

Marmora Splendida

Marble and Marble Imitation in Domestic Decoration - Some Case Studies from Pompeii and Herculaneum

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Abstract

In the decoration of Roman houses we come across the use of real marble as well as the application of marble imitation. Analyzing the well-preserved cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum a striking difference can be detected with regard to these two types of decoration. The analysis shows that in the case of Pompeii people made well-considered choices regarding the types of marble that were used or imitated following the old republican values, while in the case of Herculaneum the inhabitants were more progressive in following the decorative trends that spread from Rome towards the rest of ancient Italy.

INTRODUCTION

The modern word 'luxury' derives from the Latin term *luxuria*, which literally means 'urge for luxury'. Roman authors of the Republic and early Imperial period criticized every form of *luxuria*, since they feared the deterioration of Roman morals and, consequently, the impairment of the Roman state.¹ In spite of their criticism, the authors could not prevent that, during the period of expansion, an ever-increasing import of luxury products arose from conquered provinces to the heart of the empire. In only a few decades, luxury and wealth became concepts that defined social status and, as a result, turned into essential elements in the private lives of prominent Roman citizens.

One of the luxury products that became increasingly popular in the late Republic and the early imperial period was marble. The Romans were first introduced to this type of stone through their fascination for the Alexandrian culture. Soon, small amounts of white and colored marbles were brought to Rome. Because of its scarcity, in the remaining areas of the Italic peninsula the use of marble was highly restricted, if not absent, in the late Republic. Inhabitants of cities outside of Rome, however, were by then familiar with the existence of this new luxury ware and the value it had for the definition of social status. In order to find a way to go along with this new whim of fashion without having access to the actual product, people from these cities started to imitate marble in wall paintings.

With the incorporation of several regions in the empire (most importantly Greece, North-Africa

and Asia Minor), the import and use of white and colored marbles increased gradually. As a result, marble decorations started to occur in houses in cities outside of Rome in the course of the 1st century AD. Nevertheless, marble imitations in wall paintings remained present and they even developed from unrecognizable to very realistic and identifiable imitations. In this article, I intend to focus on the apparent discrepancy between the increasing availability of white and colored marbles on the one hand and the persistent trend of

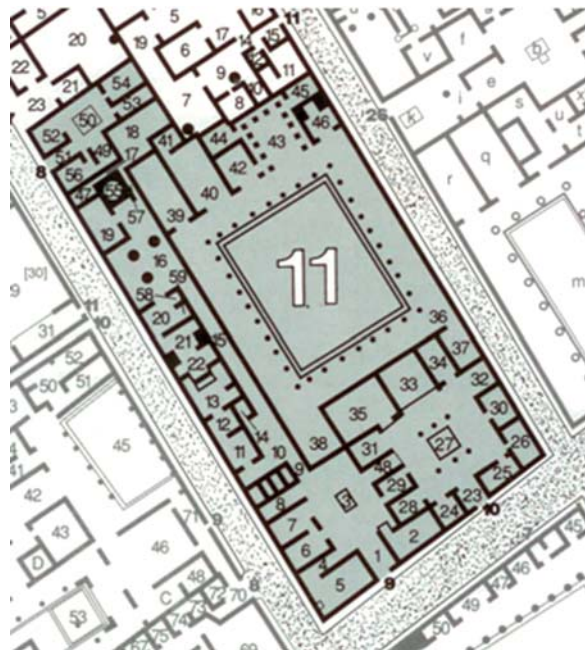


Fig. 1. Casa del Labirinto VI 11, 8-10 (PPM V, 1).



Fig. 2. Casa di Sallustio VI 2, 4 (PPM IV, 87).

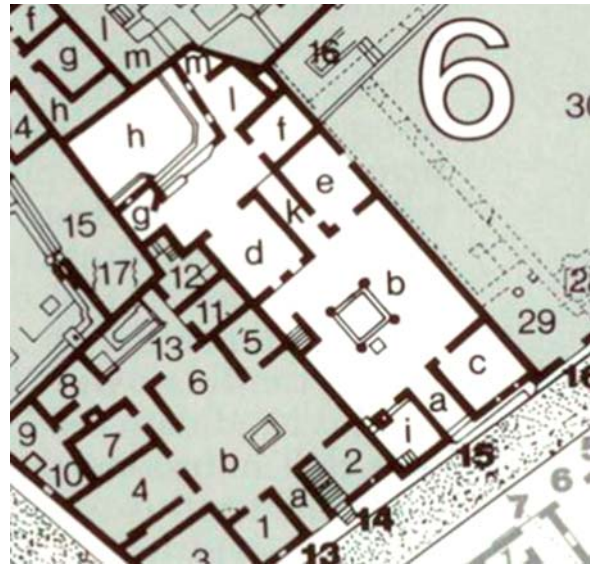


Fig. 4. Casa dei Ceii I 6, 15 (PPM I, 407).

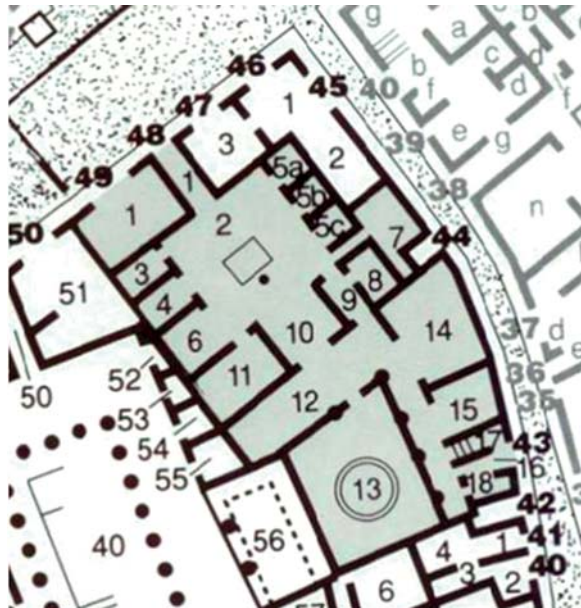


Fig. 3. Casa della Caccia Antica VII 4, 48 (PPM VII, 6).

incorporating marble imitations in wall paintings on the other hand. I discuss eight houses in Pompeii and Herculaneum, for, as with so many topics, the preservation conditions of these towns provide us with excellent and unique data to work with.

The case studies from Pompeii are the Casa del Labirinto (VI 11, 8-10), the Casa di Sallustio (VI 2,

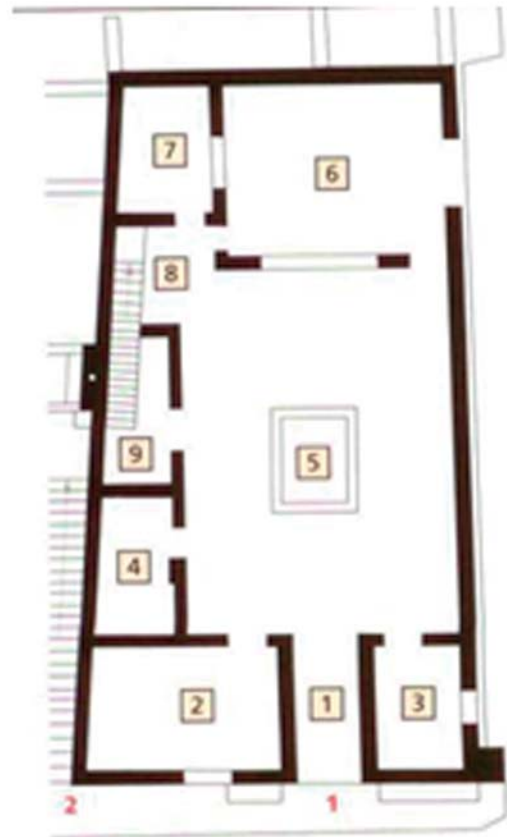


Fig. 5. Casa Sannitica H V 1, 2 (Guidobaldi 2006, 84).



Fig. 6. Casa dei Cervi H IV 21 (Guidobaldi 2006, 77).



Fig. 7. Casa del Rilievo di Telefo H I 2, 3 (Guidobaldi 2006, 43).



Fig. 8. Casa dello Scheletro H III 3 (Guidobaldi 2006, 59).

4), the Casa della Caccia Antica (VII 4, 48) and the Casa dei Ceii (I 6, 15) (figs 1-4).² In all four of these houses both marble and marble imitation are incorporated in the decoration program. Furthermore, in my opinion, these houses constitute a cross section of the case studies available for this research, because they differ in size and are located in various parts of the town.³ The case studies from Herculaneum are the Casa Sannitica (H V 1, 2), the Casa dei Cervi (H IV 21), the Casa del Rilievo di Telefo (H I 2, 3) and the Casa dello Scheletro (H III 3) (figs 5-8).⁴ Again, these houses constitute a cross section of the case studies available for this research, because they are of dissimilar dimensions and they are built in different parts of the excavated area.⁵ Before I proceed to the discussion of the case studies, I will start this article by introducing the phenomena of marble and marble imitation in Roman antiquity.

MARBLE IN ANTIQUITY

Marble is a type of limestone, crystallized by heat and pressure. The Latin word for marble, *marmor*, is a derivative of the Greek μάρμαρος, which means 'crystalline stone' or 'shining stone'. In antiquity, therefore, the term *marmora* did not refer to genuine marbles per se. It constitutes an umbrella term for all solid, crystalline stones that were used for the manufacturing of, among other products, sculptures and architectonic decorations. Next to actual marble, the group determined as *marmora* comprised porphyry, granite, breccia, diorite, basalt, and a few types of finer limestone.⁶

The increasing interest in and availability of marbles caused a natural growth of its use in Roman private contexts from the 1st century BC onwards. The prices that needed to be paid for this luxury product varied strongly and were mainly related to the type of marble and its place of origin (i.e. the greater the distance between quarry and buyer and the scarcer the product, the higher its price). Colored marbles were imported from Greece and North-Africa, while white marbles originated either from Greece, the Greek Islands or Italic Luni (table 1). The provenance of colored marbles can be identified quite easily with the naked eye, but only a combination of petrographic, chemical and isotopic analyses can determine the provenance of white marbles from the bigger quarries.⁷ It is, however, possible to see the difference between an Italic and a Greek type of white marble, since Greek white marbles have a conspicuous crystalline structure and they therefore 'sparkle', whereas Italic white marble is lusterless. The characteristic Italic type of white marble, *marmor lunense*, was quarried and distributed in enormous quantities. It was often used for construction and relatively cheap, contrary to the more expensive white marbles from Greece and its islands, which were generally used for decorative purposes.

Marble was decoratively utilized in three different ways. The first and possibly most well-known type is sculpture. With decorative marble sculpture, I mean all objects that are made of marble and used to decorate specific spaces, such as statues, garden equipment and reliefs. Most of these were executed in white marble, either Italic or Greek, but once in a while (certain parts of) statues (clothing) or tables (supports) were made of polychrome marble.⁸ Since the focus of this article lies on the marble covering of objects, the only decorative marble sculptures that are of relevance here are the rims of *impluvia*.⁹

Next to sculpture, marble was also used to decorate floors. This type of marble use can be sub-categorized into three groups, each presenting a specific technique to process marble in floors. The first group comprises the *opera scutulata*, which are mosaic or *opus signinum* floors decorated with geometrically shaped pieces of marble in a regular or irregular pattern.¹⁰ These *opera scutulata* can be found in rooms with a dynamic character, where people did not stay long enough to really look at and admire the floors.¹¹ The second group includes the *emblemata*, which literally means 'inlaid work' in Latin. The term derives from the Greek ἐμβλημα, which can be translated as 'the

inserted (part)'. Traditionally, an *emblema* refers to a square decoration, mostly made of several pieces of polychrome marbles, which was positioned in the middle of a mosaic floor. *Emblemata* are usually found in static rooms, where people came together.¹² The third group of marble floor decorations encompasses the *sectilia pavimenta*, which are floors in the *opus sectile* technique.¹³ Floors decorated in this technique were entirely lined with pieces of polychrome marbles set in various designs. They can only be found in static spaces.¹⁴

The third and final way to use marble for decorative purposes can be seen on walls. This type of decoration appears less frequent than the floor decorations mentioned above, but the amount is nonetheless sufficient.¹⁵ In houses, marble wall decoration is mainly restricted to the socle, but occasionally a larger part of the wall was lined with marble.¹⁶ Both the quite exceptional marble wall decorations and the more common marble floor decorations introduced here will be discussed in relation to the case studies from Pompeii and Herculaneum. Before I turn to these case studies, however, a brief discussion of the phenomenon of marble imitation is appropriate, in the course of which I will focus mainly on the debate concerning the 'first Pompeian style'.

MARBLE IMITATION IN WALL PAINTINGS

In his discourse on Roman wall painting, Vitruvius states that, in the beginning, the Romans imitated the diversity and arrangement of marble inlay.¹⁷ Focusing on the area under discussion here, A. Mau followed Vitruvius' statement when he wrote his famous book on Pompeian wall paintings.¹⁸ In his chronological classification of wall paintings, which is nowadays much discussed, he ranged the marble imitations under the term 'first Pompeian style' (fig. 9).¹⁹

As most modern authors, I accept and share the current criticism related to the term 'first Pompeian style'. First, the chronology that Mau applied to his style division with regard to the paintings from Pompeii cannot be maintained, since several examples show that the four Pompeian styles were jointly in use in AD 79, which demonstrates that styles that were introduced earlier, like the 'first Pompeian style', were reused in later periods or stayed 'in fashion' during the years. Second, we simply cannot identify this type as specifically Pompeian, or even Campanian or Roman, since paintings in the same style have been found, for example, on Delos and in Olynthos.²⁰ It therefore represents a more common Mediterranean deco-



Fig. 9. Marble imitation in the 'first style' of painting - the fauces in the Casa Sannitica H V 1, 2 (photo author).



Fig. 10a. Marble imitation in later styles of painting; imitations in the 'second style' - Casa del Labirinto VI 11, 8-10 (photo author).



Fig. 10b. Marble imitation in later styles of painting; imitations in the 'fourth style' - Casa della Caccia Antica VII 4, 48 (photo author).

ration style with variants from different Mediterranean areas.²¹ Considering this, I opt for the name 'Italic masonry style' as an alternative to Mau's 'first Pompeian style'. The addition of 'Italic' makes the phrase less broad than the one offered by V.J. Bruno ('masonry style') and this way it covers all the remaining (fragments of) wall

paintings found on the Italic peninsula that are studied under the well-known, but ambiguous term of 'first Pompeian style'. In my view, the 'Italic masonry style' should be seen as a variant of the more common and traditional Mediterranean style.

Some years ago, E.W. Leach voiced another



Fig. 11. Imitations of giallo antico in the Casa di Apollo VI 7, 23 (photo author).

much expressed point of discussion with regard to this style of painting. She questioned the fact whether or not it is really marble that has been imitated in the examples at hand.²² Marble imitation can be defined as the marbling of surfaces, which, with regard to painting, can be translated into the marbling of (certain parts of) walls. In my view, we find both monochrome and polychrome examples of this technique in the eldest Vesuvian paintings. Polychrome examples are easy to detect, since the paintings show clear veins in sectors in which marble is represented.²³ The existence of monochrome marbling is less easy to substantiate, since it does not have any specific features. It should not be forgotten, however, that there are several types of marble that do not have the distinctive veins mentioned before.²⁴ Some of these vaguely have a form of veining in a linear or dotted pattern, but most of the time this is hardly visible. Therefore, monochrome painted panels can either be accounted for as marble imitation or not. In my opinion, it depends on the final interpretation of the entire decoration whether or not one regards this marble imitation as visible in all wall zones. If we regard the entire decoration of a particular wall as a unit and therefore as an ensemble, we may conclude that, indeed, all wall zones in the earliest Vesuvian wall paintings present marble imitation.

In addition to the debated, and hopefully determined, presence of marble imitation in early Vesuvian painting, the precious stone was imitated in later styles as well (*figs 10a-10b*).²⁵ Even more so, these later marble imitations are much

more easily recognized as such, since the availability of marble increased, which means that painters had their examples at hand. The 'fourth Pompeian style' puts forth the most elaborate examples of marble imitation in wall decoration. The veining of specific types is accurately executed and the marble is, therefore, very realistically represented and determinable (*figs 11-12*).²⁶ In contrast to the examples from early paintings, the later imitations are painted on stucco that is not executed in high relief. They are found in the lower or upper regions of the wall, since the 'eye-catchers' of the 'fourth Pompeian style' were the mythological narratives in the middle zone. In my opinion, however, these marble imitations still served as a means to complete the decorative ensemble, but now as costly looking adornments of the elaborately painted mythological scenes.²⁷

THE CASE OF POMPEII

The Casa del Labirinto, named after a mosaic with a depiction of a labyrinth and Theseus slaying the Minotaur in its centre, measures approximately 2000 m² and counts as one of the biggest houses of Pompeii (*fig. 1*).²⁸ The original house, built in the middle of the 2nd century BC, was much smaller, but already at the end of the same century, a *hortus* and two adjoining houses were bought up in order to extend the original dimensions of the house (on the ground floor as well as on the upper floor) and to create a large peristyle.²⁹ The siege of Pompeii during the Social War caused the house much damage. As a result,



Fig. 12. Imitations of colored marble in the Casa di Octavius Quartio II 2, 2 (photo author).

it needed restoration, which was carried out between ca 70 and 60 BC. At the same time, new rooms were put into use, such as the bath section and some representative rooms to the north of the house.³⁰ Subsequently, after the earthquake of AD 62, much of the southern part of the house was destroyed. After this second setback, the southern section was partially restored, certain rooms were rebuilt and the upper storey in this part of the house fell out of use. In addition, several rooms to the northwest of the house were put into use as a *panificium*.³¹

The house thus underwent several alterations in various periods. This contributed to the application of a wide range of wall paintings in all possible styles.³² Marble imitation is a prominent aspect within these wall paintings, which is found in various rooms throughout the house. The Italic masonry style, for instance, is found in rooms 24 (*cubiculum*; static), 27 (*atrium*; dynamic), 33 (*tablinum*; static) and 36 (peristyle; dynamic), all in the eastern - and oldest - section of the house (*table 2*).³³ If V.M. Strocka's treatise on the construction history of the Casa del Labirinto is correct, this part of the house was entirely destroyed by the earthquake of AD 62 and rebuilt from its foundations.³⁴ This means that the marble imitations in the Italic masonry style were restored in a period in which other styles of paintings were in use for a long time. This marks the value of this type of decoration in the dynamic part of a mansion like the Casa del Labirinto.³⁵

Unfortunately, most of the decorations in the Italic masonry style are in a bad state of preservation, especially the middle and lower zones of the walls. The characteristic division of the walls, however, is still visible, as are several traces of

paint.³⁶ The paint shows that the imitations are executed in red, white, yellow and green and are applied in the *atrium* and in rooms directly adjacent to this central room (i.e. in the most dynamic part of the house). The locations for these early imitations in the Casa del Labirinto recall the places in which the well preserved marble imitations of the Casa di Sallustio are applied. Here, too, all imitations in the Italic masonry style are found in rooms located in or adjacent to the dynamic part of the house (in this case room 10).³⁷ Moreover, they are all executed in the same colors as the imitations in the Casa del Labirinto: red, white, yellow and green.³⁸ As has been said before, monochrome marble imitations in the earliest styles of painting are difficult to identify. In analogy with much imitated marbles in later styles, it is likely that the painted panels in the Casa del Labirinto as well as in the Casa di Sallustio were supposed to be imitations of *rosso antico* (red), plain white marble (white), *giallo antico* (yellow) and *cipollino verde* (green).

Besides the marble imitations in the Italic masonry style, several other types of marble imitation are found in the Casa del Labirinto. Most of them constitute imitations in the 'second style', which are found in rooms that were equipped or redecorated in a period in which this particular style of wall painting was in fashion (70-60 BC). Rooms 3, 4, 5, 41 and 44 present a simple design in the 'second style', whereas rooms 7, 39, 42, 43, 45 and 46 contain more elaborate paintings, which is reflected in the marble imitations added to the respective paintings. Next to monochrome marble imitations, imitations of alabaster and *giallo antico* can be identified. Subsequently, unidentifiable imitations are applied that can be recognized as

nonexistent fantasy marbles or, more likely, as unrecognizable imitations. Most of the rooms in which these later imitations were applied have a static character and were meant to impress visitors, which is especially the case with regard to the rooms that are located to the north of the peristyle (39, 42, 43, 46). Those were the rooms in which the house owner presumably received his intimate, socially equal guests whom he wanted to impress with luxurious decorations. The marble imitations serve in that respect as luxurious adornments of the decorative ensemble that give the entire wall a more expensive sight.

Next to the marble imitations in the Italic masonry style and the 'second style', one example can be found in the Casa del Labirinto of marble imitation in the 'fourth style'. It concerns the dado zone of room 6, where the marble imitation visible in the northwest corner shows a pattern which is also found in rooms 10 and 15 of the Casa della Caccia Antica. The painting shows the pattern typical for marble imitation in the 'fourth style': circles, squares and lozenges, painted in the middle of square and rectangular fields. The colors of the imitations in the Casa del Labirinto are not as well preserved as those in the Casa della Caccia Antica, but yellow, red and deep red imitations are discernible.³⁹ As we have seen before, these colors could point to imitations of *giallo antico* (yellow) and *rosso antico* (red).⁴⁰

In sum, the marble imitations in the Casa del Labirinto range from simplistic and hardly determinable ones in the Italic masonry style to more elaborately painted and easier recognizable imitations in later styles of painting. As we have seen, the imitations in the Italic masonry style are mainly applied in or directly adjacent to the dynamic part of the house, while the later imitations are found in rooms in the more static parts of the house, mainly in the rooms north of the peristyle. This tendency is also found in the other Pompeian houses used for this study (table 2).⁴¹

It is remarkable that the use of real marble with regard to the marble covering of objects and wall and floor decoration seems scarce in a house as large as the Casa del Labirinto. The only two examples can be found in rooms 27 and 43. In room 27, a dynamic room (*atrium*), the cistern is provided with a rim of Italic white marble. In room 43, a room with a static character (Corinthian *oecus*), the floor is decorated with an *emblema* with various types of colored marble (*portasanta*, *pavonazzetto*, *giallo antico* and *cipollino*).⁴² Even though the use of real marble is limited, the examples from the Casa del Labirinto reflect the general

trend in decorations of real marble in Pompeii. Italic white marble is mainly used in rooms with a dynamic character, while colored marble is used in static rooms (table 2).

If we combine the data retrieved from the Pompeian case studies that represent the application of marble imitation as well as the use of real marble, it becomes clear that imitations in the Italic masonry style are often combined with the use of Italic white marble (floors) in dynamic rooms such as the *atrium* of a house. More realistic imitations from later styles are found in static rooms, such as an *oecus* or *triclinium*, where they are combined with decorations of real colored marbles (table 2).⁴³ The explanation of this phenomenon can be found in the function of the respective rooms. Dynamic rooms were used by the house owner (*patronus*) to receive his *clientes*. The Italic masonry style and the simple Italic white marbles were status symbols. They represented the highly valued and modest aristocratic traditions, which reflected the owner's wealth, power and prestige and was opposite from the lower status of his *clientes*. The marble imitations in later styles and real colored marbles are found in the static rooms of the house where the house owner received guests and family of (more or less) equal standing. The decorations in these rooms were not used to show status, since visitors of these rooms were of the same social rank, but to 'simply' emulate the decorative systems found in the houses of the guests present. It shows moreover that the house owner spent much money to decorate these rooms and that he followed current trends of fashion. He maintained or (re)gained respect among his equals, which served him well in for instance his business or political career.

THE CASE OF HERCULANEUM

The difference between the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum with regard to the phenomenon of marble imitation is apparent: whereas the houses of Pompeii enclose several examples in all styles of painting, the only obvious example of marble imitation in Herculaneum is found in the *fauces* of the Casa Sannitica (H V 1, 2).⁴⁴ Conversely, the relatively small area of Herculaneum that has been excavated did not prevent the excavators from discovering much marble in almost every house, large or small, whereas marble in Pompeii is much less apparent in domestic decoration.⁴⁵ First, I will discuss the marble imitation in the Casa Sannitica. Subsequently, the floor and wall decorations, executed in real marble, of the other three Hercula-

near case studies will be examined (table 3).⁴⁶

The Casa Sannitica, named after an Oscan inscription found in the *fauces*, was presumably built at the end of the 3rd century BC. Originally, the house was much larger than its final 190 m². In the first half of the 2nd century BC, the peristyle and garden of the Casa Sannitica were sold and became part of the adjoining Casa del Gran Portale.⁴⁷ Shortly afterwards, the loggia in the upper zone of the *atrium* was constructed to give the house a spacious and more prestigious view. After the earthquake of AD 62, however, part of this loggia was walled up, so as to create a solid foundation for the upper storey of the house. At approximately the same time, a new *impluvium* was placed in the *atrium* and all walls were redecorated. J. Clarke states that ‘.. all of the First-Style decoration save that of the *fauces* was repainted in the Fourth Style’.⁴⁸ This remark is interesting, since we have seen that decorations in the Italic masonry style (Clarke’s ‘First Style’) in Pompeii were restored after they were damaged. If Clarke is right, then the process of repainting does not only represent one of the differences between Pompeii and Herculaneum concerning the Italic masonry style, but it might also be a possible explanation of why there are hardly any examples of this early style of painting left in Herculaneum.

However, in the upper zones of both *fauces* walls, above the dentil cornice that terminates the decoration in the Italic masonry style of the middle and lower zones, two landscape paintings can be found. In his discussion of these particular paintings, E.M. Moormann has argued - against the *communis opinio* - that the Italic masonry style and the landscape paintings in the *fauces* should be regarded as a unitary decoration that was applied after the earthquake of AD 62.⁴⁹ If Moormann’s interpretation is right, then the entire house including the *fauces* was repainted in the period of the fourth style.⁵⁰

It is difficult to determine which one of the proposed interpretations is closest to what actually happened with regard to the decoration of the Casa Sannitica. Nevertheless, I stated earlier on that I am of the opinion that the decoration of a wall should be regarded as a unit, which is actually what Moormann contends, too.⁵¹ So, in order to try to find a valid solution for the dispute presented above, we should first turn to the decoration in the Italic masonry style in more detail.

The marble imitations applied in the *fauces* of the Casa Sannitica occupy a location that corresponds to examples in this style from Pompeii.⁵² The imitations are executed in monochrome and

polychrome patterns. Again, it is difficult to identify the monochrome marbles. The yellow panels may be imitations of *giallo antico*, the white of plain white marble (Greek or Italic) and the red of *rosso antico*. The polychrome panel on the south wall of the *fauces* shows an imitation in deep red / purple, yellow, green and white. An imitation similar in shape and colors is used to decorate the frame around one of the painted panels in room 42 of the Casa di Sallustio in Pompeii. It is possible that both paintings are imitations of *breccia verde d’Egitto*. The deep red panels have been identified by A. Maiuri and, following him, Clarke as porphyry, but, as has been said before, the porphyry quarries were yet to be discovered when the Italic masonry style was introduced.⁵³ So, if the decoration is original to the house, the deep red color should be regarded as an imitation of an unidentifiable type of marble (perhaps *rosso antico*). Returning to the dispute about the dating of these paintings in combination with the landscape paintings in the upper zones of the walls, however, it may be that the *fauces* decorations in the Italic masonry style belong to the entire redecoration of the Casa Sannitica after the earthquake of AD 62. At that moment in time, the porphyry quarries were in use and, as a result, the interpretation of Maiuri and Clarke (i.e. that the panels in deep red were imitations of *porfido rosso*) is correct. This conclusion also implies that Moormann’s interpretation of the wall decorations in the *fauces* of this house is the right one.

The use of real marble in Herculaneum is abundant. In all houses examined for this study in Herculaneum, Italic white marble is found in the way it was used in all Pompeian houses that have been discussed. In the Casa Sannitica and the Casa del Rilievo di Telefo, the respective *atria* are decorated with an *impluvium* of white marble. The *atrium* of the latter house is also provided with a white marble puteal. The water basin in room 15-16 of the Casa dello Scheletro, identified as a *nymphaeum*, was covered with white marble as well.⁵⁴ So, the use of real marble in Herculaneum appears to correspond with the phenomenon detected at Pompeii: Italic white marble is used in decorations that are mainly found in rooms in the dynamic part of a house, or, as we have seen in the case of the summer *triclinium* in room 25 of the Casa di Sallustio, where it is expected.

The use of colored marbles in Herculaneum, however, does not correspond at all to the practice observed in the houses of Pompeii. The Casa dei Cervi, the Casa del Rilievo di Telefo and the Casa dello Scheletro all display plenty of colored



Fig. 13. *Opus scutulatum* pattern in the fauces (room 1) of the Casa dei Cervi H IV 21 (photo author).

marbles that were used to decorate the floors and, sometimes, the walls of several rooms in the dynamic as well as the static parts of the respective dwellings. Floors in *opus scutulatum* are found in the Casa dei Cervi (rooms 1 and A, B, C, D) and the Casa dello Scheletro (room 1). The *fauces* of the latter house are decorated with a floor of black *tesserae*, which is framed with a double row of white *tesserae*. In the middle of the decoration, triangles of Italic white marble are placed in a straight pattern of three rows. The *opus scutulatum* patterns in the Casa dei Cervi show a similar design; only now the main part of the mosaic is made of white *tesserae*, framed with a double row of black *tesserae*. The inlaid marble pieces differ in shape (triangles, lozenges, squares and rectangles), but are again organized in long, straight rows. Attention is paid to the arrangement of colors as well. Similar colors are placed together as much as possible, which causes an austere design (fig. 13). The marbles can be easily identified as, amongst others, *giallo antico*, *cipollino*, *rosso antico*, *nero antico* and Italic or Greek white marble.

Sectilia pavimenta are abundantly found in all three houses. The Casa dello Scheletro and the Casa del Rilievo di Telefo both have four rooms in which this particular type of decoration is exe-

cuted, while the Casa dei Cervi even has nine. Different patterns and types of marble are found in the respective houses. The rooms of the Casa dei Cervi that were decorated with a *pavimentum sectile* were all located near the portico (A, B, C, D) and the *viridarium* (room 32), except for room 10.⁵⁸ The marbles used in these decorations are, amongst others, *giallo antico*, *rosso antico*, alabaster, *cipollino*, *africano* and Italic white marble. Surprisingly, no traces have been found of either the luxurious and expensive Egyptian red and green porphyry or the Greek *porfido serpentino*. Since the rest of the decorative system of the Casa dei Cervi shows the substantial wealth of its owner, it seems plausible that the marble floors were decorated before the porphyry quarries were discovered or before they produced marble on a large scale for the Italic peninsula. This implies that the floor decorations of the Casa dei Cervi can be dated to the 1st century BC.⁵⁵ It is, however, also possible that the floors were decorated at a later date and that the owner wanted to use marbles that were available quickly and in large quantities, which at the time did not count for porphyry.

Rooms 10 and 12 of the Casa del Rilievo di Telefo are decorated in a similar manner and with the same types of marble as rooms 5 and 15 of the



Fig. 14. Marble wall decoration in room 15 of the Casa dei Cervi H IV 21 (photo author).



Fig. 15. Marble wall decoration in room 17 of the Casa dei Cervi H IV 21 (photo author).

Casa dei Cervi. Conversely, in room 24, the lower *oculus*, only *fior di pesco*, *cipollino* and *pavonazzetto* were used. The last and most conspicuous example of a *pavimentum sectile* in the Casa del Rilievo di Telefo is found in room 18, where geometrically shaped pieces of *fior di pesco*, *cipollino*, *pavonazzetto*, *breccia*, *porfido serpentino*, *alabaster*, *nero antico* and white marbles decorate the floor.

The Casa dello Scheletro - with respect to its size a much more modest house than the previously discussed houses - has four rooms of which the floors are decorated with *sectilia pavimenta*. Rooms 7 and 12 present a more or less similar

design: rectangles of *nero antico* are framed with narrow pieces of white marble and the ensemble is embellished with squares of *rosso antico*.⁵⁶ Room 10 shows a pattern of black lozenges in white squares, both of limestone, alternated with squares of *giallo antico* and *rosso antico*. The alcove in room 8 is decorated in a similar manner as in room 12. The centre of this room is decorated in the same pattern of squares and lozenges visible in room 10, but in this case the marbles used are, amongst others, *giallo antico*, *nero antico*, *rosso antico* and several types of *breccia*.

Finally, the Casa dei Cervi and the Casa del



Fig. 16. Marble wall decoration in room 18 of the Casa del Rilievo di Telefo H I 2, 3 (photo author).

Rilievo di Telefo both have rooms in which marble is used to decorate walls. Room 15 of the Casa dei Cervi has a socle made of a low dado of *cipollino verde*, above which rectangular standing slabs of white marble are placed in a row without dividing strips (fig. 14). Room 17 fills a mirrored location with room 16 in the plan of this house: both are situated at the end of the *viridarium* and had a sea view. The walls of room 17 show the remnants of a luxurious marble decoration, consisting of broad strips of *cipollino verde* that framed large rectangles, which are now lost, of an unknown material, most likely another type of marble (fig. 15).⁵⁸ Room 24 of the Casa del Rilievo di Telefo has a socle that consists of a low dado of grey marble, above which large oblong rectangular panels of *pavonazzetto* framed with small strips of *giallo antico* are placed. A strip of *giallo antico* tops the marble socle. Room 18 of the same house, previously mentioned in relation to its splendid floor decoration, houses the best preserved and most luxurious design of marble wall decoration. In this room, the lower half of all walls is decorated with a low dado of *breccia*, above which a higher plinth of either *cipollino verde* or *giallo antico* is placed. Above these, large rectangles of *giallo antico*, *cipollino verde* and *pavonazzetto* are situated, framed by strips of *pavonazzetto* and *giallo antico*. Between these framed panels, columns of *cipollino verde* with a Corinthian capital of white marble are situated, which rest on top of the lowest dado of *breccia* (fig. 16).

In contrast to Pompeii, it evinces that the owners of the houses in Herculaneum discussed here specifically used real marble instead of marble imitation as a status symbol and as a means to display their wealth. Many costly *sectilia pavimenta* made of colored marbles are found throughout the houses, but mainly in static rooms such as *triclinia* and *oeci*, just as the marble wall decorations discovered here. Decorations in which colored marble is used on a less extensive scale, such as floors in *opus scutulatum*, are more frequently found in dynamic rooms, such as the *fauces*.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The cases discussed here clearly show a difference in the application of marble imitation and the use of real marble in the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum. First of all, the houses in Pompeii did not contain many decorations made of real marble, which is the exact opposite of what we see in Herculaneum. In addition, marble imitation was fairly popular in Pompeii in all styles of painting,

while the ruins of Herculaneum only present two walls with an early type of imitation.⁵⁹

If we examine the selected houses at Pompeii more thoroughly, choices concerning the kind of decoration applied in a particular room seem to have been made consciously. Italic white marble and marble imitation in the Italic masonry style were frequently applied in dynamic rooms where *clientes* were received. Both types of decoration show power and wealth, but reflected at the same time the modest way of life of the aristocrats of the Republic, with which the *patronus* of the house seemed to send out the message. Polychrome marbles and more realistic and elaborate imitations in later styles of painting are usually found in static rooms, in which guests of equal social standing were entertained. The house owner impressed his guests with these decorations, not only because they were costly and, at times, difficult to obtain, but possibly also because it showed his interest in current fashion trends.

An entirely different phenomenon is detected in Herculaneum. A shift in focus from wall decoration to floor decoration seems to occur at the end of the 1st century BC. From this moment on, wealth, status and power were mainly presented by luxurious and expensive floor decorations of colored marble. A small distinction may be seen in the design and type of marble decoration found in dynamic rooms where *clientes* came (floor decoration in *opus scutulatum*) and those in static rooms where the house owner received his more intimate guests (floor decoration in *opus sectile*). If we might deduce any conclusion from the few case studies presented here, it appears that, with regard to houses in which marble was used and/or marble imitation was applied, Pompeii stuck to the dignified values of the Republic, while Herculaneum showed a more progressive attitude towards the new fashion trends.

Table 1. Main types of marble that were used and/or imitated in the Vesuvian area.⁶⁰

Type	Main colors	Provenance	Introduction in Rome
<i>marmor numidicum</i> (<i>giallo antico</i>)	yellow, red veins	Simithus (North-Africa)	Scarce in 2 nd c. BC; used on a larger scale from 78 BC onwards
<i>marmor taenareum</i> (<i>rosso antico</i>)	red	Taenaros (Greece)	1 st half of the 1 st c. BC
<i>marmor luculleum</i> (<i>africano</i>)	red / yellow; black veins	Teos (Asia Minor)	From 74 BC onwards
<i>marmor carystium</i> (<i>cipollino</i>)	white / green	Karystos (Greece)	Middle of the 1 st c. BC
<i>marmor lunense</i>	white	Luni (Italic peninsula)	Middle of the 1 st c. BC
<i>lapis lacedaemonius</i> (<i>porfido serpentino</i>)	green	Sparta (Greece)	End of the 1 st c. BC
<i>marmor chium</i> (<i>portasanta</i>)	red / salmon	Chios (Greece)	End of the 1 st c. BC
<i>marmor docimienium</i> (<i>pavonazzetto</i>)	white / purple	Docimium (Asia Minor)	End of the 1 st c. BC
<i>alabastrites</i> (alabaster)	multicolored; circular veins	Egypt (North-Africa)	End of the 1 st c. BC
<i>marmor parium</i>	white	Paros (Greece)	1 st c. BC
<i>marmor pentelicum</i>	white	Athens (Greece)	1 st c. BC
<i>breccia corallina</i>	red / white	Vezirhan (Asia Minor)	Late-Augustan
<i>porfido verde</i> (<i>oliva</i>)	green	Gebel Dokhan (North-Africa)	1 st c. AD
<i>porfido rosso</i> (<i>porphyrites</i>)	purple / red	Gebel Dokhan (North-Africa)	Used only sporadically until AD 98
<i>marmor proconnesium</i>	white	Proconnesos (Asia Minor)	Unknown, but from AD 117 onwards used on a large scale
<i>marmor thasium</i>	white variant	Thasos (Greece)	Unknown

Table 2. The use of marble and the application of marble imitation in four case studies from Pompeii.

House	Room	Room type	Marble (floor/wall)	Marble imitation (wall)
Casa del Labirinto (VI 11, 8-10)	3	Static		'Second Style'
	4	Static		'Second Style'
	5	Static		'Second Style'
	6	Static		'Fourth Style'
	7	Static		'Second Style'
	24	Dynamic		Italic Masonry Style
	27	Dynamic	Cistern rim	Italic Masonry Style
	33	Static		Italic Masonry Style
	36	Dynamic		Italic Masonry Style
	3	Static		'Second Style'
	41	Static		'Second Style'
	42	Static		'Second Style'
	43	Static	<i>Emblema</i>	'Second Style'
	44	Static		'Second Style'
45	Static		'Second Style'	
46	Static		'Second Style'	
Casa di Sallustio (VI 2, 4)	10	Dynamic		Italic Masonry Style
	15	Dynamic		Italic Masonry Style
	17	Dynamic		Italic Masonry Style
	19	Static	White mortar with small pieces of marble	Italic Masonry Style
	20	Dynamic		Italic Masonry Style
	22	Dynamic	White mortar with small pieces of marble	Italic Masonry Style
	25	Static	<i>Triclinium</i> furniture	
	28	Dynamic/Static	Italic Masonry Style	
	34	Static	<i>Opus sectile</i> Wall	'Fourth Style'
42	Dynamic		Italic Masonry Style	
Casa della Caccia Antica (VII 4, 48)	4	Static	White mortar with chips of marble	
	6	Dynamic	White mortar with chips of marble	
	10	Static		'Fourth Style'
	15	Static	White mortar with pieces of marble	'Fourth Style'
Casa dei Ceii (I 6, 15)	façade	(Dynamic)		Italic Masonry Style
	b	Dynamic	<i>Impluvium</i> ; Italic white	
	e	Static	<i>Emblema</i> ; colored	

Table 3. The use of marble and the application of marble imitation in four case studies from Herculaneum.

House	Room nr	Room type	Marble	Marble imitation	
Casa dei Cervi (H IV 21)	1	Dynamic	<i>Opus scutulatum</i>		
	A	Dynamic	<i>Opus scutulatum</i>		
	B	Dynamic	<i>Opus scutulatum</i>		
	C	Dynamic	<i>Opus scutulatum</i>		
	D	Dynamic	<i>Opus scutulatum</i>		
	5	Static	<i>Opus sectile</i>		
	6	Static (?)	<i>Opus sectile</i>		
	7	Static	<i>Opus sectile</i>		
	10	Static	<i>Opus sectile</i>		
	15	Static	<i>Opus sectile</i>		
				Wall	
		16	Static	<i>Opus sectile</i>	
		17	Static	<i>Opus sectile</i>	
				Wall	
	18	Static	<i>Opus sectile</i>		
	23	Static	<i>Opus sectile</i>		
Casa del Rilievo di Telefo (H I 2, 3)	2	Dynamic	<i>Impluvium</i>		
	10	Static	<i>Opus sectile</i>		
	12	Static	<i>Opus sectile</i>		
	18	Static	<i>Opus sectile</i>		
	24	Static	<i>Opus sectile</i>		
Casa dello Scheletro (H III 3)	1	Dynamic	<i>Opus scutulatum</i>		
	7	Static	<i>Opus sectile</i>		
	8	Static	<i>Opus sectile</i>		
	10	Static	<i>Opus sectile</i>		
	12	Static	<i>Opus sectile</i>		
	15	Static	Water basin		
	16	Static	Water basin		
Casa Sannitica (H V 1, 2)	1	Dynamic		Italic Masonry Style	
	5	Dynamic	<i>Impluvium</i>		

NOTES

- * This article is mainly based on my Master's thesis, entitled 'Marmora Splendida. Marmer en marmerimitatie in Pompeii en Herculaneum'. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Stephan T.A.M. Mols, who supervised my thesis and discussed several aspects of the subject proper in great length with me.
- 1 See for example Plin., *Nat. hist.* 36.109; Cic., *In Cat.* 2.5.11; Tac. *Ann.*, 3.55.
 - 2 The house and room numbers mentioned in relation to these case studies correspond to those cited on the plans published in *PPM*: (VI 11, 8-10) *PPM* V 1; (VI 2, 4) *PPM* IV 87; (VII 4, 48) *PPM* VII 6; (I 6, 15) *PPM* I 407.
 - 3 Since it is not possible here to discuss all Pompeian houses in detail, I will elaborate on the Casa del Labirinto and present the results of the other case studies schematically, in order to use them as references and for comparison. For the Casa del Labirinto, see *PPM* V 1-70 and Strocka 1991.
 - 4 I added the 'H' of Herculaneum to these house numbers in order to distinguish between the houses from both cities. The house and room numbers concerning the case studies from Herculaneum are taken from the respective plans published in Guidobaldi 2006: (H V 1,2) 84; (H IV 21) 77; (H I 2,3) 43; (H III 3) 59. For these plans, see figs 5-8.
 - 5 For the sake of brevity, the Casa dei Cervi, the Casa del Rilievo di Telefo and the Casa dello Scheletro are discussed together. The Casa Sannitica is examined separately, since this house presents a decorative design that differs from that of the other three.
 - 6 Dodge/Ward-Perkins 1992, 13, 15.
 - 7 Moens/Roos et al. 1988, 249; see also Jongste 1995, 59.
 - 8 An overview of colored marbles from Rome can be found in Gnoli 1971 and De Nuccio/Ungaro 2002.
 - 9 Marble statues and furniture are thus largely excluded, as are representations of these objects in wall paintings. See Dickmann (1999) 301-312 for the use of marble in *atria*.
 - 10 Guidobaldi/Salvatori 1988, 171; see also Morricone 1980, 9, who defines floors in the *opus scutulatum* technique as 'pavimenti [...] quali mostrano inserite o nel battuto del fondo (se si tratta di signini, rossi o bianchi) o fra le tessere (se si tratta di mosaici) scaglie di pietra o di marmo [...]'. In this case, I consider only the floors in which 'scaglie di marmo' are involved.
 - 11 For a definition of 'dynamic spaces', see e.g. Clarke 1991, 16. See for example room 1 in the Casa dei Cervi (H IV 21).
 - 12 For a definition of 'static spaces', see e.g. Clarke 1991, 16. See for instance room e in the Casa dei Ceii (I 6, 15); see *PPM* VII 441 and Michel 1990, 37 and fig. 198.
 - 13 For an in depth case study of *sectilia pavimenta*, see F. Guidobaldi (ed.) 1994, *Sectilia Pavimenta di Villa Adriana*, Rome.
 - 14 See for instance room 10 in the Casa dello Scheletro (H III 3).
 - 15 See Meyboom/Moormann 2012, chapter 6.
 - 16 An example can still be seen in room 18 of the Casa del Rilievo di Telefo (H I 2-3).
 - 17 Vitruvius *De arch.* 7.5.1: [A]ntiqui, qui initia expolitionibus instituerunt, imitati sunt primum crustarum marmorearum varietates et conlocationes, deinde coronarum, siliculorum, cuneorum inter se varias distributiones.
 - 18 Mau 1882.
 - 19 For an illustration of this early type of marble imitation, see fig. 9. For criticism on Mau's chronological division and attempts to rename the 'first Pompeian style', see Bruno 1969; see also Laidlaw 1985; Leach 2004; Mols 2005.
 - 20 Bruno 1969, 309, 311; see also Barbet 1985, 23. Common factor in both the Pompeian and Greek paintings is the characteristic division of the wall in several horizontal sectors, or zones. The differences between these variants can be found in the height of the socle, the presence or absence of a supporting function for the orthostates, and the colors that were used.
 - 21 Cf. Mols 2005, 245.
 - 22 Leach 2004, 59.
 - 23 See for instance the imitation of alabaster in the Casa del Fauno (VI 12, 2; *PPM* V figs 10a-b).
 - 24 Examples are *rosso antico*, the porphyries (with the exception of *porfido serpentino*) and the white marbles.
 - 25 For illustrations of marble imitation in later styles of painting, see fig. 10. For an overview of many of the marble imitations found in Pompeii, see Eristov 1979.
 - 26 See for instance the garden *cubiculum* in the Casa di Apollo (VI 7, 23; *giallo antico*, see fig. 11) and the *triclinium* in the Casa di Octavius Quartio (II 2, 2; amongst others *pavonazzetto*, *giallo antico* and *africano*, see fig. 12).
 - 27 Some scholars range paintings with a so-called zebra pattern amongst marble imitations. The reading of these paintings is complex and controversial, for which reason I chose to eliminate them from this paper. I will return to them in future research. See for different interpretations on these paintings, Laken 2000 and Goulet 2000; cf. Jansen 1993 and Leach 1993.
 - 28 See fig. 1 for a plan of the Casa del Labirinto. For the naming of the rooms, I follow Strocka 1991 and *PPM* V. The mosaic of Theseus can be found in room 42 (see *PPM* V 37-38 and Strocka 1991, 43, 105, 107, 120 and figs 269-273).
 - 29 Strocka 1991, 66-68; see also Pesando/Guidobaldi 2006, 189.
 - 30 *PPM* V 2; see also Strocka 1991, 68; Pesando/Guidobaldi 2006, 189. The new rooms were 20-22 (bath section) and 42, 43, 46 (representative rooms).
 - 31 Strocka 1991, 70. The *panificium* was installed in rooms 16, 19, 20.
 - 32 For a thorough description of the wall paintings in the Casa del Labirinto, see Strocka 1991, 107-120, 127-131 ('second and fourth styles'); see also Hanoune/De Vos 1985, 871-878 ('third style'); Laidlaw 1985, 165-170 ('first style').
 - 33 See table 2 for an overview of all the rooms in the houses examined in Pompeii in which marble and/or marble imitation can be found. *PPM* V 48 detects an example of the Italic masonry style on the north wall of room 14 as well. The remains of this wall decoration, however, do not recall a decoration in the Italic masonry style. The characteristic division of the wall into socle, orthostates and upper zone is not visible. The only indication that could refer to the early style of painting is the protruding cornice, but after analogy with other paintings in the Italic masonry style this should have been a dentil cornice, not a smooth one such as is applied in this case. Furthermore, the cornice protrudes directly below the spring of the alcove, which is a phenomenon that occurs frequently in later styles of wall painting. In my opinion, therefore, the north wall of room 14 does not hold a decoration in the Italic masonry style. For parallels, see for instance room I of the

- Casa degli Amorini Dorati (VI 16, 7.38; *PPM* V 792 and Seiler 1992, fig. 325) ('fourth style'), room m of the Casa del Principe di Napoli (VI 15, 7.8; *PPM* V 668 and Strocka 1984, fig. 158) ('fourth style') and room 21 of the Casa del Labirinto (VI 11, 8-10; Strocka 1991, figs 391-392) ('third style').
- ³⁴ Strocka 1991, 70. Cf. *PPM* V 2.
- ³⁵ Compare Mols 2005 on similarly restored paintings in other houses in Pompeii.
- ³⁶ Traces of paint can be found especially in room 24 and in the *atrium* (27).
- ³⁷ The Italic masonry style applied to the façade of the Casa dei Ceii (I 6, 15) can also be regarded as an example of this type of decoration in a 'dynamic' area.
- ³⁸ In some rooms of the Casa di Sallustio, also imitations in deep red are present (such as in room 10; *PPM* IV 96), which are not found (anymore) in the Italic masonry style applied in the Casa del Labirinto. This color does occur, however, in the marble imitations in later styles of painting in the Casa del Labirinto (see for instance the imitations in rooms 45 and 46; *PPM* V 46-55 and Strocka 1991, figs 325-326, 329, 335-336, 354-358).
- ³⁹ In the Casa della Caccia Antica, realistic imitations of *giallo antico*, red porphyry, *porfido serpentino* and *cipollino verde* are visible. See *PPM* VII 22, 24-25, 28, 36, 38, 40 and Allison/Sear 2002, 26-27, 30, 48-50, 82, 86 and figs 57-58, 99-100, 103-106, 117-124, 217-218, 220, 223-224, 226, 228, 230, 232-233.
- ⁴⁰ The porphyry quarries at Gebel Dokhan were yet to be discovered when the Italic masonry style was first applied. Therefore, the deep red color in the Casa del Labirinto examples cannot be regarded as imitation of *porfido rosso*. Cf. Fant 2007, 336.
- ⁴¹ See table 2. There are a few exceptions to this rule. Rooms 3-7 of the Casa del Labirinto house imitations in later styles (see *PPM* V 9-13 and Strocka 1991, 20-25 and figs 106, 109, 112-115, 118). This is, however, exactly the part of the house where the 'care taker' of the house lived, cf. Strocka 1991, 134-136. Thus, this part was not necessarily 'dynamic', since the care taker would not receive *clientes* (see below). It would just be part of his personal and private domain, since he did not have many rooms at his disposal. Another exception is found in room 25 of the Casa di Sallustio, where white marble is used in the decoration of a summer *triclinium* (see *PPM* IV 122). It concerns garden equipment, though, which is almost always executed in white marble. So, the only exceptions are rooms 6 and 10 in the Casa della Caccia Antica. Both rooms are located in or directly adjacent to the dynamic part of the house. In contradiction to the rule presented here, room 6 has a decoration in which real colored marbles are processed and room 10 houses very realistic marble imitations in the 'fourth style' (see *PPM* VII 16-29 and Allison/Sear 2002, 25-30, 32-35, 82, 86 and figs 99-100, 103-106, 117-124). These exceptions may reflect hitherto undetected changing tendencies with regard to the use of real marble and the application of marble imitation in certain rooms within particular houses. To test this hypothesis, a study based on more case studies is required. Therefore, it cannot be discussed here.
- ⁴² A similar decoration in a comparable (static) room can be found in room e of the Casa dei Ceii (I 6, 15); see *PPM* VII 441 and Michel 1990, 37 and fig. 198.
- ⁴³ For a schematic overview of these room types and their respective decorations regarding these suggestions, see table 2.
- ⁴⁴ The wall paintings in Herculaneum are in general less well preserved than those in Pompeii. In my opinion, however, this does not mean that there might have been many more decorations in the Italic masonry style that are now lost to us, since the characteristic tripartite wall division, executed in high relief, cannot be traced in the preserved stucco. Subsequently, marble imitation in later styles are equally rare in Herculaneum. The Villa dei Papiri, which contains marble imitations in the 'second style' and the 'fourth style', seems to be the only example where this phenomenon is attested (cf. Moormann 2009, 154, 160). However, these imitations are left out from this study, since the Villa dei Papiri is a *villa* outside the city, whereas the cases from this study are all *domus* within the city. (I hope to pursue the subject of marble imitations in villas in a future article.)
- ⁴⁵ Supposedly, only a quarter of the town is known to us (cf. Pagano 1996, 229-238, pl. 1; see also De Kind 1998, pl. 2). In my opinion, however, it is justified to assume that this quarter is representative of what the character of the entire town might have been like. Therefore, I consider it valid to compare the small area of Herculaneum with the town of Pompeii.
- ⁴⁶ See table 3 for an overview of all the rooms examined in Herculaneum in which marble and/or marble imitation can be found. The marble floor decorations in Herculaneum are exquisite, both in design and in the choice of marbles used. They therefore deserve more attention than could be provided in this article.
- ⁴⁷ Clarke 1991, 85.
- ⁴⁸ Clarke 1991, 87. See Clarke 1991, 91 for a proposed reconstruction of the wall decorations before the suggested repainting of the entire house.
- ⁴⁹ Moormann 1991, 13 ('d.h. in der Zeit des Vierten Stiles'), 17. For arguments in favor of the idea that the dating of the landscape paintings differs from that of the Italic masonry style decoration, Clarke 1991, 88; see also Laidlaw 1985, 305.; Barbet 1985, 80; Maiuri 1958, 199.
- ⁵⁰ Contra Clarke 1991, 87 (cited above).
- ⁵¹ Moormann 1991, 13. For my statement on this issue, see *infra*.
- ⁵² See for instance the decorations in this style in the *fauces* of the Casa del Fauno (VI 12, 2) and the Casa della Nave Europa (I 15, 3).
- ⁵³ Maiuri 1958, 200; see also Clarke 1991, 88. For the discovery of the porphyry quarries, see Fant 2007, 336 (my n. 41).
- ⁵⁴ For the identification of room 15-16 as a *nymphaeum*, see amongst others Pesando/Guidobaldi 2006, 320.
- ⁵⁵ It regards rooms 5, 6, 7, 15, 16, 17, 18, 23.
- ⁵⁶ The dating of the floors of the Casa dei Cervi has been topic of discussion, but the results are not unequivocal. See Pesando/Guidobaldi 2006, 449; see also De Kind 1992, 244; Tran Tam Tinh 1988, 84.
- ⁵⁷ The floor in room 7 shows also pieces of mainly polychrome marbles that cannot be related to the pattern visible in either the rest of this room or in room 12. This may be related to the fact that the house was rebuilt at a certain point in time (see De Kind 1998, 101-103).
- ⁵⁸ See fig. 15. The fact that the walls of room 16 were painted instead of decorated with marble suggests that this room was slightly less important than room 17.
- ⁵⁹ Of course, these conclusions are based on just a few case studies. New case studies, which I intend to study in future research, might strengthen or change these conclusions considerably.
- ⁶⁰ Based on Jongste 1995, Borghini 1998, Claridge 1998 and Fant 2007.

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