. Ziegler) = Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. N 384.

466. Aston *et al*. (2000) 55 and Harrell (2012a) 2.

467. With the exception of the temple at Philae, all major temple complexes were constructed from sandstone from Gebel el-Silsila, the most important supplier of sandstone, with an estimated production of ca. 8 million tons throughout Antiquity, i.e., about half of the total estimated volume of sandstone. On the quarries at Gebel el-Silsila, see Klemm and Klemm (2008) 180-201; cf. ibid. (2001) 638, Lucas – Harris (1962) 55, and De Putter – Karlshausen (1992) 93-94. Parts of the Hathor temple at Dendera are made from sandstone, which indicates that blocks of this material were occasionally transported into the northern limestone region.

468. The increased use of hardstones in the Late Period is usually regarded in the context of a deliberate attempt to revert to the arts of the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms, a phenomenon that is often referred to as archaism (but that perhaps is rather to be understood as an intensification of a long-established tradition of using the past to justify the present in Egypt: e.g., Wilson 2010, esp. 253-255 and Russmann 2010). Regarding the increased use of these materials in the architecture of the 26th Dynasty, Arnold (1999, 80) notes that "the appearance of hard stone, with its sharp edges, polished surfaces, and generally dark colors, in itself evokes monumentality. This effect was certainly generated by the architecture of the Pyramid Age. The choice of the same material confirms the efforts of the Saite architects to achieve a similar monumental impression"; similar motivations are forwarded to account for the use of hardstones in the 30th Dynasty (ibid., 96); cf. Zivie-Coche (2008) 6 and 9. However, the increased use of hardstones in the Late Period does not imply that lime- and sandstone were no longer used as building materials. The temple of Amun in Hibis (Kharga Oasis), founded by Psamtik II (26th Dynasty), was entirely made from sandstone, while the portico of the large temple of Thoth at Hermopolis Magna, erected by Nectanebo I (30th Dynasty) and decorated by subsequent kings, was made from limestone. Other remains from the reign of Nectanebo I include limestone blocks from the temple of Ptah at Memphis, a limestone Hathor-head column in New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 28.9.7; cf. Arnold 1999, 108), and recently found blocks from the temple of Atum at Heliopolis (Ashmawy *et al*. 2015). Although relatively scarce, such remains indicate that there were originally more Late Period constructions in softstones. The consumption of limestone for the production of lime may contribute to the observed paucity of softstones in the archaeological record of the Late Period. For instance, the portico of the above-mentioned temple at Hermopolis Magna is only known to us from early 19th century illustrations, because it has since been destroyed by limeburners (Snape and Bailey 1988, 48-49, cf. Yoyotte 1998, 201 and Zivie-Coche 2008, 1-2; as recent as the early 20th century Petrie [1925, 13] reported the transportation of 100-150 tons of limestone a day at Oxyrhynchus in Middle Egypt).

469. This practice appears to be largely confined to the Late Period. As early as the 1st Dynasty and especially during the Old Kingdom, certain elements in coloured stones were integrated into structures that were otherwise built from either lime- or sandstone. Hence, in the Old Kingdom pyramids at Giza, red granite was used as lining material for chambers and for door frames, and basalt was widely employed for pavements in Old Kingdom mortuary temples of the Giza-Saqqara necropolis (see Lucas – Harris 1962, 59-63; on the use of basalt in Old Kingdom funerary temples see also Hoffmeier 1993, Harrell and Bown 1995, and Mallory-Greenough *et al*. 2000; six granite palm columns dating from the Old Kingdom were reused at Tanis:

temple for Onuris at Sebennytos, the temple house for Bastet in Bubastis, and the Iseum at Behbeit el-Hagar.[470] The two imported relief slabs in the studied sample from Rome belong to this group of Late Period architectural productions in hardstones.[471] While they fit the general trend of material use for wall-reliefs from this particular period, when considered in the context of architectural production in Egypt throughout its history, they are exceptions rather than the rule.[472] Compared to the relatively small number of extant relief slabs in coloured stones, there is a much larger body of wall-reliefs in lime- and sandstone, and slabs depicting similar offering scenes can be readily found.

Obelisks

All seven obelisks in the studied sample of Egyptian imports in Rome are made from pink/red Aswan granite. This was the most important stone for monumental monolithic obelisks and the largest known specimens are invariably made from this material.[473] Nevertheless, especially since the 19th Dynasty, a range of other stones was employed for the production of obelisks. Besides hardstones like quartzite, greywacke, and granodiorite,[474] these also include sandstone.

Arnold 1999, 80 with n. 84). Other coloured stones that were used in architecture include travertine and quartzite; the latter was occasionally used as lining material and for thresholds in the late Old and Middle Kingdom; cf. Arnold (1991) 40. The use of hardstones as construction materials occasionally extended into the New Kingdom. Examples include two 19th Dynasty granite columns in the British Museum (inv. EA 1123, a palm-column from the temple of Herishef at Herakleopolis with the name of king Ramesses II, and inv. EA 1065, a chronologically and typologically similar specimen that was usurped by the 22nd Dynasty king Osorkon II from the temple of Bastet at Bubastis), and a 19th Dynasty temple relief from Heliopolis in 'granit gris' (granodiorite?; rediscovered in Alexandria: see Abd el-Fattah and Gallo (1998) 7-8 no. 1; additional examples are given in Arnold (1999) 302 n. 63.

470. The geographical tendency towards the north can be explained by the fact that political authority in this period was established in the Delta region, and hence most construction work focused on this region; Sebennytos for instance was the capital of the 30th Dynasty.

471. Cf. *supra*, 160-161 no. 074 and 248-249 no. 118; the former originates from the previously mentioned Iseum in Behbeit. Other blocks from this temple are now in New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 12.182.4a and 12.182.4c); a decorated wall block in granodiorite from the temple at Sebennytos is preserved in the same museum (inv. 12.182.4b). On these temples in general see Arnold (1999) 125-129 with literature (the slabs in New York are illustrated as figs. 84-86); cf. De Putter (2000) 95.

472. Hardstones were still used for architectural purposes during the Ptolemaic period. However, in contrast to the Late Period, the early Ptolemaic period saw a return to the use of lime- and sandstone for the construction of Egyptian temples. Instead, the Ptolemaic use of hardstones was mainly confined to the inclusion of certain architectural elements in monumental 'Greek'-style buildings (Arnold 1999, 153 and McKenzie 2007, 89-90). Extant examples from Alexandria are generally dated to the 3rd century BC and include especially Corinthian capitals and acanthus column bases. Besides for their material properties, these artefacts particularly stand out for their large dimensions. Hence, while the height of most Corinthian capitals in limestone of Ptolemaic date is approximately 30 cm (Gans 1994, 434 n. 6; these are much more common than specimens in hardstones), the preserved specimens in hardstones are generally much larger. The Corinthian capital in basalt (?) that now surmounts the so-called Khartoum Monument, for instance, measures 138 x 108 cm (height x diameter lower side; see McKenzie 2007, fig. 128 and Gans 1994 for additional examples; on 'Greek'-style architectural elements from Alexandria and other Egyptian sites see, *in extenso*, Pensabene 1993). Although virtually no architecture from Ptolemaic Alexandria remains standing today, a survey of scattered architectural elements indicates that limestone was the predominant building material, for which the city mostly relied on the quarries on either side of the Mallahet Mariut marsh, located between Alexandria and Burg el-Arab (see Klemm and Klemm 2008, 36-39; on the architecture of Alexandria, see McKenzie 2007, 37-74, with further literature). The tradition of executing architectural elements in hardstones continued in the Roman period, for instance in the temple of Isis at Philae, where, during the reign of Augustus, capitals and flights of stairs in granodiorite (?), red granite, and perhaps Imperial porphyry were installed (the rest of the temple was made from sandstone; see Gans 1994, 442-443, with literature). The colossal Corinthian capital in red granite that now surmounts the so-called column of Pompeius is another Roman example (late 3rd century AD, estimated height approximately 3.50 m; see Gans 1994, 444 with n. 52).

473. Geological and ideological reasons may account for the frequent use of this stone for obelisks. The large joint distances in the pink and red granites from Aswan made this stone particularly suitable for the production of colossal monoliths like obelisks and columns (Klemm and Klemm 2001, 635-636). Furthermore, the red colour of the stone is often associated with the sun, and therefore an ideological connection may have existed between red granite and the concept of obelisks as rays of the sun (see Martin 1977, 62 with bibliography).

474. The earliest known royal obelisk, inscribed for the 6th Dynasty king Teti and erected at Heliopolis, was made from quartzite. Only the upper part has been found; its original height is estimated at approximately 3 m. by Habachi (1978, 42); cf. Martin (1977) 42. Examples of obelisks in greywacke include two specimens inscribed for the 30th Dynasty king Nectanebo II that probably originate from the temple of Thoth in Hermopolis Magna (London, British Museum, inv. EA 523 and 524; preserved height 2.74 m and 2.56 m, respectively; an additional fragment of the upper part of the shaft of inv. EA 524 is in Cairo, Egyptian Museum, inv. CG 17130, height 82 cm: see Kuentz 1932, 61-62, pl. 15. These obelisks may have originally been approximately 5.5 m high: Strudwick 2006, 286-287, cf. Iversen 1972, 51-61). Larger specimens were made from granodiorite:

Specimens reportedly made from sandstone include a pair from the royal cemetery at Dra' Abu el-Naga', Thebes (17th Dynasty), as well as several examples inscribed for Ramesses II.[475] Besides monumental monoliths erected by kings, from the 5th Dynasty onwards obelisks were extensively used in private tombs. These so-called funerary obelisks are usually inscribed with the name of the deceased and they typically have modest dimensions, ranging between a few decimeters up to approximately 1.5 m in height. Depending on the respective location of the cemetery in the northern or southern part of Egypt, these obelisks are invariably made from lime- or sandstone.[476] While alternatives in other materials including lime- and sandstone exist, none of these are as monumental as the ones in the studied sample. Funerary obelisks have modest dimensions, which do not compare to the granite specimens from Rome. Larger examples in sandstone (if this classification is correct) measure between 3 and 4 m tall; the reused obelisk of Ramesses II from Tanis may be the only specimen that was of comparable dimensions to the granite imports in the studied sample.[477]

Stelae

Innumerable stelae were made from limestone during all periods of Egyptian history.[478] Stelae in limestone that are typologically and stylistically related to the imported specimens in the studied sample include, firstly, several examples depicting Qadesh standing on a lion.[479] Secondly, while several stelae of Horus on the crocodiles are made from coloured stones, mostly steatite[480] like the one in the sample from Rome, a considerable number of artefacts of this type and with comparably small dimensions are made from limestone. The Egyptian Museum in Cairo alone holds sixteen examples of parallels in limestone, and another five specimens are in the collection of the Musée du Louvre.[481]

Clepsydras

The following list mentions all known (fragments of) waterclocks in chronological order.[482] It is evident that these objects were commonly carved from naturally coloured stones and executed in conceptual styles. The oldest known example, dating from the reign of the 18th Dynasty king Amenhotep III, is made of travertine, and was originally decorated with inlays of coloured stone and faience (no. 1). Other specimens are executed in red granite, granodiorite, and perhaps other dark coloured

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among the obelisks inscribed for Ramesses II that were reused in Tanis is an example in granodiorite that may have originally been 9.30 m high (so-called obelisk 14; see Leclant – Yoyotte 1950, 74-75 and 1957, 43-50).

475. The obelisks from Dra' Abu el-Naga' measured approximately 3.5 and 3.7 m tall; they are now lost: see Martin (1977) 84-86. Obelisks of Ramesses II in sandstone include a pair from the sun chapel to the north of the great temple at Abu Simbel (now Cairo, Egyptian Museum, inv. CG 17023 and 17024; height 3.12 m and 3.13 m, respectively: see Kuentz 1932, 45-50 and pl. 13 and Habachi 1978, 98-99), and the lower part of a specimen that was reused in Tanis (preserved height 4 m: see Montet 1937, 114 and pl. 28). However, it is not entirely clear whether these obelisks are made from sandstone: a colour image of what appears to be the lower part of the specimen from Tanis suggests that it may have been made from quartzite rather than sandstone.
476. Hence, the obelisks in tombs at Qubbet el-Hawa near Aswan are invariably made from sandstone, while the specimens from the cemeteries of Giza, Saqqara, and Mataria are all made from limestone. Martin (1977, 223-229) lists over 50 funerary obelisks; the smallest two are 18-20 cm, the largest two 143-160 cm; several of these are in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, for which see Kuentz (1932).
477. By comparison, the smallest obelisks in the sample from Rome measure 5.5 m and 6.3 m tall (*supra*, 184-185 no. 086 and 180-181 no. 084, respectively).
478. An early example is the stela of the 1st Dynasty Serpent king from Abydos (now in Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. E 11007): see Andreu *et al*. (1997) 43-44 no. 7 (C. Ziegler); other stelae of royal and private character can be readily added.
479. All from Deir el-Medina, Thebes; see, for instance, London, British Museum, inv. EA 191 (19th Dynasty, H. 75, stela of the chief craftsman Qeh); Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. C 86 = N 237 (19th-20th Dynasty; H. 32; painted limestone); and Turin, Museo Egizio, inv. 1601 = CGT 50066 (19th Dynasty, H. 45, painted limestone; stela of Ramose and Mutemwia: see Sternberg-El Hotabi 1999, vol. 1, fig. 20).
480. Other coloured materials include greywacke, quartzite, serpentinite, and perhaps basalt (depending on characterisation): Gasse (2004) 16.
481. For the examples in Cairo, see Sternberg-El Hotabi (1999) vol. 2, 35-44; for the Louvre see Gasse (2004) no. 3, 8, 19, 22, and 36. Other examples in limestone can be readily added, for which see the catalogue in Sternberg-El Hotabi (1999) vol. 2, 1-92.
482. The literature on clepsydras is fragmentary and dispersed. Moreover, it is not always clear whether several fragments belong together or not, which complicates the question of the relative frequency of the use of certain materials for these types of objects. Therefore, it was decided to create a list with all known fragments and available information. The article by Lodomez (2007) collects the majority of fragments included here; I only found this article when completing the manuscript.

stones. At least one clepsydra is made from limestone (no. 16); the material of another specimen (no. 2) is not specified, but judging from the published images it may be limestone.

1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, inv. JE 37525
Reign of Amenhotep III
(18th Dynasty, early 14th century BC)
Travertine with inlays of faience and coloured stones
From Karnak, Thebes
Nearly intact; 35 x 48 (H x diam. top)
Borchardt (1920) 6-7 no. 1; Sloley (1939), esp. 174-176; Neugebauer and Parker (1969) 12-14 no. 3 and pl. 2; Long (1987) 339 no. 1; Mengoli (1989); Clagett (1995) 66-77 and fig. 3.21a; Lodomez (2007) no. 1

2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, inv. JE 67096
Reign of Necho II
(26th Dynasty, ca. 610-595 BC)
Material unknown; possibly limestone?
From Tanis
Fragmentary; original dimensions calculated 37 x 57 (H. x diam. top)
Montet (1946) 35-39 no. R66 and pls. 1-2; Neugebauer and Parker (1969) 42-44 no. 34 and pl. 22b; Long (1987) 340-341 no. 5; Lodomez (2007) no. 2

3. Two complementary fragments (thus Borchardt, confirmed by Lodomez)
Reign of Alexander the Great
(Macedonian period, 331-323 BC)
Granodiorite

A. St. Petersburg, Hermitage, inv. 2507a
Provenance unknown
(from Rome?; previous attribution to Iseum Campense rejected by Lembke)
Fragmentary; 33.5 x 31 (H x W)
Golenischeff (1891) 374-376; Wiedemann (1901) 271 no. 1; Borchardt (1920) 7-8 no. 2; Roullet (1972) 145 no. 327 with figs. 337-339; Long (1987) 341 no. 6; Lembke (1994) 248 E55; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 218-220 no. 60 (O. Lollio Barberi); *Ägypten Griechenland Rom* (2005) 548-549 no. 113 (A.O. Bolshakov); Lodomez (2007) no. 4, 64-65 fragment E

B. Naples, Museo archeologico nazionale, inv. 2327
Provenance unknown
(from Rome?)
Fragmentary; 13.7 x 16.7 x 5.5 (H x W x Th)
Borchardt (1920) 7-8 no. 2; Lodomez (2007) no. 4, 65-67 fragment F

4. Four complementary fragments (Borchardt, Bothmer, Lodomez)
Reign of Alexander the Great
(Macedonian period, 331-323 BC)
Granodiorite

A. London, British Museum, inv. EA 933
From Tell el-Yahudiya
(Leontopolis)
Fragmentary; 36.5 x 35 x 6 (H x W x Th)
Borchardt (1920) 8 no. 3; Long (1987) 341 no. 7; Clagett (1995) fig. 3.21d; *Cleopatra of Egypt* (2001) 38 no. 1 (C. Andrews); *Ägypten Griechenland Rom* (2005) 548 no. 112 (P.E. Stanwick); Lodomez (2007) no. 3, 57-61 fragment A

B. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. E 30890
Provenance unknown
Fragmentary; 10.2 x 9 x 5 (H x W x Th)
Borchardt (1920) 8 no. 3; Long (1987) 341 no. 7; Lodomez (2007) no. 3, 61 fragment B

C. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. 30508
Provenance unknown
Fragmentary; 7.8 x 4.3 x 5 (H x W x Th)
Lodomez (2007) no. 3, 61-62 fragment C

D. New York, private collection (collection F. Elghanayan)
Provenance unknown
Fragmentary; 16 x 18.7 x 5 (H x W x Th)
Complementary to no. 5-7 (thus Lodomez)
LÄ V, 492-493 n. 16, s.v. Satrapenstele (R.S. Bianchi); *Cleopatra's Egypt* (1988) 222-223 no. 115 (R.S. Bianchi); Lodomez (2007) no. 3, 62-63 fragment D

5. New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art, inv. 57.21.1
Macedonian period, 331-323 BC
Granodiorite (?)
Provenance unknown
Fragmentary; 13.3 x 9.5 x 3.6 (H x W x Th)
Lodomez (2007) no. 5, 67 fragment G

6. London, British Museum, inv. EA 938
Reign of Philippus Arrhidaeus
(Macedonian period, 323-317 BC)
Granodiorite
Provenance unknown
Fragmentary; 35.2 x 27 (H x W)
Wiedemann (1901) 271-272 no. 2; Borchardt (1920) 8 no. 6; Long (1987) 341-342 no. 8; Clagett (1995) fig. 3.21b; Lodomez (2007) no. 6, 69-70 fragment H

7. Two complementary fragments (Capart, *contra* Hölbl in Langmann *et al*.)
Macedonian period / early Ptolemaic period
Red granite

A. Turin, Museo Egizio, inv. Suppl. 8
Found in Rome, behind the S. Maria sopra Minerva
Fragmentary; 21 x 19.5 x 5 (H x D x Th)
Supra, 236-237 no. 112

B. Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, inv. E 4782
Provenance unknown
Fragmentary; 11.5 x 16 x 4 (H x W x Th)
Speleers (1923) 94 and 186 no. 353; Capart (1938) 52-54 and figs. 8-9; Langmann *et al*. (1984); Limme (1989) 104 with n. 3; Lodomez (2007) no. 7

8. Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 1.a.5955
Macedonian period / early
Ptolemaic period (Ptolemy I)
Granodiorite (?)
Provenance unknown
Fragmentary; 19 x 17 x 3 (H x W x Th)
Borchardt (1920) 8 no. 4; Hodjash (1982) 185 no. 129; Long (1987) 344 no. 17; Lodomez (2007) no. 8

9. Present whereabouts unknown
Reign of Ptolemy I (Lodomez) /
Ptolemy II (Hölbl)
'Basalt'
From Ephesos
Fragmentary; dimensions unknown
Hölbl (1986b); Langmann *et al*. (1984) 54 and 61-64 with fig. 15a-b; Leclant – Clerc (1986) 316; Lodomez (2007) no. 9

10. St. Petersburg, Hermitage, inv. 2507b
Reign of Ptolemy II
(Ptolemaic period, 285-246 BC)
Granodiorite
Noted at Rome in the 16th century
Fragmentary; H. 21 cm
Golenischeff (1891) 376-377; Wiedemann (1901) 272 no. 3; Borchardt (1920) 8 no. 7; Roullet (1972) 145-146 no. 328 with figs. 339-342; Long (1987) 342 no. 9; Lembke (1994) 248 E54; *Le antichità egiziane* (1995) 218-220 no. 60 (O. Lollio Barberi); Lodomez (2007) no. 12

11. Two complementary fragments (thus Danneskïold-Samsøe, confirmed by Lodomez)
Reign of Ptolemy II
(Ptolemaic period, 285-246 BC)
Granodiorite

A. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. N 664 (= AF 894)
Provenance unknown
Fragmentary; 10 x 16 x 3 (H x W x Th)
Borchardt (1920) 8-9 no. 8; Neugebauer and Parker (1969) 60 no. 44 and pl. 22c; Long (1987) 343 no. 12; Lodomez (2007) no. 10

B. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsens Museum, inv. H 351[483]
Provenance unknown, probably purchased in Rome
Fragmentary; 18 x 10.5 (H x W)
Müller (1847) 33 no. 351 ('fragment of the lid of a sarcophagus'); Danneskïold-Samsøe (1975); Lodomez (2007) no. 10

483. I thank Dr. K. Bülow Clausen (Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen) for her valuable information on this fragment.

12. Rome, Museo Barracco, inv. 27
Reign of Ptolemy II
(Ptolemaic period, 285-246 BC)
Granodiorite
Found at Rome, in the area of the Iseum Campense (1856)
Largely complete; H. 38 cm
Supra, 232-233 no. 110

13. Turin, Museo Egizio, inv. Suppl. 3524
Macedonian period / first half 3rd century BC
Greywacke
From Heliopolis
Ca. 15 x 6 x 4 (H x W x Th)
Langmann *et al*. (1984) 61 n. 71; Lodomez (2007) no. 16

14. Florence, Museo archeologico nazionale, inv. 12290
Ptolemaic period (first half 3rd century BC)
Material unknown; the picture in Neugebauer and Parker indicates that it concerns a dark coloured stone
From Saqqara?
Fragmentary; 12.5 x 15 (H x W)
Neugebauer and Parker (1969) 60 no. 45 and pl. 22d; Lodomez (2007) no. 17

15. Excavations Serapeum, Alexandria, reg. no. P. 9161
Macedonian period-first half 3rd century BC (Lodomez) / reign of Ptolemy III? (Rowe)
Granodiorite
From the Serapeum at Alexandria
Fragmentary; ca. 8 x 12 (H x W)
Rowe (1946) 40-41, 50 addenda no. 12, and fig. 10; Lodomez (2007) no. 15

16. Chicago, The Oriental Institute, inv. 16875
Reign of Ptolemy II (Quaegebeur) / 2nd-1st century BC (Lodomez)
Limestone
Presumably from Memphis
Nearly intact; 52.5 x 67 (H. x diam. top)
Quaegebeur (1971) 259-262 and pls. 2-3; Long (1987) 342-343 no. 11; Lodomez (2007) no. 18

17. London, British Museum, inv. EA 21736
Ptolemaic period
'Basalt', presumably granodiorite
Provenance unknown
Fragmentary; 14 x 11.5 (H x W)
Online at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collectionobject_details.aspx?objectId=172813&partId=1&searchText=clepsydra&page=1

18. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. 19556
Early Ptolemaic or Roman Imperial period
Granodiorite
Found at Rome, in the vigna Bonelli near Porta Portese (1850)
Largely complete; dimensions unknown
Supra, 288-289 no. 138

19. Florence, Museo archeologico nazionale, inv. 2613
Macedonian period first-half 3rd century BC (Lodomez) / Roman Imperial period (Borchardt)
Material unknown
Fragmentary; H. ca. 20 cm
Provenance unknown
Borchardt (1920) 9 no. 10; Lodomez (2007) no. 14

20. Present whereabouts unknown
Roman Imperial period
'Basalt'
Fragmentary; dimensions unknown
No relief decoration
From Rome, monastery of Santa Lucia in Selci
Borchardt (1920) 9 no. 12; Lodomez (2007) no. 19

21. Present wherabouts unknown (formerly in the vigna Guidi at Rome)
Dating unknown
'Basalt'
Fragmentary; dimensions unknown
Vessel in the shape of a mill-stone, perhaps a clepsydra?
From Rome, Baths of Caracalla (Roullet)
Borchardt (1920) 9-10 no. 13; Roullet (1972) 144-145 no. 325

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Nederlandse Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift, genaamd *Egyptische representatie ontstegen. Materialen en materialiteit van Aegyptiaca Romana*, is geschreven in het kader van het door het NWO gefinancierde VIDI project "Cultural Innovation in a Globalising Society: Egypt in the Roman World", dat tussen 2010 en 2016 werd uitgevoerd aan de Universiteit Leiden onder leiding van Prof. dr. M.J. Versluys. Het primaire doel van dit onderzoeksproject was om tot een beter begrip van de appropriatie van zogenaamde buitenlandse invloeden in de Romeinse wereld te komen, waarbij Egyptische invloeden het centrale uitgangspunt vormden. Manifestaties van Egypte in zowel geschreven als archeologische bronnen zijn traditioneel benaderd vanuit normatieve en van bovenaf opgelegde concepten, zoals Oosterse culten en Egyptomanie. Bijgevolg is Egypte voorheen doorgaans beschouwd als een stereotypische buitenstaander in de Romeinse wereld, waarbij de nadruk voornamelijk is gelegd op de tegenstellingen die zouden bestaan tussen Egypte/Egyptisch enerzijds en Rome/Romeins anderzijds.

Het Leidse onderzoeksproject, dat met inbegrip van de huidige studie uit vier proefschriften bestaat, heeft echter laten zien dat Egyptische invloeden juist in hoge mate waren geïntegreerd in de Romeinse wereld, en dat zij daardoor eerder gezien dienen te worden als een intrinsieke component van datgene wat wij doorgaans Romeins noemen. Dit is een van de belangrijkste conclusies van het proefschrift van Marike van Aerde, genaamd *Egypt and the Augustan cultural revolution. An interpretative archaeological overview* en succesvol verdedigd in april 2015, waarin de rol van Egypte als een gevarieerde en integrale constituent van de materiële cultuur van Rome ten tijde van keizer Augustus (27 voor tot 14 na Christus) centraal staat. De integratie van Egyptische objecten in Romeinse huiscontexten in Pompeii en de daarmee gepaard gaande Romeinse percepties van Egyptische materiële cultuur staan centraal in het proefschrift van Eva Mol, *Egypt in material and mind. The use and perception of Aegyptiaca in Roman domestic contexts of Pompeii*, dat zij met succes verdedigde in mei 2015. Een onderzoek naar de beeldvorming van Egypte in Romeinse literaire bronnen laat zien dat Egypte ook in geschreven bronnen geen stereotypische buitenstaander was, maar dat de veelzijdige Romeinse literaire percepties van Egypte veelmeer in de context van Romeinse zelf-representatie moeten worden bezien, zoals het proefschrift van Maaike Leemreize, genaamd *Framing Egypt. Roman literary perceptions of Egypt from Cicero to Juvenal* en succesvol verdedigd in november 2016, beargumenteert

De huidige studie is het laatst verschenen proefschrift in het kader van het bovengenoemde VIDI project. Het doel van deze studie is om tot een beter begrip van Romeinse percepties van zogenaamde Aegyptiaca in Keizerlijk Rome te komen. Onder deze noemer wordt doorgaans de totaliteit van Egyptische en zogenaamde Egyptianiserende objecten in de Romeinse wereld verstaan, die respectievelijk uit Egypte waren geïmporteerd dan wel lokaal waren vervaardigd in een Egyptische stijl of een Egyptisch onderwerp uitbeeldden. Huidige interpretaties van deze artefacten zijn grotendeels gerelateerd aan hun indeling als Egyptische of Egyptianiserende objecten. Waar Egyptische objecten traditioneel zijn gezien als authentiek en religieus, zouden op Egyptisch voorbeeld gestoelde en daarom inherent inferieure Egyptianiserende artefacten minder authentiek en daardoor niet primair religieus zijn, maar in meer algemene zin getuigen van een Romeinse voorliefde voor exotisme. Het centrale uitgangspunt van deze interpretaties is steeds dat de Romeinse betekenis van deze objecten voornamelijk zou zijn bepaald door hun Egyptische karakter. Echter, zoals de huidige studie aantoont, is dit uitgangspunt problematisch, omdat de categorie van Aegyptiaca, de onderverdeling in Egyptische en Egyptianiserende objecten, alsmede de daarmee gepaard gaande monolithische interpretaties zijn gebaseerd op moderne voorstellingen van Egypte en van de betekenis van Egyptische materiële cultuur. We mogen daarom niet zonder meer aannemen dat het veronderstelde Egyptische karakter van de objecten die wij doorgaans Aegyptiaca noemen ook voor Romeinen steeds voorop stond in hun omgang met en het begrip van deze objecten. Dit onderstreept het belang van een

alternatieve benadering, een die het mogelijk maakt om Romeinse percepties te onderzoeken van objecten die wij op een of andere manier associëren met Egypte, zonder vooraf simpelweg aan te nemen dat zij ook voor Romeinen enkel iets Egyptisch zouden representeren.

Om de van bovenaf opgelegde en gefixeerde interpretaties van zogenaamde Aegyptiaca te ontstijgen, werkt deze studie toe naar een van onderaf opgebouwde benadering die uitgaat van de manieren waarop deze objecten Romeinen mogelijk konden beïnvloeden. Deze 'beyond representation'-benadering gaat uit van recente theoretische ontwikkelingen op het gebied van zogenaamde 'object agency', die postuleren dat artefacten niet enkel één vaststaande betekenis representeren maar veelmeer in staat zijn om bepaalde associaties bij mensen op te roepen, niet in de minste plaats door hun fysieke aanwezigheid en de manieren waarop zij zichzelf aan mensen presenteren. In deze studie stel ik voor dat we een meer inclusieve benadering dan voorheen nodig hebben om de mogelijke associaties te achterhalen die zogenaamde Aegyptiaca bij Romeinen konden oproepen. Waar traditionele benaderingen zich voornamelijk hebben gericht op de (veronderstelde) Egyptische onderwerpen die deze objecten uitbeelden en hun stilistische uitvoering, zijn de materiële aspecten van zogeheten Aegyptiaca vooralsnog onderbelicht gebleven. Een discussie van de Romeinse omgang met en het begrip van stenen materialen toont aan dat dit een tekortkoming is, omdat bepaalde materialen veel zeggingskracht hadden in de Romeinse wereld en, in het bijzonder in combinatie met bepaalde stijlen en onderwerpen, in belangrijke mate bijdroegen aan de mogelijke impact van artefacten.

Aan de hand van een zorgvuldig geselecteerde dataset van zogenoemde stenen Aegyptiaca uit Keizerlijk Rome, en uitgaand van een nieuwe focus op de materiële aspecten van deze objecten, bestudeer ik vervolgens de interne relaties die bestaan tussen de verschillende parameters waaruit deze artefacten bestaan en die, op zichzelf of in relatie tot andere parameters, mogelijk bijdroegen aan hun specifieke zeggingskracht. Deze analyse laat zien dat de categorie van objecten die we doorgaans Aegyptiaca noemen uit verschillende clusters van objecten bestaat met duidelijk verschillende materiële en stilistische eigenschappen, die nauw verbonden blijken te zijn met hun datering, herkomst, objecttypen en soms ook met specifieke onderwerpen die zij uitbeelden. Uit Egypte geïmporteerde objecten en hun Romeinse emulaties vallen op door de consistente en atypische uitvoering in gekleurde harde gesteenten en conceptuele stijlen, terwijl de grootste groep objecten van Romeinse ouderdom wit marmer combineert met naturalistische of conceptuele stijlen, afhankelijk van de objecttypen en de onderwerpen die zij uitbeelden. Deze twee overheersende clusters komen grotendeels overeen met de onderverdeling in de voorgaande literatuur tussen Egyptische en Egyptianiserende objecten. Echter, in plaats van de waargenomen verschillen middels simplistische en van bovenaf geprojecteerde tegenstellingen te verklaren, zoals authentiek versus kopie of religieus versus exotisch, betoog ik dat de duidelijk verschillende materiële en stilistische configuraties van deze artefacten de associaties die zij konden oproepen beïnvloedden, en dat zij daardoor van belang waren vanuit Romeins perspectief. Zo konden zij weliswaar het Egyptische karakter van deze objecten benadrukken, maar door hun specifieke eigenschappen hadden deze artefacten veel meer zeggingskracht. Materiaalkeuze blijkt een belangrijke factor te zijn geweest in de selectie van Egyptische objecten voor transport naar Rome. Artefacten gehouwen uit kalk- en zandsteen, die voor zover we kunnen nagaan wel beschikbaar waren voor Romeinen, werden steevast niet geselecteerd voor transport naar Rome. In plaats daarvan zien we een duidelijke voorkeur voor objecten van gekleurde harde stenen. Door hun specifieke materialiteit konden deze voorwerpen allerlei noties van luxe, prestige, vreemdheid of exotisme oproepen bij Romeinen. Tegelijkertijd benadrukten de materialen van uit Egypte geïmporteerde objecten hun stilistische en thematische uitvoering in hun alteriteit. Dit in tegenstelling tot de Romeinse producties die zijn gehouwen uit wit marmer en uitgevoerd in naturalistische stijlen, die door middel van hun specifieke materiële en stilistische eigenschappen juist veelmeer noties van vertrouwdheid als inherent onderdeel van het Romeinse 'zelf' kunnen hebben gesignaleerd.

Hoewel dit ongetwijfeld slechts enkele van de associaties zijn die zogenaamde Aegyptiaca konden oproepen, laten zij reeds zien dat een a-prioristische reductie van deze objecten tot monolithische Egyptische betekenissen per definitie leidt tot een te eenvoudige voorstelling van de verschillende manieren waarop deze objecten door Romeinen konden worden ervaren.

Om een van onderaf opgebouwde benadering mogelijk te maken, en daarmee inzicht te verkrijgen in de relevantie voor Romeinen van de objecten die moderne wetenschappers doorgaans Aegyptiaca noemen, heb ik in deze studie voorgesteld dat het nuttig is om te beginnen om de fysieke eigenschappen van objecten en hun onderlinge relaties tot elkaar centraal te stellen in ons onderzoek, omdat deze een zekere zeggingskracht hebben die menselijk gedrag kunnen beïnvloeden. Tegelijkertijd laat deze studie zien dat het moeilijk is om de vertaalslag te maken van de fysieke eigenschappen van objecten tot de bredere gedragspatronen die zij in gang zetten, en daarmee hoe moeilijk het is om specifieke antwoorden te geven op vragen hoe objecten door Romeinen werden waargenomen en wat ze precies deden. Een meer diepgaande analyse van het functioneren van artefacten in hun oorspronkelijke Romeinse contexten kan helpen antwoorden te vinden op vragen over hoe deze voorwerpen precies werden gebruikt en welke associaties daarbij van belang waren. Zoals betoogd, ligt hierin ligt een belangrijke uitdaging voor toekomstig onderzoek. Uiteindelijk betekent dit ook dat het isolement dat een focus op de schijnbaar coherentie categorie van Aegyptiaca per definitie met zich meebrengt dient te worden opgeheven. Enkel door de relaties tussen alle artefacten die tezamen functioneerden in een bepaalde context in acht te nemen, inclusief objecten die wij niet associëren met Egypte en bijgevolg bijvoorbeeld Romeins of Grieks noemen, kunnen we toewerken naar een object-georiënteerde, van onderaf opgebouwde benadering die materiële cultuur in haar eigen recht bestudeert, en kunnen we de hardnekkige opvatting dat deze objecten enkel iets Egyptisch representeren ontstijgen.

Curriculum Vitae

Sander Wilhelmus Gerardus Müskens was born in 1981 in Nijmegen, The Netherlands. From 1992 to 1998, he attended the *Dominicus College* in Nijmegen. After undergraduate experience in Physical Geography (Universiteit Utrecht, 1998-1999) and Classics (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, 2002), he completed his BA in Archaeology at Leiden University in 2006 with a major in Mediterranean Archaeology and a minor in Egyptology. He subsequently obtained his MA degree from Leiden University in 2009 (cum laude). During his studies at Leiden University, Sander participated in several fieldwork campaigns in Egypt and Greece. In May 2010 he started working on his PhD-research in the NWO-funded VIDI project "Cultural Innovation in a Globalising Society: Egypt in the Roman World" under direction of M.J. Versluys at Leiden University. During this time, he has co-organised an international conference and co-edited its proceedings, published several articles and a book review, co-hosted a MA-course in Rome in cooperation with the Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut Rome, and presented at national and international conferences. As of September 2016, Sander has been appointed as postdoctoral researcher and lecturer in the NWO-funded VICI project "Innovating objects. The agency of global connections in the Roman world (200-30 BC)" under direction of M.J. Versluys at Leiden University (2016-2021).

ASLU 35
Egypt beyond representation
Materials and materiality of Aegyptiaca Romana
S. Müskens

The 35th volume of the ASLU series develops and applies a new approach to study Aegyptiaca Romana from a bottom-up, Roman perspective. Current approaches to these objects are often still plagued by top-down projections of modern definitions and understandings of Egypt and Egyptian material culture onto the Roman world. *Egypt beyond representation* instead argues that these artefacts should be studied in their own right, without reducing them from the onset to fixed (Egyptian) meanings. Starting from a novel focus on the materials and materiality of a selection of stone Aegyptiaca from Rome, and by combining archaeological and archaeometric perspectives, this study shows that, while *Egyptianness* may have been among Roman associations, these objects were able to do much more than merely representing notions of Egypt.

Sander Müskens holds a master in Classical and Mediterranean Archaeology from Leiden University (cum laude). In 2010, he started his PhD research within the NWO-funded VIDI project "Cultural innovation in a globalising society: Egypt in the Roman world". As of September 2016, he has been appointed as postdoctoral researcher and lecturer at Leiden University.

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