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Contents

Editor's Note vii

1. "A New Sensation": John Locke and the Sovereignty of God in Jonathan Edwards's Conception of the New Birth

Jacob Huneycutt 1

2. Contextualizing Egyptian-Themed Art in Pompeiian Shops

Kelsey Myers 8

Author Biographies 29

Editor's Note

The Ozark Historical Review brings together works by history students at the graduate and undergraduate level. This issue emerges from the hardest of times and it is a testament to the foresight and grit of the two young scholars highlighted here that we can still enjoy the intellectual vitality of our student body.

"A New Sensation": John Locke and the Sovereignty of God in Jonathan Edwards's Conception of the New Birth

Jacob Huneycutt

Jonathan Edwards – a Reformed, Evangelical, post-Puritan minister, born in Connecticut in 1703 – is widely known for his role as a leader in New England of the First Great Awakening.[1] However, in contrast to the foremost figure of the First Great Awakening, George Whitefield, who was renowned for his rhetorical and theatrical skills, Edwards was primarily a scholar, theologian, philosopher, and writer. George M. Marsden labels him "the most acute early American philosopher and the most brilliant of all American theologians."[2] While Edwards first established his presence as a public figure in 1731 by defending orthodox Calvinist soteriology against the incursion of liberal "rationalist Arminianism," which applied Enlightenment ideas about the individual to assert that each person has "libertarian free will" to accept or reject God, numerous scholars, following Perry Miller's biography of Edwards in 1949, have argued that Edwards himself was actually substantially influenced by the Enlightenment – though not rationalism, but specifically the empiricist tradition established by John Locke, whom Edwards read whilst at Yale College.[3] Indeed, in Edwards' numerous publications, he developed a philosophy and theology that re-asserted much of orthodox Calvinism while also incorporating key elements of the empiricism Locke developed in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, wherein Locke argues that all human knowledge is acquired *a posteriori* through sensory experience. Edwards had a personal salvation experience that was largely consistent with this epistemology and, as such, it influenced Edwards' soteriology and his view of revival, which combined a fierce defense of the monergistic nature of salvation with an emphasis on each elected individual's own sensory experience with Divine grace by the Holy Spirit. Thus, whilst standing in-between orthodox Calvinism and the growing popularity of rationalist, Enlightenment-influenced Arminianism, Edwards paved a middle road that appropriated elements of Lockean thought, modified them, and incorporated them into orthodox Calvinism, thereby crafting an explanation for the sensational revivals that he observed in the First Great Awakening and harmonizing them with God's sovereignty and predestination.

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[1] Regarding the term, "Post-Puritan," see: Thomas S. Kidd, "What Happened to the Puritans?" *Historically Speaking* 7, no. 1 (2005): 32-34, https://0-muse-jhu-edu.library.uark.edu/article/423170/pdf (accessed November 2, 2019).

[2] George M. Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life* (Yale University Press, 2003), 1. http://0-www.jstor.org.library.uark.edu/stable/j.ctt1npmjj (accessed November 2, 2019).

[3] Perry Miller, *Jonathan Edwards* (New York: William Sloane, 1949), cited in Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life*, 60-3, wherein Marsden critiques Miller's scholarship but nevertheless affirms the influence of Locke and Newton upon Edwards; James Ward Smith, "Religion and Science in American Philosophy," in *The Shaping of American Religion*, ed. Smith and A. Leland Jamison (Princeton University Press, 1961), 414-7, cited in Mark A. Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Oxford University Press, 2002), 22-3, wherein Noll presents the same view; David Laurence, "Jonathan Edwards, John Locke, and the Canon of Experience," *Early American Literature* 15, no. 2 (1980): 107-23, http://0-www.jstor.org.library.uark.edu/stable/25070986 (accessed November 2, 2019).

Jonathan Edwards was born into a post-Puritan society that seemed to be in decline. Whereas his grandparents' and great-grandparents' generation had been optimistic during the second quarter of the seventeenth century about creating a "City upon a Hill" in America where "true Christianity" could be practiced, by as early as the 1660s, Puritan leaders had begun to lament the decline of religiosity in New England.[4] In 1662, in response to many second-generation Puritans not being able to provide evidence of their own salvation, Increase Mather of Boston established the "Halfway Covenant," which allowed individuals who could not provide evidence of having been regenerated to nevertheless be "halfway" members of the Puritan churches' "covenant communities" and to baptize their children therein.[5] And as a teenager in the 1710s, Edwards found himself in this group, constantly wrestling with whether or not he was a part of the Elect and not being able to assure himself of his own salvation. For a while, as a nine-year old, he displayed great outward piety, with him writing later that "it [had been his] delight to abound in religious duties."[6] But nevertheless, he attests that "in [the] process of time, [his] convictions and affections wore off," and he "returned like a dog to his vomit … in ways of sin."[7]

Meanwhile, he entered Yale College at the age of thirteen in 1716, and there he was captivated by the philosophy of John Locke. It is not known for sure when Edwards first read Locke, but by 1719, when he began to study as a graduate student, he had access to Locke's writings – as Yale had begun to include them in its collections.[8] And during the spring semester of Edwards's last year in college, in 1721, at the age of 18, he experienced a dramatic conversion, losing his doubts about God's sovereignty and his own election, acquiring thence "a calm, sweet abstraction of soul from all the concerns [of] this world," with "[his] mind … greatly engaged, to spend [his] time in reading and mediating on Christ."[9] He writes that while reading 1 Timothy 1:17, "there came into [his] soul … a sense of the glory of the divine being; a new sense, quite different from anything I ever experienced before."[10] After this sensational

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[4] Thomas S. Kidd, *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America* (Yale University Press, 2007), 1, http://0-www.jstor.org.library.uark.edu/stable/j.ctt5vm83m.6 (accessed November 2, 2019).

[5] Kidd, *The Great Awakening*, 3.

[6] Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life,* 25-6; Jonathan Edwards, "Personal Narrative" (1740), in George S. Claghorn, ed., *Works of Jonathan Edwards, Volume 16: Letters and Personal Writings,* 790-804 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), 791, http://edwards.yale.edu/archive?path=aHR0cDovL2Vkd2FyZHMueWFsZS5lZHUvY2dpLWJpbi9uZXdwaGlsby9nZXRvYmplY3QucGw/Yy4xNTo3NDo1LndqZW8 (accessed November 2, 2019).

[7] Edwards, "Personal Narrative," 791.

[8] Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life,* 63.

[9] Edwards, "Personal Narrative," 793.

[10] Edwards, "Personal Narrative," 792.

New Birth experience, Edwards devoted his life ever thereafter to "delight[ing] in [the] sovereignty [of God]" – a major pillar of orthodox Calvinist theology.[11] Hence, despite growing up inculcated in orthodox Reformed doctrine, Edwards gained assurance of his salvation not from being convinced by evidence, nor from the duties of piety to which he had attended during his teenage years, but in a sensational experience.

This acquisition of knowledge through a sensational experience aligns with the theory of the human mind that John Locke develops in his *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, which Edwards had recently read. Just a few years later, in 1723, when Edwards composed notes on "The Mind," he explicitly used this Locke essay as reference; so it is not far-fetched to argue that his reading of this essay also likely influenced the logic of his salvation experience, especially since the two logically align.[12] It might seem strange that Edwards would embrace Locke's ideas, as Locke, in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* as part of rejecting the rationalist claim made by Decartes, Spinoza, and others that each person holds innate ideas, rejects that moral standards or an inherent idea of God are naturally imprinted upon man. In place of this, he conceptualizes each person's mind as *tabula rasa* – a blank slate – at birth, with each person then progressively acquiring knowledge through first, sensory experience and perception, and second, reflection on that experience and perception – which is "consciousness" – perceiving that one is perceiving.[13] That epistemological framework is exactly how Edwards came to his own "delight in [the] sovereignty [of God]" and an assurance that he was a part of the elect. On whether one can know that God exists and is sovereign, Locke argues that "[w]e are capable of knowing certainly that there is a God[,] … [for] though he has stamped no original characters on our minds, wherein we may read his being[,] … he hath not left himself without witness: since we have sense, perception, and reason."[14] And indeed, Edwards came to a perception of the existence of God and an assurance of his salvation sensationally whilst engaging in an activity involving reason – he was simply reading a verse of the Bible, whereupon, as he says, "a new sense" of the divine overtook him and placed him in a spiritually awakened state.[15] Hence, Edwards was neither born in a spiritually awakened state, nor did his inculcation in Puritan society place him therein; but instead, it was through an individual, sensational, reasonable experience – which aligns with Locke's theory about how knowledge is acquired – that he attests that he personally perceived and was given the grace of God, which then transformed his thoughts and his desires.

After this New Birth experience, Edwards entered into a career in ministry, and a few years later – in 1734 – the town in which he was the pastor, Northampton, experienced a dramatic revival under his preaching – with many people sensationally experiencing the New Birth as Edwards had. This revival lasted a few years, but eventually it died off and not all who supposedly experienced the New Birth actually persevered in their religiosity. So in 1746, Edwards, seeking to defend the withered revival and explain what marks people who truly come to saving faith as opposed to those who do not, wrote a tract entitled *Religious Affections*, wherein he argues that "[t]rue religion, in great part, consists in holy affections."[16] In explaining how each individual acquires these "holy affections" he begins with the Lockean framework that knowledge is acquired by sensory experience and perception and then put into action by consciousness, explaining that "God has indued the soul with two faculties: one that by which it is capable of perception and speculation … [and one] by which the soul … is some way inclined with respect to the things it views or considers, … [which] is sometimes called *inclination* … [and] is [also] called the *will*."[17] He then continues to explain that the Holy Spirit indwells those whom God has elected, giving them "a new inward *perception* or *sensation* of their minds, entirely different in its nature and kind, from anything that ever their minds were the subjects of before they were sanctified."[18] From this new condition of the mind, which Edwards terms a "*spiritual* sense," one acquires the "holy affections" that mark a Christian.[19] Thus, according to Edwards, drawing from Locke's epistemology, God has given everyone the ability to learn through sensation and perception. However, it is specifically through a transformation by the Holy Spirit of these faculties – in an instance of sensory experience – that "holy affections," and thus, salvation, is wrought in a person. The Holy Spirit being the cause of how one is regenerated and acquires "holy affections" shows that Edwards sought to fit his Lockean understanding of individual conversion by sensory experience into a traditional, Calvinistic understanding of the sovereignty of God and predestination.

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[11] Edwards, "Personal Narrative," 803.

[12] Laurence, "Jonathan Edwards, John Locke, and the Canon of Experience," 107.

[13] Graham A.J. Rogers, "John Locke," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Locke (accessed November 15, 2019).

[14] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (Kitchener: Batoche Books, 2000), 515, https://0-ebookcentral-proquest-com.library.uark.edu/lib/uark-ebooks/reader.action?docID=3117747&ppg=515 (accessed November 4, 2019).

[15] Edwards, "Personal Narrative," 792.

Jonathan Edwards thus moved beyond Lockean empiricism, and crafted a modified understanding of it in order to harmonize it with Calvinistic determinism. Indeed, despite the discernable presence of Lockean Empiricism in his understanding of conversion and salvation, Edwards biographer George M. Marsden notes that "[w]hen … [Edwards] recorded his views of Locke in his notebooks, it was [either] to refute him or go far beyond him."[20] He did this by insisting, across his various philosophical writings, that God is the prime subsistence in which all consciousness resides and thus the origin of all sensory experience and perception. Locke refused to identify the subsistence in which consciousness resides, writing in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* that "consciousness … is inseparable from thinking, … [i]t being impossible for anyone to perceive, without perceiving that he does perceive," and defining "that conscious thinking thing" as the "*Self.*" However, he admits that he has no idea of what substance the Self is made – proffering that "whether it is spiritual or material" is unknown and "matters not."[21] For Locke then, that the conscious Self exists is simply evident in and of itself, so the question of whether this conscious Self has free will or has had its actions determined by previously existing causes remains unanswered. While Edwards, also a metaphysical idealist, agrees, in his essay entitled "Of Being," that "nothing has existence anywhere else but in consciousness," for him, this consciousness ultimately all stems from the "divine consciousness" of God.[22] He even argues in "Of Being" that the universe's existence hinges on God's consciousness.[23] And since he argues that all consciousness stems from God's consciousness, the logical conclusion of this is that all sensory experience and perception that a person has emanates only from God. Indeed, he says in his notes entitled, "The Mind," that "[o]ur perceptions, or ideas that we passively receive by our bodies, are communicated to us immediately by God. ..."[24]

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[16] Jonathan Edwards, *Religious Affections*, in Paul Ramsey, ed., *Works of Jonathan Edwards Online, Volume 2, Religious Affections* (Jonathan Edwards Center, Yale University, 2008), 95, http://edwards.yale.edu/archive?path=aHR0cDovL2Vkd2FyZHMueWFsZS5lZHUvY2dpLWJpbi9uZXdwaGlsby9uYXZpZ2F0ZS5wbD93amVvLjE (accessed November 4, 2019).
[17] Edwards, *Religious Affections*, 96.
[18] Edwards, *Religious Affections*, 205-6.
[19] Edwards, *Religious Affections,* 205-6.
[20] Marsden, *Jonathan Edwards: A Life*, 63-4.

Thus, the conscious perception and sensory experience that Edwards identifies in his "Personal Narrative" and in *Religious Affections* as being the means whereby a member of the elect comes to an assurance of his salvation and acquires "holy affections," is only communicable to the elect by God, as he is the prime subtance of all consciousness, wherein all sensory experience and perception resides. Expanding on this, Edwards explains in his *Treatise on Grace* that the specific way that God communicates the sensory experience and perception that is the means of regeneration to an individual lies in His dwelling in an individual by his Holy Spirit. In explaining this, Edwards emphasizes John 4:16, which states that "God is love: and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him," and Edwards explains that "true saving grace is no other than that very love of God; that is, God, in one of the persons of the Trinity, uniting himself to the soul of a creature as a vital principle, dwelling there and exerting himself by the faculties of the soul of man. …"[25] Hence, Edwards holds forth that those to whom God chooses to transmit His consciousness – by the means of sensory perception and experience, which is what Edwards means by "the faculties of the soul of man" – are necessarily those in whom God, by His Holy Spirit, dwells – which metaphysically explains their regeneration. Furthermore, they are also those who "[dwell] in love", which explains how they acquire "holy affections." Indeed, Edwards, in *Religious Affections,* identifies love to be "the fountain of all affection."[26] Edwards thus drew from Lockean empiricism in his identification of sense experience and perception as being of the means whereby God regenerates a person; yet he retained a defense of the sovereignty of God and predestination with his identification of God as the origin of all consciousness and thus all sensory experience and perception. Moreover, as he showed how one is regenerated by the Holy Spirit dwelling in him, Edwards defended that God is the origin of the "holy affections," such as love, that appear in a saved individual.

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[21] Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* 273.

[22] Jonathan Edwards, "Of Being," in Wallace E. Anderson, ed., *Works of Jonathan Edwards Online, Volume 6, Scientific and Philosophical Writings,* (Jonathan Edwards Center, Yale University, 2008) 204, http://edwards.yale.edu/archive?path=aHR0cDovL2Vkd2FyZHMueWFsZS5lZHUvY2dpLWJpbi9uZXdwaGlsby9nZXRvYmplY3QucGw/Yy41OjI6NDo0LndqZW8 (accessed November 9, 2019).

[23] Edwards, "Of Being," 204.

[24] Jonathan Edwards, "The Mind," in Wallace E. Anderson, ed., *Works of Jonathan Edwards Online, Volume 6, Scientific and Philosophical Writings* (Jonathan Edwards Center, Yale University, 2008), 339, http://edwards.yale.edu/archive?path=aHR0cDovL2Vkd2FyZHMueWFsZS5lZHUvY2dpLWJpbi9uZXdwaGlsby9nZXRvYmplY3QucGw/Yy41OjI6NDo0LndqZW8 (accessed November 9, 2019).

[25] Jonathan Edwards, "Treatise on Grace," in Sang Hyun Lee, ed., *Works of Jonathan Edwards Online, Volume 21, Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith* (Jonathan Edwards Center, Yale University, 2008), 194, http://edwards.yale.edu/archive?path=aHR0cDovL2Vkd2FyZHMueWFsZS5lZHUvY2dpLWJpbi9uZXdwaGlsby9nZXRvYmplY3QucGw/Yy4yMDo1LndqZW8 (accessed November 9, 2019).

Finally, Edwards culminates his combination of Lockean empiricism with a defense of Calvinistic determinism in *The Freedom of the Will,* which he published in 1754, his last year alive. Over the course of the eighteenth century, many in Post-Puritan New England, influenced by rationalist Enlightenment ideas, had drifted towards Arminianism and the position of "libertarian free will," which insists that everyone is endowed with a free will with which he is able to make decisions free from any predetermination.[27] Edwards, however, who wrote this publication in order to respond to those ideas, defines "the will" as the "faculty" or "power" of the mind by which it chooses that which it prefers, "so that in every act, or going forth of the will, there is some preponderation of the mind or inclination, one way rather than another" – a definition which he explicitly acknowledges comes from "Mr. Locke."[28] That the will is governed by preference implies that decisions are made on a sensory basis – as, especially in the Lockean framework, knowledge, and hence knowledge of what one prefers, comes from sensation rather than being present in the mind *a priori*. However, in opposition to Arminian theologians such as Chubb, who argued that the liberty of the will implies humans can make decisions even from a position of indifference, Edwards insists that "there can be no act of will, choice or preference of the mind, without some motive or inducement."[29] Edwards rejects that the libertarian position on the will is necessary, as Edwards finds this determinism to be consistent with the concept of *liberty*, referring again to Locke, who defined *liberty* only as the will being free from *constraint* – being kept from doing what it prefers by others – and *restraint* – being unable to do that which it prefers.[30] Thus, Locke and Edwards both only envision a person as having free choice to make choices consistent with what he prefers. And this is consistent with Calvinistic determinism, wherein every man prefers to choose sin due to Adam's first sin that has been imputed to all men, while also being consistent with Edwards's doctrine of a sensational New Birth, wherein the Holy Spirit – by God's determination – transforms the inclinations of man and what he prefers, giving him "holy affections."

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[26] Edwards, *Religious Affections,* 240.

[27] George M. Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience: A Case of Thought and Theology in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 31, https://books.google.com/books?id=pNwIAAAACAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s (accessed November 9, 2019).

[28] Jonathan Edwards, *Freedom of the Will,* in Paul Ramsey, ed., *Works of Jonathan Edwards Online, Volume 1: Freedom of the Will* (Jonathan Edwards Center, Yale University, 2008), 137-8, 140, http://edwards.yale.edu/archive?path=aHR0cDovL2Vkd2FyZHMueWFsZS5lZHUvY2dpLWJpbi9uZXdwaGlsby9zZWxlY3QucGw/d2plby4w (accessed November 9, 2019); Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* 190-1.

[29] Edwards, *Freedom of the Will*, 238.

While Jonathan Edwards was raised in a tumultuous time – one in which Puritan society seemed to be in decline and new Enlightenment ideas were gaining currency, causing many to abandon orthodox Calvinistic views – he had a sensational conversion experience that gave him assurance of his own election and caused him to write that he had been transformed, given a "new sense" and radically new affections. It is no coincidence that before this experience he had been reading John Locke, as the sensory experience he had during his conversion, acquiring knowledge of his salvation through perception coincides with the empirical epistemology Locke develops in *An Essay on Human Understanding*. Following this experience, Edwards oversaw large revivals at which many people had the same sensory experience. Though this understanding of regeneration was heavily influenced by Lockean empiricism, which might seem to center the experience of the individual to the detriment of the sovereignty of God, Edwards, in his various writings, crafted a philosophy and theology that emphasized that all sensation and knowledge stems only from God, and regeneration is therefore itself an instance of being indwelled by God. Thus, Edwards developed an evangelical theology of conversion that adopted elements of Lockean empiricism while still asserting predestination and the sovereignty of God. After he died, through the influence of his grandson, Timothy Dwight, who became the president at Yale in 1795, Edwards's theology provided much of the intellectual influence that underpinned the revivalism of the "Second Great Awakening" in the early nineteenth century. Various Congregationalist and Presbyterian ministers in the context of that Awakening debated again the tensions between God's sovereignty and the personal salvation experience, with revivalists such as Lyman Beecher and Charles Grandison Finney promoting "New Haven theology" on one side, and traditional Calvinists such as Charles Hodge promoting the "Princeton theology" on the other side. Yet, despite the debate between them, both sides appealed to Jonathan Edwards as an authoritative voice.[31] So, although the tension present in Edwards's incorporation of Lockean empiricism into Calvinism would still play itself out as tension among the intellectual heirs of Edwards's theology, it had a massive influence on the unfolding of American Evangelicalism going forward.

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[30] Edwards, *Freedom of the Will,* 164; Locke, *An Essay Concering Human Understanding*, 189-93.

[31] Mark B. Chapman, "Models of Conversion in American Evangelicalism: Jonathan Edwards, Charles Hodge and Old Princeton, and Charles Finney," Order No. 3717269 (Marquette University, 2015): 121-4, 322-3, http://0-search.proquest.com.library.uark.edu/docview/1705562805?accountid=8361 (accessed November 25, 2019).

Contextualizing Egyptian-Themed Art in Pompeiian Shops

Kelsey Myers

After the incorporation of Egypt into the Roman Empire in 30 BCE, Romans began importing large amounts of art, everyday objects, and even entire monuments such as obelisks to Rome and Roman Italy. This large influx of Egyptian goods was part of a propaganda campaign by Octavian (later Augustus) and was meant to symbolize Rome's dominance over its new province. Although these objects were originally closely connected to the conquest of Egypt, Romans began to value them for other reasons, even making their own Egyptian-themed art, in a phenomenon which modern scholars have dubbed "Egyptomania." Egyptian-themed objects began to decorate private houses and more public spaces such as shops, workshops, and even temples. This occurrence is particularly visible in the Roman town of Pompeii between the first century BCE and first century CE. Even a century after the incorporation of Egypt into the empire, Egyptian imagery—preserved in the frescoes, mosaics, and objects found in the buildings active during Pompeii's final years—was still being created and consumed in the Bay of Naples.

Traditionally, Egyptian themed art in Italy (or Aegyptiaca) has been studied as a monolithic category removed from its original context. In the past twenty years, scholars have been reinterpreting this artwork with respect to the findspots of individual pieces and overall changes in the field of ancient art.[1] Nevertheless, most of this recent research has been focused on domestic spaces where better recordkeeping and preservation methods have left researchers with an abundance of evidence.[2] This project uses methods similar to those of more recent scholars to analyze Egyptian imagery in non-domestic contexts where it would have had more viewership to investigate how the purpose of Aegyptiaca may have differed between public and private spaces.[3] Using a combination of sources including *Pompei Pitture e Mosaici*, pompeiiinpictures.com, plates from Vittorio Spinazzola's early twentieth century excavations of the *via dell'Abbondanza*, and the appendix of Eva Mol's doctoral dissertation on Aegyptiaca in Pompeii, I compiled a corpus of 37 examples of non-domestic Egyptian decoration.[4] Then, using a holistic method based on context similar to Caitlin Barrett's approach to Nilotic scenes in domestic spaces, I analyzed the artwork based on the function of the structure in which it was located, its relationship to the surrounding artwork in that space, and the space's location within the city.

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[1] Molly Swetnam-Burland, *Egypt in Italy: Visions of Egypt in Roman Imperial Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[2] Caitlin Barrett, *Domesticating Empire: Egyptian Landscapes in Pompeian Gardens* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019); Eva Mol, "Egypt in Material and Mind: The Use and Perception of Aegyptiaca in Roman Domestic Contexts in Pompeii" (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2015).

[3] Some spaces in ancient Pompeii functioned as both commercial and living spaces. For this study, I consider any space where commerce (production, service, or exchange) occurred and any structure not used as a residence to be a part of this "non-primarily-domestic" category.

[4] Pompeiiinpictures.com is a photograph archive of the ruins of Pompeii as they stand today.

My approach focuses on the art historical, architectural, and archaeological evidence outside the *domus* to investigate the multivalent messaging communicated by Egyptian imagery in Pompeii's civic and commercial spaces. In doing so, this research offers a broader understanding of the use of Aegyptiaca in Pompeii's urban landscape and contributes to recent scholarship on ancient retailing by considering the multifaceted role of religious-themed art in the often-overlooked commercial spaces. By examining the artifacts and images commissioned by traders and craftsmen in their production and shop spaces, this research offers a fresh bottom-up approach to Roman culture and society to balance the textual based top-down perspective that has dominated the discipline. Focusing on foreign-themed objects and images in these spaces, this study also explores the reception and adoption of foreign/eastern influences by the lower social strata of Romans in a multiethnic empire.

Egyptian Imagery in Italy: Isis and the Nile

While the conquest of Egypt by Rome prompted a mass importation of Egyptian goods and a wide interest in Egyptian art and culture, Egyptian imagery in the Bay of Naples predates the Battle of Actium (31 BCE). By the second century BCE, the Cult of Isis and Serapis had arrived in Pompeii and the surrounding area. Originally an Egyptian cult, it maintained its connections to Egypt and remained a distinctly "eastern" cult when in Italy. However, this cult and its imagery changed drastically during its transition from Egypt to the Bay of Naples. As the Cult of Isis and Serapis/Osiris moved through the Mediterranean, it was altered to be more palatable to the different cultures with which it came into contact and, having acquired new attributes and practices such as mystery cult rituals, passed these new attributes on to new locations like the Italian peninsula. Due to a Greek tendency to syncretize their gods with deities from foreign pantheons, the Cult of Isis became malleable and was able to form connections with several aspects of Roman life through its prior interaction with Greek culture.

The earliest recorded attempt of syncretism between Isis and the Greek pantheon occurs in Herodotus' *Histories* written in the late fifth century BCE. In his digression on Egypt, Herodotus syncretizes Isis with the Greek goddess Demeter, stating that "Demeter" is simply "Isis" in the Greek language.[5] Concurrent with his style of simple observation without dissection, Herodotus does not explain why he believes they are the same goddess, but, it is likely due to their similar roles as agricultural and fertility goddesses. Since he mentions Isis and immediately moves on to another topic, there are few indicators as to how much Herodotus actually knew about the role of Isis in Egyptian religion.

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[5] Hdt. 2.59.

Herodotus also comments that images of Isis resemble Greek depictions of Io, a woman with cow horns.[6] Though not critically related to commerce or shipping, this association appears at least twice in frescoes in Pompeii. The paintings, now commonly labeled *Io in Canopus*,[7] were originally located in the *Casa del Duca di Aumale* (VI.9.1, or *Casa d'Iside ed Io*)[8] and the *ekklesiasterion* of the Temple of Isis (VIII.7.28) respectively. In these almost identical frescoes, Io, who in Greek myth had been turned into a cow by Zeus in an attempt to hide their affair, arrives in Canopus, Egypt where she meets Isis who makes her human again.[9] Interestingly, rather than directly syncretize Io and Isis as the same goddess, the Greeks made them separate characters in the same story. Although both Isis and Io are traditionally depicted with bull horns, only Io has this trait in the myth and in the Pompeiian frescoes.

While Herodotus' syncretism of Isis to Io and Demeter likely had little to no effect on the practices or beliefs of native Egyptians and the cult as it existed in Egypt, later in the Hellenistic period the rulers of Macedonian Ptolemaic Dynasty, using native religion to cement their rule, implemented changes to the Egyptian pantheon. One of the most significant alterations was the creation of a new god, Serapis. This god was supposed to be the syncretization of the Apis Bull and the Egyptian god Osiris.[10] Since Osiris was associated with death and rebirth, Serapis was easily equated with Dionysus and effectively incorporated into Greek religion.[11] In addition to the creation and incorporation of Serapis into state religion, the Cult of Isis also grew in prominence and acquired new attributes under the Ptolemies. Isis *Pharia* was the patron goddess of the lighthouse of Alexandria (located on the island of Pharos).[12] This lighthouse, considered by a number of Hellenistic travel guides to be one of the Seven Wonders, was iconic during this period and long after.[13] This iteration of the goddess and her association with a major symbol of Mediterranean seafaring further established her connection to sailing and her role as a protector of trade and sailors.

Even before the Ptolemaic Dynasty, the Cult of Isis was slowly moving through the Mediterranean. There is substantial evidence for the cult at Greek Delos, a major trading center of the eastern Mediterranean, including three *Serapea* or sanctuaries dedicated to the worship of syncretic Greco-Egyptian deities. A second century BCE Doric style temple to Isis was found inside Serapeum C where the goddess was worshipped alongside Serapis and Anubis. Greek influence had by this point transformed the cult into a Greek-style mystery cult. Mystery cults usually involve some sort of secretive initiation which is focused around the acquisition of a sacred knowledge. The rituals of mystery cults were typically practiced inside or in some way shielded from the gaze of the uninitiated, unlike state cults which were open to all and practiced outside, in front of the temple. The Temple of Isis at Delos was not peripteral and open like most Greek temples at the time, but rather had solid walls which would have prevented people from looking inside. Interestingly, a significant number of offerings found in the temples of the *Serapea* were dedicated by Romans trading on the island, which has led some scholars to suggest that Delos had a direct role in introducing the Cult of Isis and other syncretized Egyptian gods to Italy.[14] R. Turcan states, "the island's geographical position and the current political situation, in the second century BC, facilitated its contacts with Rome and conferred on it a role that was not exclusive but certainly decisive in spreading Nilotic religions as far as Italy."[15]

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[6] Hdt. 2.41.

[7] https://www.museoarcheologiconapoli.it/en/room-and-sections-of-the-exhibition/temple-of-isis/

[8] All buildings in Pompeii are organized with an address system. For example, *Casa d'Iside ed Io* (VI.9.1) is located in Region VI, *Inusla* 9, doorway 1.

[9] Myth also found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book I: 587-750. In this version, while there is no mention of Isis, it is stated that Io is worshipped as a goddess in Egypt.

[10] Richard Gordon, "Serapis", *Oxford Classical Dictionary*,7 March 2016. In pre-Ptolemaic times, Osiris-Apis became known as Osorapis. Under the Ptolemies, this name shifted to Serapis.

[11] Hdt. 2.42. Herodotus makes the connection between Dionysus and Osiris his digression on Egypt in Book II of *The Histories*.

[12] Robert Turcan, *The Cults of the Roman Empire*. Translated by Antonia Nevill. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996) 79.

[13] Antip. Sid. IX.58.

Whether the worship of Isis spread to the bay of Naples directly from Egypt through Delos, or via other routes, the first version of an Iseum in Pompeii was built around the end of the second century BCE before the town was forcibly re-founded as a Roman colony by Sulla ca. 89 BCE.[16] This site was later destroyed by an earthquake in 62 CE and was the only temple in Pompeii to have been completely restored before the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE, which may reflect the cult's popularity. The temple complex as it survives exemplifies the cult's transition into a mystery cult; the main temple structure is surrounded by tall walls, limiting the view of the area from the street like the Temple of Isis at Delos. Similarly, grooves still remain which would allow the portico located at the main entrance of the complex (VIII.7.28) to be closed off from the temple's courtyard by large, likely wooden, dividers, further blocking views in for anyone passing by on the street (see Image 1).

The most detailed extant source for a Roman view of the Cult of Isis and its origins is Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris*. Although Plutarch, a Greek writing under the Roman empire in the second century CE, admits to excluding details that he either does not find interesting or would not be palatable to a Roman/ Roman-Greek audience, this text helps establish some foundational and distinctly Egyptian stories associated with the cult which later appear in Greco-Roman practices and belief, such as Isis' journey down the Nile to find Osiris's remains, Isis' crown of cow horns, and the recurring theme of death and rebirth. In Plutarch's version of the original Egyptian myth, Isis' husband/brother Osiris is killed by their brother Set, cut up into several pieces, and thrown into the Nile. Isis then travels down the Nile on a boat to find the pieces of Osiris.[17] These stories often appeared in later iterations of the cult, its rituals, and likely initiations.

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[14] F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganism romain*, Paris 1929, p. 18.

[15] Turcan, *Cults*, 83.

[16] For spread of cult directly from Egypt see Turcan, *Cults*, 83.

After arriving to the Italian peninsula, Isis and her cult received new attributes and identities. When being worshipped in her role as a patron of seafaring, Isis was known as Isis *Pelagia*, "the mistress of the sea, inventor of navigation, and protector of sailors."[18] Romans celebrated the *Navigium,* which, as J. Alvar states, "recalled Isis' voyage in search of her husband/brother Osiris."[19] Holding a place as both an Egyptian goddess and a protector of trade, Isis was also closely connected to the *annona*, the state subsidized monthly allotment of grain to adult male citizens in the city of Rome, a substantial part of which came from Egypt.[20] These attributes are reflected in Pompeiian art where Isis commonly appears with a ship's rudder (*gubernaculum*) and/or a cornucopia, symbols related to sailing and the grain supply.[21] Alvar argues that Isis' role as a protector of trade and sailing allowed her to be syncretized with the Roman goddess Fortuna, who appears with similar iconography (e.g. rudder and cornucopia) and was also a patron of maritime trade. As a result, she is often referred to as Isis-Fortuna, although she had previously been referred to as Isis-Tyche (the Greek equivalent of Fortuna) by the Delians, and it is sometimes difficult to discern whether Isis, Isis-Fortuna, or Fortuna is being depicted in Pompeian art.[22] Other distinguishing symbols that appear with Isis alone include the Isaic knot on her dress (which makes the shape of an Egyptian ankh), sistra (ritual metal rattles), and an Isaic headdress (modus) or cow horns (see Image 2).[23]

Though probably a satirical account of the cult, Apuleius includes the goddess and a detailed description of her syncretisms and symbols in his novel *The Golden Ass*. Similar to the story of Io, Isis returns the main character, Lucius, to human form at the end of the work. During his invocation to the goddess and her response, Isis is referred to as "Ceres", "Venus", "Diana", "Proserpine", "Minerva", "Juno", "Cybele", "Bellona", "Hecate", and "Rhamnusia".[24] Writing in the late second century CE, Apuleius also included a list of symbols related to the goddess that she had acquired through previous iterations of her cult. Apuleius describes the goddess as wearing a modus on her head complete with ears of corn and a moon-like disk along with a cloak tied in an Isaic knot. According to Apuleius, she also carried a sistrum and a "boat-shaped vessel of gold", likely describing a *gubernaculum*.[25] While she seems to have been syncretized with numerous Roman goddesses, the author's description of her symbols is well reflected in the artwork of Pompeii.

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[17] Plut. *Mor. De Is. et Os.* 18.

[18] Jaime Alvar, *Romanising Oriental Gods: Myth, Salvation and Ethics in the Cults of Cybele, Isis and Mithras* (Leiden: Brill, 2008) 297.

[19] Alvar, 297.

[20] Paul Erdkamp, *The Grain Market in the Roman Empire: A Social, Political and Economic Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

[21] Alvar, *Romanising,* 298. "it has been plausibly suggested, for example, that the images of Isis with cornucopiae and steering-oar evoke the Annona brought annually from Alexandria to Rome."

[22] Isis-Fortuna: Alvar, *Romanising,* 297. Isis-Tyche: Mol, "Egypt in Material and Mind," 164.

[23] The modus typically depicts two stalks of wheat and a disk.

[24] Apul. *Met.* XI.2.

Pompeii was a multicultural town – a mix of Greek, Oscan, and Roman languages and cultures – that contained evidence for the worship of numerous Greco-Roman gods (Bacchus-Dionysus, Mercury, Apollo) and foreign gods such as Cybele; however, the number of depictions of Isis, Serapis, and Harpocrates and sistra in Pompeii (No 75) is surprisingly high considering the cult's Egyptian origin and the secrecy surrounding initiation.[26] Imagery of and related to Isis and other Egyptian gods appears at least once in every classification of building/space use in Pompeii (domestic, commercial, religious, and civic), suggesting that the cult was well-integrated into public life despite its foreign origin and mystery-cult status.

Until the 1970s, scholars asserted that interest in an afterlife that was better than life, a belief in Egyptian religion but not in Roman religion, drew people from marginalized groups and lower levels of society (slaves, freedmen, and women) to the cult. However, Tran Tam Tinh argues that there is no evidence outside of Pompeii that the cult was more prevalent among women, slaves, and freed people than the freeborn.[27] Even at Pompeii, however, from an archaeological viewpoint, the cult appears to have permeated all strata of Roman society. Images of the Cult of Isis, for instance, appear in large, wealthy houses in Pompeii such as the *Casa di Octavius Quartio* (II.2.2), in which the fresco of an Isaic priest was discovered. Freedmen did occasionally rise to a higher economic status that would have allowed them to purchase and decorate a large house, but the frequency of Isaic and Egyptian religious imagery in Pompeiian domestic spaces (No 150) makes it unlikely that these homes were only owned by wealthy former slaves. On the other hand, the fact that Numerius Popidius Ampliatus, a local freedman, funded the quick restoration of the Temple of Isis following the earthquake in 62 CE on behalf of his six-year old freeborn son speaks to the importance of the cult in this city among this marginalized group.[28] Numerius' restoration secured a political office for his son, demonstrating how the popularity of the Cult of Isis could be leveraged for social mobility and political power. This event also reflects the importance that Pompeii as a town placed on the cult. By comparison, the Capitolium in the forum, iconic of Roman state religion, had not been fully restored when the city was destroyed in 79 CE.

While it would be interesting to compare the frequency and context of Egyptian imagery across the socioeconomic spectrum of domestic spaces in Pompeii, unfortunately most second floor spaces where some less wealthy residents would have lived were destroyed in the eruption. First-floor shops and workshops that flanked the streets in large numbers are, however, still standing although much of their decoration has disappeared due to centuries of exposure and neglect. Of the 28 examples of Egyptian imagery found in commercial spaces, 22 relate to Isis or to her cult (see Appendix). It is not unusual for religious imagery to appear in Roman shops; depictions of Fortuna, Mercury, and Lares (protective spirits) sometimes surround *lararia* inside the shops or on their exterior walls. However, scholars have not yet carefully explored the purpose of Isis' inclusion in these spaces or considered her role in commerce.

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[25] Ibid., 4.

[26] Mol, "Egypt in Material and Mind," 475-479.

[27] V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Les Culte des Divinites Orientales a Herculanum* (Leiden: Brill, 1971).

[28] *CIL* X.846.

Egypt in the Eye of the Consumer: Public versus Private Aegyptiaca

Egyptian-themed iconography, especially Nilotic scenes, has been the subject of much interpretation and debate. As Roman archaeologists and art historians have changed the way they study ancient art, each generation of scholars has reinterpreted Egyptian-themed imagery in Roman domestic spaces according to the methods of their time. Within the past ten years, Swetnam-Burland, Barrett, and Mol have published on Roman reception of Aegyptiaca, Nilotic scenes in garden assemblages, and Egyptian decoration in respect to network typology, respectively.[29] Their interpretations of these images and objects tend to conclude that they were used as decoration to create an "Egyptian atmosphere" or to at least draw the viewer's mind to Egypt, which could have different implications depending on the viewer and context. While shop owners may have had similar motivations, based on this survey of Aegyptiaca in commercial spaces, Egyptian imagery was displayed differently in the shop, focused on different themes, and was created for different viewers and purposes than domestic Egyptian-themed art. This section will explore some of the differences between the display, purpose, and possible interpretations of domestic Aegyptiaca and commercial Aegyptiaca.

Of the over 200 examples of Aegyptiaca found in Pompeii, only 33 are non-domestic and of those only 27 are found in shops or production spaces (see Appendix). Meanwhile, 123 pieces have known findspots in domestic spaces (13 have unknown findspots and several items are recorded as being in a building, not a specific room). Nevertheless, there are a couple factors that skew the data to favor houses. Mol's corpus, which I have used to compile these numbers, counts each wall in a house as a different data point.[30] For example, if a garden in a house has four walls with Nilotic scenes in the same style, each wall is considered its own point. In my own corpus, however, I consider multiple Nilotic scenes in one room to be a single data point. If a space contains two types of decoration (i.e. a lararium painting of Isis and a sistrum) I would consider the space to have two finds. If there are two subject types depicted in the same room (ie. a Nilotic scene on one wall and an Isis on another) I would have considered these to be separate finds.[31] Taking this into account, the number of domestic finds decreases to 93 examples in 54 different houses. While this is still significantly more finds than occur in shops and production spaces, consideration for the preservation bias toward domestic spaces adds further equity to the amount of finds between shops and domestic spaces.

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[29] Swetnam-Burland, *Egypt in the Roman Imagination*; Barrett, *Domesticating*; Mol, "Egypt in Material and Mind".

[30] Mol, "Egypt in Material and Mind," 475-479.

While it is difficult to compare the number of images and objects found in shops and houses, there is a trend in the types of finds that appears in each space. Nilotic scenes appear almost exclusively in domestic spaces. In her recent book, Barrett argues that "Nilotic imagery is especially common in rooms associated with *otium* (cultured relaxation) and more limited access such as gardens and triclinia."[32] By placing images of the Nile and Egypt in these spaces, the owners were likely trying to create an exotic atmosphere similar to what they imagined these places were like.

Although there are very few examples of Nilotic scenes outside of a domestic context (No 6), they still existed at one point.[33] Three are located in the *Therme Stabiane* (VII.1.8; Appendix: 19), the *Therme del Sarno* (VIII.2.17; Appendix: 30), and the *Therme Surbane* (VII.16.a; Appendix: 37). Baths, like the garden spaces of houses, were areas dedicated to leisure and *otium*. As is likely the case in domestic spaces, these depictions of Egypt and the Nile were meant to invoke feelings of luxury and leisure Romans would have associated with Egypt and the east in general. Depictions of the Nile may also have been deemed appropriate decoration for spaces like baths that contained physical water features. Just as swimming pools today are sometimes landscaped with tropical plants and fake waterfalls in order to evoke a tropical or more natural atmosphere, the Egyptian décor perhaps helped transport bathers from a crowded pool in a dimly lit, smoky concrete room to a lush riverscape. Barret suggests that water features were also common in elite gardens with Nilotic scenes, strengthening the link between luxury, leisure, water, and Egypt.[34] Of the 30 Nilotic scenes found in garden spaces, 27 are located near water features.[35] Capitalizing on this link, a shop owner my have placed a Nilotic scene in the garden space of their *caupona* (I.2.24; Appendix: 5), or tavern, to evoke a sense of escapism and mimic the decorative mood and ambience of elite garden spaces. In addition to selling food and drink, the shop owner sold the experience of elite luxury. The *caupona*'s Egyptian-themed garden created a "hyperreality," in which the largely non-elite diners were able to self-fashion – at least for a short time – as elites.[36]

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[31] Surprisingly, this was never an issue.

[32] Barrett, *Domesticating*, 18. According to Barrett's distribution graph of the 36 domestic Nilotic scenes in Pompeii, half (18) of all scenes appear in gardens (121). Furthermore, 11 more scenes are located in rooms opening onto gardens (121).

[33] None of these frescoes have survived.

[34] Barrett, *Domesticating*, 136.

[35] Ibid., 138.

[36] R. G. Vennarucci, D. Fredrick, and W. Loder. 2020. "Socci and Sociability: Shopping for Status in a Roman Shop." (Presentation, 121st annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, Washington D.C, 2020).

The final two non-domestic Nilotic scenes recorded in Pompeii appeared in religious spaces inside the Temple of Apollo on the forum (VII.7.32; Appendix: 27) and the Temple of Isis (VIII.7.28; Appendix: 31). Although the presence of Nilotic imagery is not surprising in a temple to an Egyptian goddess, it is somewhat unexpected in a temple to a Roman god. The Nilotic scene would have appeared on the inside of the frieze far above eye-level. Since the temple also housed statues of other Roman gods and goddesses, this frieze could have been a nod to the Cult of Isis in Pompeii or to the Roman conquest of Egypt if the scene was added during Augustus' restoration. However, there is no evidence of any Egyptian deities in the Temple of Apollo to strengthen this suggestion. Without more evidence, it is difficult and likely impossible to determine the purpose of this fresco in this space.

While Nilotic scenes dominate domestic spaces, depictions of Egyptian religion (Romanized and not) are the subject of almost every piece of Aegyptiaca in shops and workshops in Pompeii. Of the 27 Aegyptiaca found in commercial spaces, 92.5% (No 25) were images of Egyptian gods (including Bes and Phat-Pataikos) or sistra, while 77% (No 21) were related to the Cult of Isis. This difference in subject matter between domestic and commercial spaces may be connected to the Roman ideas of *otium* and *negotium* (business). Since the shop and workshop were places of *negotium*, it was likely neither appropriate nor meaningful to place a Nilotic scene, commonly associated with *otium*, in these spaces. Similarly, Nilotic scenes tend to function primarily as decoration, while Aegyptiaca in shops, although still decorative, mainly depict religious figures or symbols and act as indicators of religious devotion, such as being an initiate in the Cult of Isis, and/or as protective symbols for the business.

Isis may dominate Egyptian-themed art in commercial spaces, but there are 32 examples of imagery associated with Isis and associated Egyptian deities in domestic spaces. Of these known Isis-related images or objects, the exact findspot of 16 are not certain. Three were located in shrines in atria. Seven were discovered in non-*lararium* spaces in atria; however, four of these were statues found in a locked box and would not have been visible. Three were placed in *lararium* spaces in gardens or peristyles: there were no Isiac images found in gardens or peristyles outside of *lararia*. Only three Isiac images were found in spaces other than the atrium, garden, or peristyle.[37] As this survey shows, domestic Isaic imagery commonly appears around a home *lararium*, sometimes in the more public atrium (No 3) and other times in the leisure-focused garden (No 3).[38] Location in the atrium could have connected the art to *negotium* since patrons often received their clients in the atrium and conducted business in the *tablinum* at the front of the house. However, the presence of Isaic imagery in these primarily domestic spaces is more private than a facade outside a bakery or in the front room of a shop. The viewing of these images was restricted to the *familia*, who inhabited the home, and to their guests. This expression of involvement or, at the very least, interest in the cult was only viewable by outsiders when the inhabitants allowed it. Viewability could also be controlled by the location of the image in the house. A shrine located in the front atrium would be visible by anyone allowed into the house and possibly by people walking down the street. However, an image located at the back of the house in a garden would only be visible to someone who had been invited further into the house (unless strategically located along a visual axis which ran through other rooms or even to the street). By strategically placing these images, their creators/patrons were able to easily control not only who saw them, but also what message they portrayed to the viewer about the creator/patron.

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[37] These spaces are termed *cubicula* or *oeci*.

[38] Lauren Petersen Hackworth, "Collecting Gods in Roman Houses: The House of the Gilded Cupids (VI.16.7, 38) at Pompeii," *Arethusa* 45, no. 3: 319-332.

Like domestic Aegyptiaca, there are some examples of objects and images in commercial spaces that are visually restricted. For example, while the painting of Isis located in the *lararium* in T. Terentius Proculus's bakery (IX.3.12; Appendix: 33; see Image 3) is almost certainly connected to the commercial activity of the workspace, this image, based on its position and lack of viewability from the street, was not intended to be seen by the public. Even if both the front and side doors of the bakery were open (which was likely due to the heat of the oven), the fresco would only be visible to those who entered the back part of the bakery and walked a few feet into the shop toward the oven. Although located in a commercial space, this particular example of Isis seems to be functioning like depictions of Isis in visually controlled domestic spaces, with a primarily private religious function.

However, the majority of Egyptian and Isaic imagery appeared in highly public spaces where there was little restriction to who could view the images and when, such as the highly visible fresco of Isis/Io/Alessandria on the façade of a bakery and *caupona* on the *via dell'Abbondanza* (I.12.4-5; Appendix: 9; see Image 4). While the placement of images in Pompeiian homes was also purposeful and well thought-out, a shopkeeper or owner would have likely placed these images even more thoughtfully because of their lack of control over viewership and the implications it may have on their business. Likewise, some shop spaces doubled as dwellings for shopkeepers and the keepers would have had to be creative about how they used the limited space, unlike house owners.[39] Whereas many house owners had the privilege of controlling visual access to their religious activity in the home, private devotion was on public display in the shop. Urban craftsmen and traders seem to have turned this lack of privacy into a commercial advantage when decorating. Spending money to commission a painting of Isis or displaying a series of intricate sistra made from precious metals in a store visible to anyone who walked by was a conscious decision intended to send a certain message to customers: either the owner of this shop worships Isis or (if the decoration was not specifically related to the cult) one should think about Egypt when looking at this shop. However, as Barrett states, there is no one "correct" interpretation of Aegyptiaca and the ancient interpretations of this art could have varied drastically.[40] While there appears to be a religious commonality between domestic and commercial examples of Isis, the increased visuality these images had in public commercial space added a layer of meaning to the imagery. If Isis did function as a patron of commerce in Pompeii, as Mercury did, she may have been included in these areas as an apotropaic symbol or as a protector of business (especially when appearing as Fortuna-Isis).

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[39] F. Pirson, "Shops and Industries," in *World of Pompeii* ed. Pedar Foss and John J. Dobbins (New York and London: Routledge, 2009) 457-473.

Either way, the primary purpose of artwork differs between domestic and commercial spaces and further varies between public and private viewing contexts within commercial spaces. As it does today, purchasing artwork cost money in Pompeii and was commissioned with great attention to the intended audience and purpose. While the main functions of Egyptian artwork in domestic spaces tended to be wrapped up in ideas of *otium*, examples of leisure decoration can also be found in commercial spaces in the form of Nilotic scenes (although this is rare). Similarly, while both domestic and commercial spaces used Isis symbolism for religious and apotropaic contexts, they utilized this imagery to communicate different messages. Commercial art was tailored for public consumption while domestic art was not.

Conclusion

Since the excavation of the Temple of Isis in 1764, archaeologists have grappled with how to interpret the large amounts of Aegyptiaca uncovered from Pompeii. In the past, scholars would ignore the context in which the items and images were found and ascribe blanket interpretations to everything with an Egyptian theme. More recent archaeologists have attempted to contextualize these pieces by examining them individually rather than as a monolithic group. Nevertheless, most of their scholarship has been directed toward domestic decoration, likely because it is more abundant and better preserved than non-domestic and commercial Aegyptiaca. The goal of this the goal was to use methods similar to those of Barrett, Swetnam-Burland, and Mol, apply them to commercial spaces, and reassess Aegyptiaca based on context and viewership.

As the Cult of Isis emerged as central to commercial Aegyptiaca, it became necessary to examine how her cult functioned not only in Pompeiian commercial spaces, but also the city as a whole. After tracing the development of the cult to Delos and Egypt, it is clear that by the time the cult had arrived in Campania in the 2nd century BCE, worshippers had syncretized Isis with a number of Greek and Roman goddesses and assigned attributes to her, such as protector of sailing, which helped the cult take hold in the Italian city and contributed to Isis being viewed by the merchant class as a protector of commerce. The syncretization of Isis in Pompeii is most apparent in frequent depictions of Fortuna-Isis, which are at times difficult to identify.

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[40] Barrett, *Domesticating*, 17.

Although domestic and commercial Aegyptiaca should not be interpreted as a cohesive group, there are some examples of commercial and other non-domestic art attempting to replicate the hyper-reality and atmosphere of *otium* created by domestic Nilotic scenes and bring it to lower classes. Furthermore, an overwhelming majority of non-domestic Aegyptiaca depict religious themes and are comparable to similar images in domestic spaces. Nevertheless, the art that appears in public commercial spaces was created for public consumption. The religious meaning behind the artwork would have been compounded with commercial purposes and was used to communicate messages about apotropaic symbolism, shopkeeper identity, the success or fashionability of the business, and may have been used to influence consumer experience within the shop. This study could be expanded to include commercial spaces in other Roman cities such as Ostia, which was located at the mouth of the Tiber River a few miles from Rome and served as the main port for the city. This city was also important in terms of the grain supply and *annona*. In his chapter on shops, bars, markets, and hotels, J. T. Bakker examines depictions of gods in commercial spaces in Ostia, including images of Isis and Serapis.[41] Like Pompeii, Ostia contains evidence of Isaic worship and even a Temple to Isis *Pelagia*, the protector of trade. Ostia was a major city in the heart of the Roman Empire and a multicultural hub while Pompeii was a rural Campanian town. A comparative study of the uses of Isaic symbolism in commercial and other non-domestic spaces in Pompeii and Ostia may provide more insight into religious-commercial decoration and would extend the researchable period past Pompeii's *terminus ante quem* of 79 CE.

Typically, Egyptian influences on Rome are studied either from a textual perspective or from monumental structures and elite garden spaces. Wealthy, free-born, Roman men, although influential, are overwhelmingly represented in extant textual sources and the archaeology of elite spaces. While using these sources is fine for certain questions about Roman culture, it ignores the fact that a majority of people living in the Roman Empire were not wealthy, free-born, Roman, and/or men. Additionally, they tend to limit the examination of Roman-Egyptian cultural exchange to a "top-down" perspective. Urban craftsmen and traders, who were visibly engaged in the Cult of Isis at Pompeii, were comprised of a diverse mixture of ethnicities, people of different social statuses, and women. This study showed that the non-elite of Pompeii consciously displayed elite and religious imagery in their shops and workshops to self-fashion on the public stage of the Roman street. By examining religious art in non-elite contexts, like the Aegyptiaca in the shops at Pompeii, from a bottom-up perspective, a more nuanced understanding of the everyday lives, subcultures, and practices of Roman society as a whole emerges.

Appendix: Corpus of Non-domestic Aegyptiaca

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[41] J. T. Bakker, "Shops, Bars, Markets, and Hotels," in *Living and Working with the Gods: Studies of Evidence for Private Religion and its Material Environment in the City of Ostia* (Leiden: Brill, 1994) 77-95.

#	**Address**	**Building Name**	**Building Function**	**Location**	**Artifact Type**	**Description**
1	I.2.12	Unnamed Shop	Shop		Jewelry	Harpocrates amulet
2	I.2.17	Unnamed House or Shop	Shop		Statue	Terracotta bust of Isis
3	I.2.20	Unnamed *Caupona*	*Caupona*	North- wall niche in garden	Statue	Terracotta bust of Isis
4	I.2.24	*Officina Libraria* of Acilius Cedrus/ Unnamed *Caupona*/ Wine Shop	Shop	Garden	Statue	Terracotta bust of Isis
5	I.2.24	*Officina Libraria* of Acilius Cedrus/ Unnamed *Caupona*/ Wine Shop	Shop	Tablinum	Fresco	Nilotic Scene
6	I.4.23	Unnamed Shop	Shop		Lamp	Isis
7	I.10.7	House of the Smith	*Officina*		Jewelry	Isis-Fortuna, Harpocrates, and lotus necklace
8	I.10.7	House of the Smith	*Officina*		Jewelry	Isis-Fortuna and snake necklace
9	I.12.4-5	Façade of Bakery and *Caupona*	Street Facade		Fresco	Io/Isis with Hermes
10	I.13.16	Unnamed *Caupona*	*Caupona*	Garden	Statue	Baboon Faience
11	I.14.8	Bar/Hospitium	Bar		Statue	Bes
12	I.18.4	Unnamed Shop	Shop		Lamp	Bes
13	II.1.12	Magic Rites Complex	Religious		Statue	Marble bust of Jupiter-Ammon
14	II.7.1-10	Grand Palaestra	Public		Cup	Silver cup with depictions of Isis, a priest, Seker, and Horus

15	II.7.1-10	Grand Palaestra	Public		Cup	Silver cup with depictions of Isis, a priest, Seker, and Horus
16	V.3.3	Unnamed Shop with Dwelling	Shop		Statue	Isis-Fortuna
17	VI.1.2	Unnamed Caupona	Caupona		Statue	Phat- Pataikos
18	VI.16.4	Thermopolium (hot food shop)	Shop/ bar		Lamp	Terracotta lamp with images of Isis, Harpocrates, and Anubis
19	VII.1.8	Terme Stabiane	Public		Fresco	Nilotic Scene
20	VII.3.35	Unnamed Shop	Shop		Statue	Fortuna-Isis
21	VII.4.5	Unnamed Shop	Shop		Sistrum	Bronze sistrum
22	VII.4.11	Unnamed Shop	Shop		Statue	Bronze statuette of Isis
23	VII.4.13	Unnamed Shop	Shop		Sistrum	Bronze sistrum
24	VII.4.13	Unnamed Shop	Shop		Sistrum	Bronze sistrum
25	VII.4.13	Unnamed Shop	Shop		Sistrum	Bronze sistrum
26	VII.4.13	Unnamed Shop	Shop		Sistrum	Bronze sistrum
27	VII.7.32	Temple of Apollo	Religious	Frieze in peristyle	Fresco	Nilotic Scene with pygmies
28	VII.9.1	Eumachia Building	Public; Commercial		Fresco	Isis-Hygiea
29	VIII.1.1	Basilica	Public		Statue	Zeus-Serapis
30	VIII.2.1 7	Therme del Sarno	Public		Fresco	Nilotic Scene
31	VIII.7.2 8	Temple of Isis	Religious	Multiple	Multiple	Multiple
32	IX.3.2	Dye Shop of Ubonius	Shop	Garden	Statue	Bronze Statuette of Fortuna-Isis
33	IX.3.12	Bakery of T. Terentius Proculus	Shop	Around Lararium in kitchen	Fresco	Fortuna-Isis
34	IX.5.3	Unnamed Shop	Shop		Statue	Harpocrates
35	IX.6.b	Bar of Marcus and Une…us	Bar		Reliquary	Circular ivory reliquary with Egyptian figures

36	IX.7.21- 22	*Caupona* of Tertius	*Caupona*	Corridor to latrine	Fresco	Fortuna-Isis
37	VII.16.a	*Therme Suburbane*	Public		Fresco	Nilotic Scene

Images:

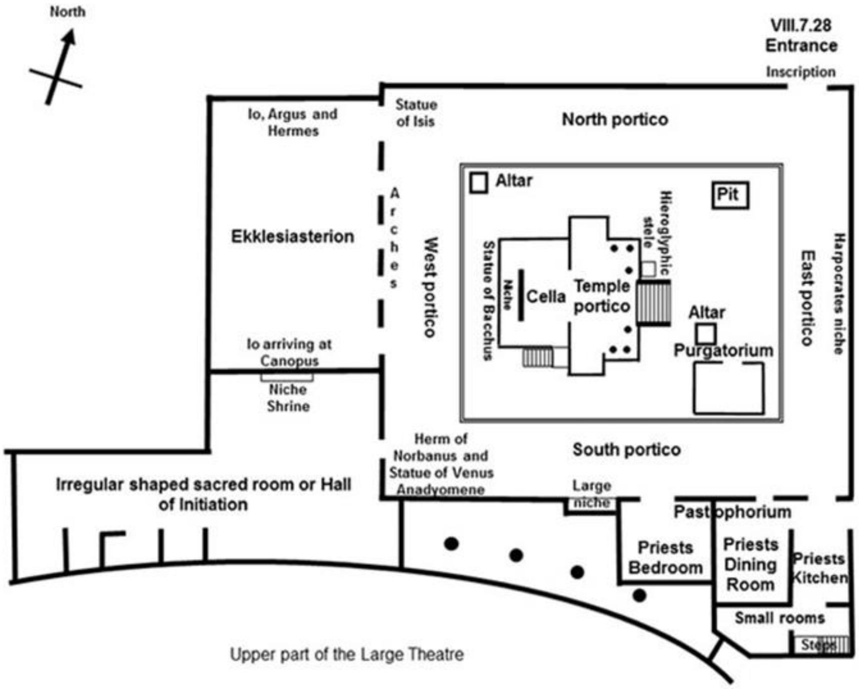
North
VIII.7.28
Entrance
Inscription
Statue of Isis
North portico
Io, Argus and Hermes
Ekklesiasterion
A r c h e s
West portico
Altar
Pit
Hieroglyphic stele
Niche
Statue of Bacchus
Cella
Temple portico
Altar
Purgatorium
East portico
Harpocrates niche
Io arriving at Canopus
Niche Shrine
Herm of Norbanus and Statue of Venus Anadyomene
South portico
Large niche
Pastophorium
Irregular shaped sacred room or Hall of Initiation
Priests Bedroom
Priests Dining Room
Priests Kitchen
Small rooms
Steps
Upper part of the Large Theatre

Image 1: Plan of the Temple of Isis at Pompeii. The entire space was enclosed by walls and a large wooden door (no longer remains). From pompeiiinpictures.com

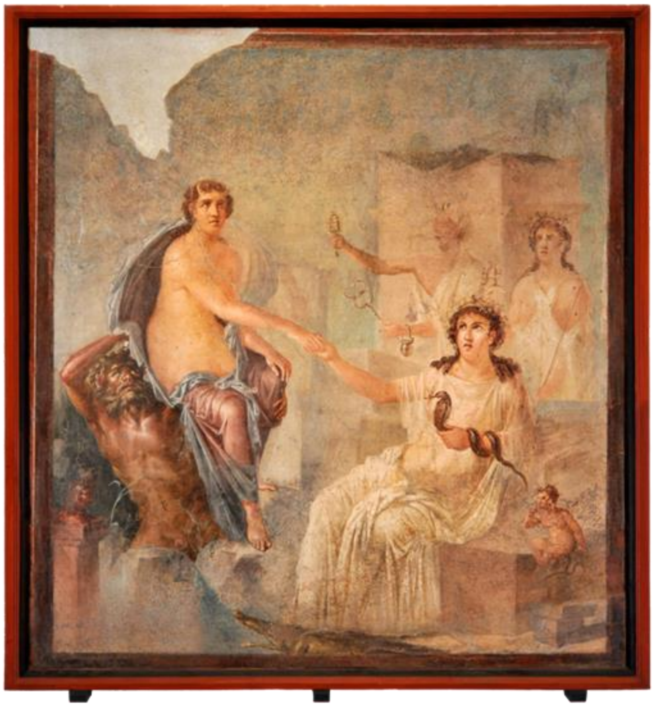

Image 2: Fresco from the Temple of Isis called *Io at Canopus*. Now in the Naples National Archaeological Museum. From www.museoarcheologiconapoli.it

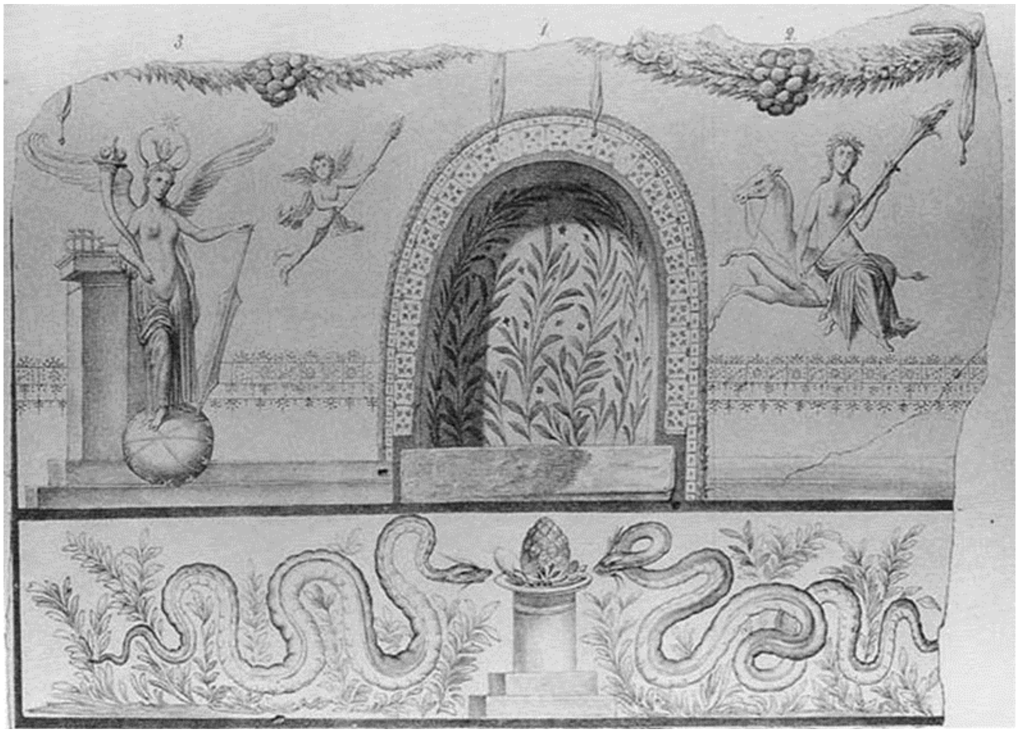

Image 3: Lararium painting of Isis in T. Terentius Proculus's bakery (IX.3.12). From pompeiiinpictures.com

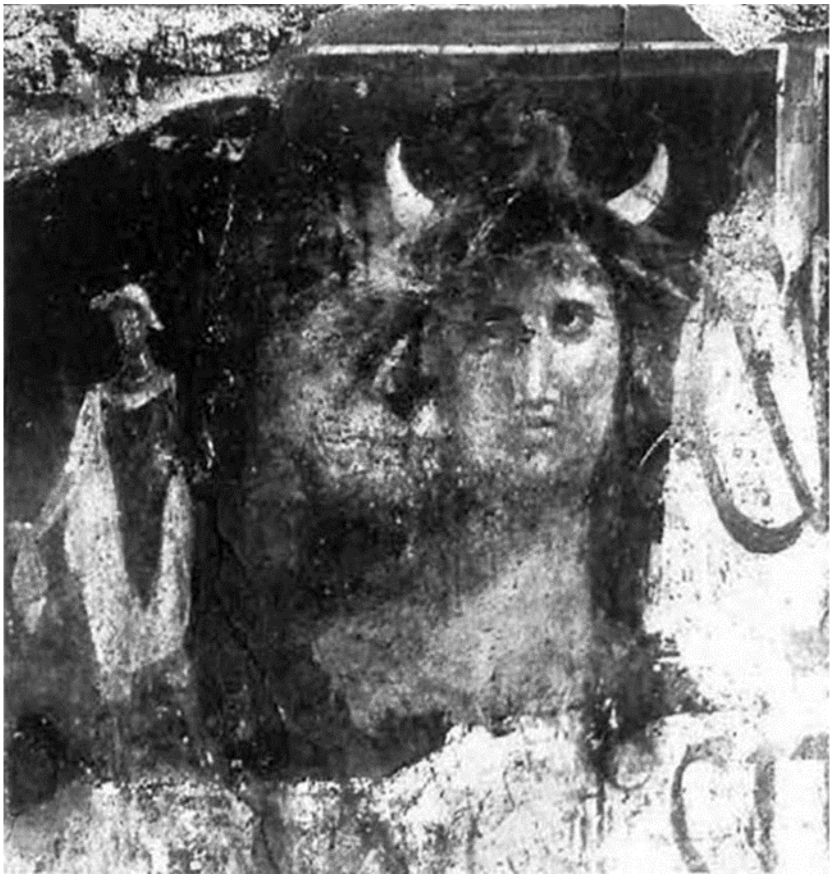

Image 4: Painting of Isis/Io outside *caupona* (I.12.4). Image from pompeiiinpictures.com.

Author Biographies

Jacob Huneycutt is a native of Fayetteville, AR and is a senior Honors College Fellow in the J. William Fulbright College of Arts & Sciences. He is majoring in History and International & Global Studies, and he is minoring in Anthropology. He specializes in early modern religious history, particularly that of Baptists and other Evangelical or Reformed Protestants, in both the English-speaking Atlantic World and in American history through the early twentieth century. He is the 2020 winner of the "Violet B. Gingles Award" from the Arkansas Historical Association for his essay about a Baptist split in Arkansas in 1901 and how that dovetailed with populist politics. After college, he intends to pursue a career in academic history and will be attending graduate school.

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