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**The Italic Isis. Understanding early-Imperial Isis worship through a statue of Isis-Fortuna from the lararium of the Villa del Fondo Acunzo in Boscoreale.**

Martinelli, Laura

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*Cover figure: statuette of Isis-Fortuna from the Walters Art Museum (Baltimore, USA).*

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By Laura Martinelli (s2610159)

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Supervisor: Prof. Dr. M.J. Versluys

Leiden University, Faculty of Archaeology

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# Chapter 1: Introduction

## Background



*Figure 1: statuette of Isis-Fortuna from the Walters Art Museum (Baltimore, USA).*

Amongst the multitude of reasons the ancient Romans were known for, one of their main identifiable traits was their extensive pantheon of Gods. This collection of divinities has adapted and expanded throughout time and often adopted new members from neighbouring cultures. An example of this godly adoption would be the Romans' main pantheon, which holds an uncanny resemblance to the Greek pantheon and was most likely inspired by it (Malaise, 1997, p. 86-89). Through time, this adoption of Gods continued and, even during the Empire's decline (3<sup>rd</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> century CE), new Gods were being incorporated into the Roman culture. An example of one of these 'adopted' Gods would be the Goddess Isis. Originating from Egypt, the mother Goddess Isis, as she was often referred to, was one of the main deities of the Egyptian pantheon (Figure 1). The Goddess Isis was a great part of ancient Egyptian mythological and everyday culture. She was associated with protection, motherhood, and healing, and was also known for possessing great magical capabilities. Often, during healing practices and rituals, her name was called upon in hopes to boost healing properties and to aid in protection, this is due to Isis being often represented as a goddess of protection, healing, and magic (Donadoni, 1997, p. 35-36). Isis was one of the 4 original Gods alongside her brother/husband Osiris, her brother Seth and sister Nephthys. Isis was also known as the mother of Horus, another of the main Gods of the Egyptian pantheon and the God associated

with the pharaohs of Egypt; as pharaohs represented themselves as the God Horus on Earth (Donadoni, 1997, p. 32-36).

Due to her attributes as magician and strong, motherly, and protective powers, she became a revered and beloved Goddess in Egyptian culture. Through time, her following increased making her one of the most beloved Gods alongside Osiris and Horus. Isis herself, however, officially appeared for the first time in the V Egyptian Dynasty in religious texts. The goddess' first officially recorded priest appeared in the VI Egyptian Dynast which, interestingly, greatly predates the first image we have of Isis, which doesn't occur until the XVIII Egyptian Dynasty (Donadoni, 1997, p. 32). It is safe to attest that, though it took centuries for Isis' popularity and cult to grow and flourish, once she was regarded as a key goddess in the Egyptian pantheon, she would never disappear into the background again. During the Ptolemaic period (305-30 BCE), when the Greeks began settling in Egypt, her cult began gaining further popularity amongst the newcomers. Michel Malaise, in their 1997 article "Iside Ellenistica", writes about how the Greeks began to assimilate the goddess Isis amongst their own Gods. They would represent and depict her in a more Greek fashion and began worshipping her (Malaise, 1997, p. 86-87). The Greeks would also associate her with Demeter, the Goddess of agriculture (also associated with health, motherhood, fertility, and marriage) from their own pantheon, possibly as another method to assimilate Isis into their own culture (Malaise, 1997, p. 86). Herodotus (Malaise, 1997, p. 86), the first Greek author to write about the Goddess Isis, discusses how the Goddess was considered "one of the greatest gods" alongside Osiris and that the Greeks living in Egypt began associating and talking about her by referencing Demeter. This Greek Hellenization is most likely one of the attributes that aided in the spread of the cult of Isis in the Mediterranean peninsula and in the rest of Europe (Malaise, 1997, p.86-88 and Bøgh, 2013, p. 228-230).

A very relevant question that has fascinated scholars in the last two decades is how adopted gods, whether they were Roman, Egyptian or Greek, were assimilated, adapted and worshipped in their respective adoptive cultures. Though research is present on the subject I believe that by focusing on a smaller case study, such as the spread of the cult of the Goddess Isis in a specific location, might give us more insights onto the details that larger spread research could lack. Much research has been written on the spread of the cult of Isis in the Mediterranean but not much is known on the specifics of how the cult was worshipped or followed in certain locations. One of the reasons for this was perhaps that the "community's adherence to its religion was demonstrated through action and ritual rather than words" ergo, few literary and physical evidence is present to explain how people used to worship in ancient times (Beard, 2008, p. 279). Moreover, there are small gaps in knowledge about the popularity of the cult of Isis amongst the common people of smaller Roman

Imperial cities; what was their worship like, did they revere multiple gods or choose only certain ones, were Gods chosen based on fame or on what they were supposed to represent?

The depiction of the Goddess Isis varied through time, most likely due to the various adaptation from the cultures where her cult was most prominent. One of these adaptations can be seen in the bronze statuettes found in Pompeii dating from the mid 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE until 79 CE. This paper will concentrate on the cult of the Goddess Isis, more specifically its spread and popularity during Roman Imperial times (~ 30 BCE – 450 CE). The focal point for this research will be the city of Pompeii, Italy, and the prevalence of bronze statuettes depicting Isis-Fortuna (one of the representations of the Goddess Isis) throughout the city's shrines.

## Research questions

This paper will focus on answering the main question of:

*“How does the material culture, like the Isis-Fortuna bronze statuette from the lararium of the Villa Del Fondo Acunzo in Boscoreale, impact the adoption and growth of the cult of Isis-Fortuna in Pompeii and the surrounding area?”*

This central question will be answered via the use of sub-questions. These sub-questions are posed to allow for more detailed answers on the analysis of the statuette of Isis-Fortuna and of the Goddess' cult in Pompeii.

- *What is depicted in this statuette found in the villa at Boscoreale?*
- *What interpretations could one make from the subject of the statuette?*
- *What is the context in which it has been found and why is it important?*
- *Context in detail: what is the significance of a lararium and its material evidence?*
- *Compare with other statuette; what can the different locations, lararia, and symbols, tell us?*

## Approach

This thesis will focus on researching and examining various papers and articles regarding the cult of Isis, the Goddess Isis herself, and four statuettes of Isis-Fortuna found in or around Pompeii thus, establishing a detailed and extensive literature review. This review will aid in the explanation, formation and supporting of theories and will also aid in more general analyses of the cult of Isis and of the background for the statuettes of Isis-Fortuna. Moreover, this thesis will also describe in detail



and analyze one of said statuettes (Figure 2) found in the lararium (house-shrine) of a Roman villa in Boscoreale, Pompeii, and compare it to other similar statuettes and depictions of the Goddess Isis.

All the papers that will be discussed in this thesis will present a crucial discussion point for the spread of the cult of Isis in the Mediterranean. Each paper will add information, ideas and potential knowledge that will aid in answering the research questions posed in the previous sub-chapter (see 'Research questions').

To analyze the bronze statuettes of the Goddess Isis, this paper will look at the general depiction and iconographic symbols for each of the statuettes, such as objects held by the figure, clothing style and materials of the statue. These findings will be compared to other depictions and statues of the Goddess Isis found around the area of Boscoreale and Pompeii and will paint a picture of the level of adaption/assimilation the Goddess Isis has gone through when it was adopted by the Romans.

Iconographic depictions can aid in defining a Gods presence and showcase how the people would see said god. The focus will be on questions such as; was there any change in style of clothing/hair, did her main symbols change to become more similar to ones known in Roman culture, was her status still that of a major Goddess or was she depicted in a more secondary role (based on accompanying Gods present in the lararium)? Any small difference between the statuettes could help identify just how much Isis was accepted into Roman culture.

## Outline

The thesis will consist of five main chapters, each with relevant sub-headings. The first chapters will focus on background and the theoretical foundations of the research, including the main literature researched and reviewed (see 'Chapter 2'). Chapter 3 will have a stronger focus on the statuette itself, such as what it depicts and various possible interpretations. The other chapters will focus on furthering information regarding the presence of similar statuettes, comparisons of the main Isis-Fortuna statuette with three others and the overall results of the research. There will also be a concluding chapter which will contain the findings and final remarks on the overall analysis of this paper.

## Chapter 2: Literature review

### Overview

A lot has been written about Isis in the Roman Empire. Some examples of said writings include; H.S. Versnel (2015) 'Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman religion. Isis, Dionysos, Hermes: three studies in Henotheism. Volume 1: Ter Unusand', and J. Rüpke (2016) 'On Roman Religion : Lived Religion and the Individual in Ancient Rome'.

Both these readings offer important insights into how we look at religion, the perception of an individual in a religion and the concept of henotheism. They also focus on larger aspects of analyzing religious material, such as the statuettes, and the ideologies and practices behind them. Rüpke highlights the idea of "lived religion" (Rüpke, 2016, p. 4). Religion is the key concept but instead of seeing it as the main topic the focus is shifted towards the people/person actively following the rituals and practices; the individual is the focus and religion is just context. The reading from Rüpke also offers strong inspiration for parts of the thesis that will investigate the personal and individual use of the statuette and the localized community of the households that worshipped Isis-Fortuna.

Versnel's reading displays a more hypothetical narrative that favors ideologies and theoretical questions to the topic of the cult of Isis. The debates behind the spread of the cult, the rites, traditions, and readings, all draw a focus on the adaptation of Egyptian ideologies in a Hellenistic frame. This reading is essential for anyone that wishes to look more in depth on the debate of the Greco-Egyptian interaction and adaptations of the cult. Though it won't be thoroughly discussed in the thesis, Versnel's work has aided in the creation of hypotheticals for the spread of the cult of Isis-Fortuna and also in the discussion of 'why Fortuna and Isis and not other goddesses?' that will be touched upon in more details towards the final chapters of this thesis.

Additionally, and to provide a keener insight into these aforementioned readings, a brief description of both should be given. Versnel's book focuses on "ancient henotheism"<sup>1</sup>, giving the readers a more general view on henotheism and helping explain the concept from both a scientific and historical perspective, along with its potential inconsistencies. It also presents a chapter dedicated to Isis and her cult which is titled as "ISIS AS A PARADIGM OF HELLENISTIC RULERSHIP", which goes into further detail on Isis and the henotheistic ideas surrounding her worship (Versnel, 2015, p. 39-95).

Rüpke's book is more centered around religion. It looks at individuals, religious connections and ritual practices, and also at how religion was employed in various ways by said individuals. This more

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<sup>1</sup> "the tendency to direct one's affectionate devotion to one particular god, without, however, denying the existence of other gods or refusing them occasional or even regular cultic attention" (Versnel, 2015, p. 1).

in-depth focus on a sole person instead of a localized religious group, is very similar to what will be utilized in this thesis when looking at the statuettes of Isis-Fortuna and their potential roles in the household/context they were found in. The author also directs the attention to how “religion is to be reconstructed as everyday experiences, practices, expressions, and interactions; these in turn constantly redefine religion as practice, ideas, and community” a concept that this thesis will use when observing the everyday uses of statuettes such as that of Isis-Fortuna (Rüpke, 2016, p. 4).

However, for this thesis’ specific purpose, I will focus on giving a detailed review on four key recent opinions and publications concerning Isis and the statuettes of Isis-Fortuna.

### Iside: il mito, il mistero, la magia.

Arslan and Tiradritti’s (1997) ‘Iside: il mito, il mistero, la magia’, is an essential reading for anyone wishing to comprehend the origins and development of the Goddess Isis and the creation and expansion of her worship. The Book contains numerous articles with a varied and extensive amount of information about Isis from her first appearance in ancient Egypt until nowadays. This book will be used to support and explain points throughout this thesis and its articles will be referenced often. The articles that best delve into explaining the origins and initial spread of Isis’ cult in the Roman Empire are that of Sergio F. Donadoni’s (1997) “Iside Faraonica” (Pharaonic Isis) and Michel Malaise’s (1997) “Iside Ellenistica” (Hellenistic Isis). The “Iside Faraonica” article relates details of the origin myths for the Goddess Isis, dating back to ancient Egyptian times as early as the V Dynasty where the Goddess appears in royal funerary records in connection to the God Osiris (the Ruler of the Egyptian underworld). Before that not much, if anything, is known about Isis, as Donadoni states;

“I più antichi monumenti della civiltà egizia ignorano, o piuttosto non trasmettono, il nome della dea, che è testimoniato solo a partire dai rituali funerari regali della V dinastia...” (Donadoni, 1997, p. 32)<sup>2</sup>.

This article offers a strong background that allow readers to comprehend where, when, and how the Goddess Isis came into being. Key aspects of the article include the role of Isis as a mother figure, great magician, and protector, Isis, along with the other ancient Egyptian Gods, wasn’t simply a symbol or a concept she and the gods were “personaggi vivi e vitali” (Donadoni, 1997, p. 34-36).

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<sup>2</sup> “The most ancient monuments of the Egyptian civilization ignore, or rather do not transmit, the name of the goddess, which is testified only starting from the royal funerary rituals of the V dynasty...” (Donadoni, 1997, p. 32).

In continuation, and perhaps of higher relevance to this thesis, is the article by Malaise which details the initial creation and expansion of Isis' cult outside of Egypt and into the Mediterranean, until its arrival into the Italian peninsula and adoption by Italic people, more specifically the Hellenistic groups. Isis' most evident transformation were iconographic in nature, says Malaise (1997, p. 86), her wardrobe, symbols and hairdo were transmogrified to adapt to a more Hellenistic/Roman perspective. Many of said attributes, such as the tunics often presented on the statuettes of Isis-Fortuna, were Greek in nature, truly encompassing how the presence of the cult of Isis spread and morphed over the Mediterranean. Malaise proceeds to state that "a Iside vengono attribuite caratteristiche elleniche ... l'intento di diffondere il culto della dea negli ambiti greci" (Malaise, 1997, p. 87)<sup>3</sup>. This means that these adaptations were specifically made to allow Isis to become more visually familiar, and therefore easier to adopt, to the Greek and then Italic people.

This theme of adaptation and iconographic modification is repeated throughout the article and a strong emphasis is placed in the syncretic fusion (merging and mutation of different religious elements) of the Greek and Egyptian cultures. Isis becomes associated and presented via so many other divinities that she is defined by Malaise as being not polynomic but 'meronym' ("merionimo", Malaise, 1997, p. 88; meaning a word that denotes a part or a member of something but in referring to the whole). Put simply, "Iside come dea "una e multipla"" and her assimilation into these varied cultures (Malaise, 1997, p. 89).

### The roles of Isis in Roman domestic cults: A study of the "Isis-Fortuna" bronze statuettes from the Vesuvian area.

Alongside Malaise, another key literature that emphasizes a more general and broad study of the statuettes and iconography of Isis is 'The roles of Isis in Roman domestic cults: A study of the "Isis-Fortuna" bronze statuettes from the Vesuvian area' by Nicolas Amoroso (2017).

Amoroso's paper focuses in detail on the analysis and comprehension of a multitude of statuettes of Isis-Fortuna found in and around the area of Pompeii. The article is particularly interesting to anyone that wishes to understand how to recognize these specific types of statuettes, as Amoroso goes into detail about the headdress, clothing, and objects represented on these statuettes (Amoroso, 2017, p. 53-61). The author also compares and describes the find locations, where applicable, and the importance of said areas in the context and its understanding of the use of the statuettes alongside multiple theories of interpretation. His writings and accounts of the statuettes will be used to

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<sup>3</sup> "Hellenic characteristics are attributed to Isis ... the intent to spread the cult of the goddess in Greek circles" (Malaise, 1997, p. 87).

confirm descriptive details, such as the headdress being or not being a basileon, and will aid in comprehending purpose and context of the statuettes of Isis-Fortuna that will be analyzed in this thesis. The writer also describes the interlocking roles of Desitny, Fortuna and Isis, and how they meld into one; Isis' claim to be "Mistress of Fate" (Amoroso, 2017, p. 41). To conclude, Amoroso's methodology is precise and clear, and his interpretative methods will also emphasize the study of these statuettes and help expand and support the comparative process.

### The Iseum Campense from the Roman Empire to the Modern Age: Temple, Monument, Lieu de Mémoire: Proceedings of the International Conference.

To conclude, the final essential reading that aids in better comprehending the contents of this thesis and its methods of analysis, is Versluys et al's (2018) 'The Iseum Campense from the Roman Empire to the Modern Age: Temple, Monument, Lieu de Mémoire: Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Rome at the Royal Netherlands Institute (KNIR), the Accademia Di Danimarca, and the Accademia D'Egitto'. When reading the proceedings, the focus should be in its introductory article by M.J. Versluys 'Temple – monument- lieu de mémoire. Rethinking the Iseum Campense' (Versluys, 2018, p. 15–25), as it clearly explains some of the theories and debates when looking at Egypt (or Egyptian artefacts) in the Roman context. Though these debates are more strongly focused on the Iseum Campense, they can also be applied to the analysis of the statuettes of Isis-Fortuna. These debates and theories will be used in this thesis to further expand our understanding of the role of the statuettes of Isis under both a religious and political background.

Versluys poses a key question when asking "Do we find evidence of 'Egyptian religion' there, or Roman ideas about Egyptian religion mixed with exoticism?" (Versluys, 2018, p. 17). This question is essential as it delves into the debate of perception and understanding of the subject; how we see and understand the statuettes. When analysing material evidence, we always should remember that, though the find context is crucial to our understanding, we cannot let it influence our perception of the finds. The statuettes of Isis-Fortuna are in a Roman *lararium* and, therefore, in a Roman context. They are a representation of Egyptian culture through a Roman lens, but they remain Egyptian in essence, a fact that cannot and should not be overlooked. We must always think about "the role of Egypt in the Roman world" (Versluys, 2018, p. 17).

Moreover, Versluys also goes on to discuss the connection that is present between religion and politics, and they are "related concepts" (Versluys, 2018, p. 19). Versluys goes on to say that at time of both the Iseum Campense and the statuettes "Egypt... seem to have mattered greatly to the Flavii" (Versluys, 2018, p. 18). It seems that it was the Flavians that truly adopted Isis and other Egyptian gods and made them officially a part of the Roman world, essentially creating a new

tradition. The Egyptian culture, its gods, and traditions, became an integral part of Roman history, cultural memory, and mnemohistory, which as Assman says, “is concerned not with the past as such, but only with the past as it is remembered” (Assman, 2019, p. 9 and Versluys, 2018, p. 18).

### Additional reading

In addition, I would like to also reference the importance of Van Andringa’s (2012) article ‘Statues in the Temples of Pompeii’ as, though it focuses on the Temple of Isis in Pompeii and not on lararia, some of its theories can and have been applied in exploring the statuettes, such as the significance of statue displays (what gods, how many, why), and if their positioning has a specific meaning. Van Andringa said that it was “possible to modernize a cult” based on how statuary groups were displayed, this thesis would like to present how this assessment can also be applied to lararia (Van Andringa, 2012, p. 111). Moreover, one could perhaps see the individual owner’s preference through the way the statuettes were displayed. Van Andringa’s article also connect with Versluys’ (2018) when discussing the possible socio-political importance these displays could have held in ancient Roman times, “it is this way that local cult identities and the memory of the cities were constructed” (Van Andringa, 2012, p. 113).

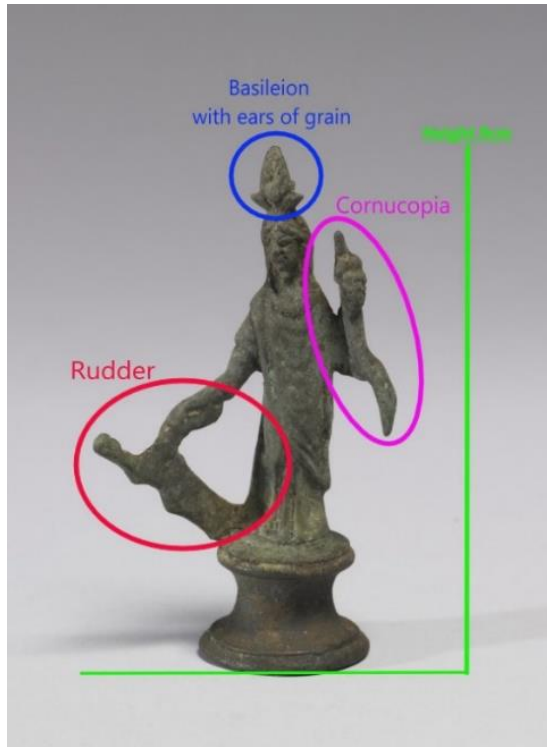
### Conclusion

In conclusion, though there is a copious amount of literature on Isis, Isis-Fortuna, and the spread of her cult, these four main readings are the ones most adept in giving a detailed account of all the basic and necessary information relating to the main topic of this thesis. The book from Arslan and Tiradritti (1997) “Iside: il mito, il mistero, la magia”, contains one of the largest collections of articles that detail the history of Isis, the reading by Nicolas Amoroso (2017) explains and introduces hypotheses and methods of analysis for the statuettes, along with how to appropriately compare them (what to look out for), the reading by Versluys et al (2018) gives a rounded and detailed idea regarding Egyptomania and the theories on how we view Egypt in Roman context, and the additional, yet still very important, article from Van Andringa (2012) offers a great support to the theories that will be discussed in this thesis and pairs well with Versluys et al’s (2018) work.

## Chapter 3: Materials and Methods

### Key Questions

What is depicted in this statuette found in the villa at Boscoreale?



*Figure 2: statuette of Isis-Fortuna modified by Laura Martinelli.*

The focus of this thesis will be the statuette uncovered in Boscoreale, near Pompeii (figure 1). The figure was placed on a simple stand and was located in a *lararium* (house shrine) in a house's kitchen in Boscoreale alongside other figures and an intriguing statuette with similar iconography (figure 3) (Amoroso, 2017, p. 51). The statuette appears to be made entirely of bronze and reaches a height of 9cm, including its base (Amoroso, 2017, p. 61). The figure stands upright and appears to hold an object in each hand. The base is simple and circular in shape, the diameter of the base is broad towards the bottom and curves inwards in its center creating a concave look around its perimeter, it then proceeds to re-broaden prior to the beginning of the figure. Sans base, the statuette's height is approximately 7cm.

#### **A more iconographic observation:**

The figure depicted appears to be female and is wearing a traditional tunic, a long-sleeved chiton (usually an undergarment) with a himation (a mantle or wrap) draped over it (Amoroso, 2017, p. 68). In her right hand she is holding a rudder, an object used to veer ships, and in her left hand one can

observe the presence of a stylized cornucopia, the Greco-Roman horn of plenty, usually used to symbolise prosperity, fertility, and a bountiful harvest. She wears a basileion with ears of grain (Amoroso, 2017, p. 61 and 68) (figure 2).



*Figure 3: other statuette of Isis-Fortuna from the Walters Art Museum (Baltimore, USA).*

What interpretations could one make from the subject of the statuette?

The subject of the statuette (figure 1 and 2) is obviously a female of high importance. Due to her presence amongst other local deities in the house's lararium one could safely assume that the figure is also of a goddess. The presence of the second similar statuette, which retains identical attributes from the first such as the basileion, cornucopia and rudder, suggest that this goddess was of high importance in this household. This can also be emphasised by the presence of two Jupiter statuettes which mirror the two female goddess statuettes, almost as if symbolizing that this goddess was held at the same regard as the local 'king' of the pantheon, Jupiter. After discerning its general symbology, it is also possible to draw conclusions of who the statuette could represent. The traditional clothing and Greco-Roman symbology presented by the cornucopia show a degree of assimilation but, as presented in both Amoroso (2017) and Malaise (1997), the headdress, the



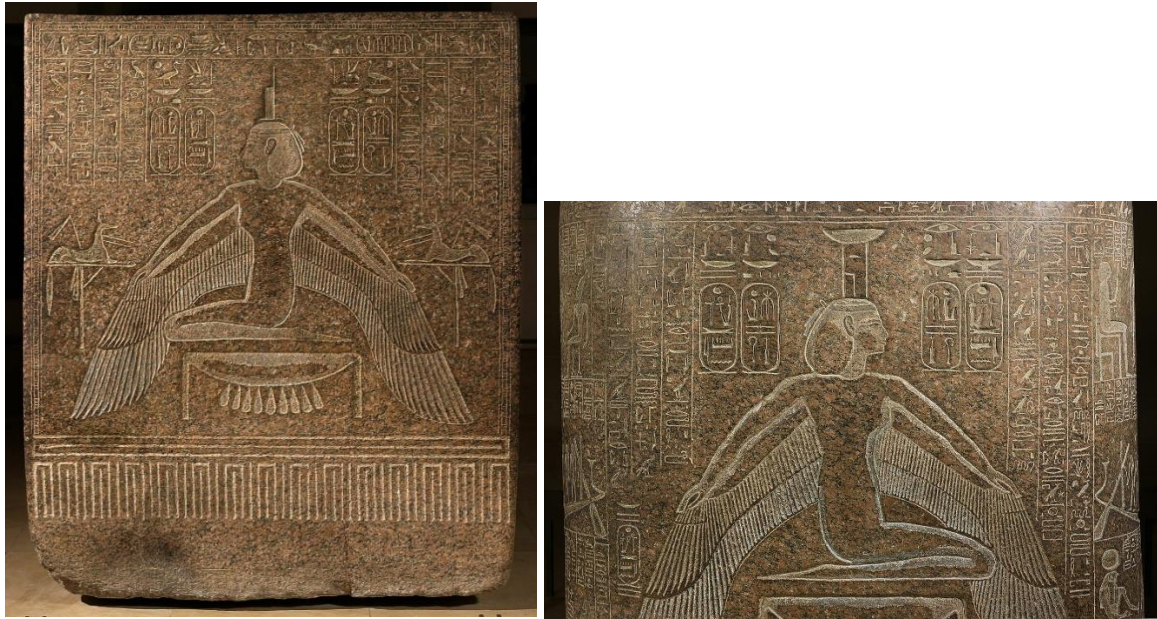
basileion, allow one to identify her as the Goddess Isis. The mixture of Greco-Roman attributes also showcases and amalgamation of the Goddess Fortuna, the Greco-Roman goddess of fortune. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that the statuette is a representation of the mixed Goddess Isis-Fortuna.

The pose both statuettes are presented in, holding a rudder, standing tall and imposing, are representation of both the status of the goddess and her role. The basileion and ears of grain, alongside the cornucopia, are portrayals of both abundance of resources and power (basileion and ears of grain forming a regal-like crown). The pose showcases a female standing straight but, despite her royal and imposing posture, curiously looking downwards, this could be interpreted as a strong, key figure looking over (downwards) to the people she protects. This idea of protection is emphasised further by two main aspects; the original role of protector the Goddess Isis holds, and the presence of the rudder which both statuettes hold onto with firmness and determination.

In ancient Egyptian mythology the Goddess Isis was seen as a mother goddess and protectress with a strong affinity towards magic and all its secrets (Donadoni, 1997, p. 35 and Malaise, 1997, p. 94-95). An aspect of this sheltering side can be seen in ancient Egyptian iconography in which she is at times depicted as having large wings, similar to her sister's, the Goddess Nephthys (figure 4, 5 and 6). These wings are a visual representation of protection, as it was said that both sisters were, originally, the protectors of the deceased and mummies (Foley, 2023). The easiest method to differentiate between Isis and Nephthys is via their headdress, Isis is often depicted with a throne-shaped headdress, as her name is shown using the throne hieroglyph and was also once interpreted to mean throne; it is still debated whether it was a more cosmic or social meaning due to her original status (Donadoni, 1997, p. 32).



*Figure 4: pectoral heart scarab depicting the Goddesses Isis (left) and Nephthys (right), The British Museum.*



*Figure 5 and 6: winged Goddesses Isis (left) and Nephthys (right) from the sarcophagus of Ramses III, Louvre Museum (Paris, France).*

Continuing with the theme of protection but returning to the symbology of the statuettes of the Isis-Fortuna goddesses, the rudder holds a strong significance for a variety of reasons. The rudder, as previously described, is an object used to veer ships. The presence of the rudder in figures 1 and 2 is another portrayal of assimilation of the Goddess Isis in the Greco-Roman context. The goddess was given the position of guardian of ships and sailors, an important role for a port city such as Pompeii<sup>4</sup>. The rudder is, therefore, further used as an emphatic symbology to present the Goddess Isis-Fortuna as a protector and guardian. Moreover, based on Malaise (1997, p. 94) the presence of the rudder is a strong indication that the statuette is a representation of the specific mix of Isis and Fortuna and not for example, Hera, Demeter, etc. The rudder is most likely associated with “il timone di Thyche-Fortuna”, or the Goddess Fortuna, therefore it is safe to state that these statuettes are a clear depiction of Isis-Fortuna and not another assimilated god mixture (Malaise, 1997, p. 94).

Overall, it is important to note all the possible symbology and iconographic meaning behind an object, specifically when trying to comprehend its role, meaning and importance, in or out of context. When looking at anything that relates to the Goddess Isis it is also crucial to remember the

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<sup>4</sup> When discussing large ancient Roman ports most people think of Rome but a fact not many know was that Pompeii was also one of the larger port cities of those times.

key word syncretism<sup>5</sup>. Through time, since cultures and religions began intermingling, stories, myths, legends, and their assorted pantheons have mixed, the statuettes of Isis-Fortuna with their mixed Greco-Roman and Egyptian symbology, are another great example of the occurrence of syncretism, therefore it can be said that Isis has become a syncretistic goddess.

What is the context in which it has been found and why is it important?

When looking at material evidence it is important to also remember the context in which it was found and any significance said context has. In the case of the statuette of Isis-Fortuna in the Villa del Fondo Acunzo, the salient things to observe are the actual find location and any other important material evidence around it.

The statuette of Isis-Fortuna was found in the Villa del Fondo Acunzo, Boscoreale (Italy, near Pompeii). The villa was most likely a rustic villa inhabited by agriculturalists as could be seen by the simply painted walls, the presence of various animal remains, and the “commode<sup>6</sup>” distributed around the main entrance (figure 7 letter A) where the owner would sell wine and products directly to passersby (Della Corte, 1921, p. 437). The site itself was excavated, as documented by Della Corte (1921) in ‘Notizie degli scavi di Antichità’, in 1903 by Mr. Ferruccio De Prisco, and a drawing of the building’s planimetry was also included (figure 7). The statuette, along with other material finds, was found in room 12 on a podium/lararium (labeled “y” in figure 7). The two rooms adjacent to room 12 are room 11, which held the remains of a sheep and a “catillus<sup>7</sup>” (or catullus) for grinding grain, and room 8, a laboratory with furnaces, a washbasin, and a type of apothecary station (Della Corte, 1921, p. 438-439). It’s interesting to note that the room chosen to present the statuettes (that is Isis-Fortuna alongside the other 6 figures) was located between what appears to be a room to either keep animals and grind grain, in room 11, and the main work area in room 8 (Della Corte, 1921, p. 438-439). It could be hypothesized that the lararium being in this specific location could be due to these 2 other rooms requiring special care. The people of the house would spend most of their day and would create most of their produce/income in these rooms, therefore, having a nearby room dedicated to deities that one views as “magical, bringers of fortune, and protective” seems to be an almost logical solution (see figure 7 for details).

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<sup>5</sup> Syncretism is when different religious strands come together, often resulting in the melting of elements from these different strands.

<sup>6</sup> Commode are seating areas or resting areas.

<sup>7</sup> Catullus in English, these are bakery mills which allow for the grinding of grain.

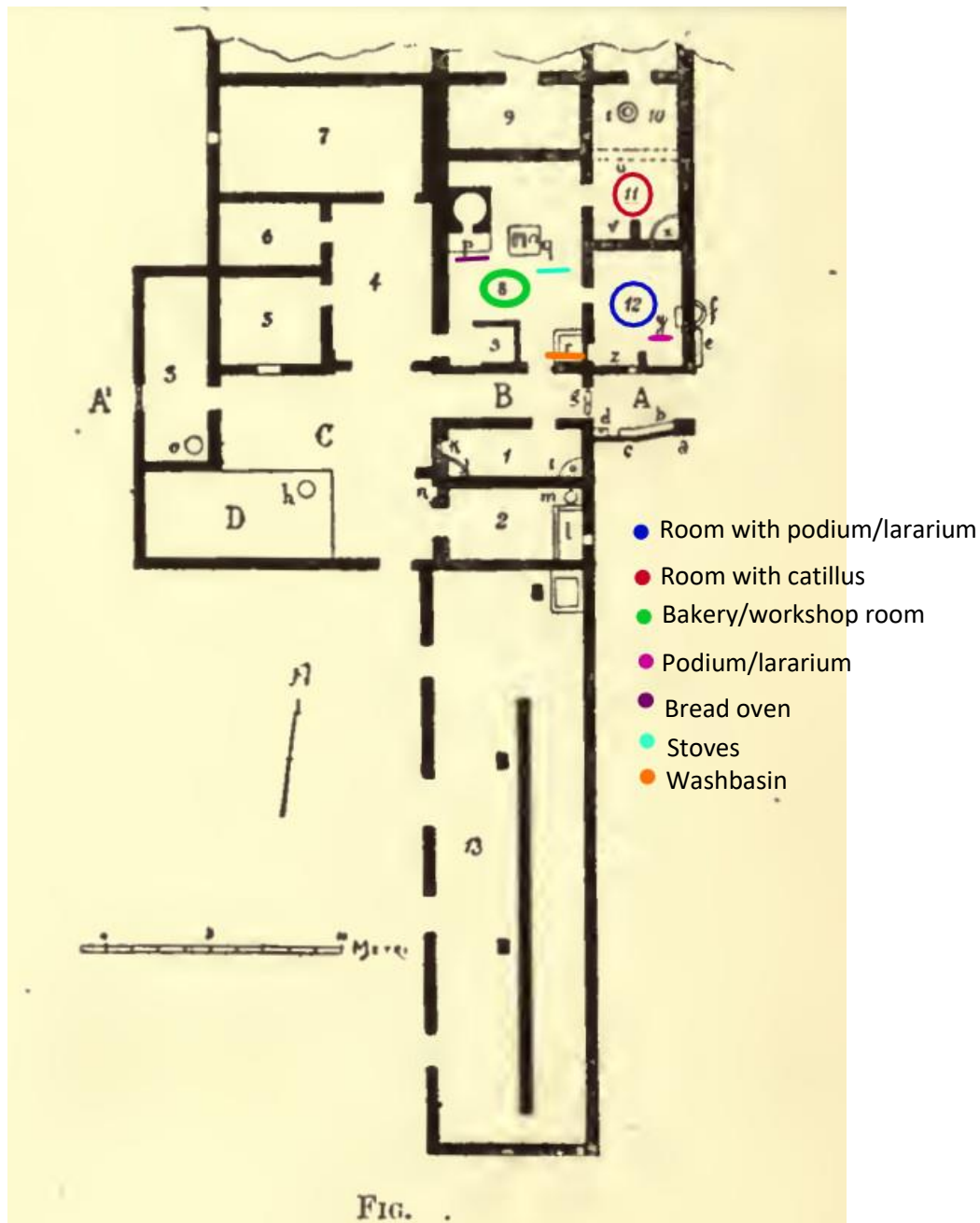


Figure 7: drawing of the layout of the Villa del Fondo Acunzo, by Della Corte in *'Notizie degli scavi di Antichità'* (1921). Annotated by Laura Martinelli.

Rooms like these (room 12), can be found in many other villas such as the Villa rustica of Cn. Domitius Auctus (Scafati), where a lararium was located next to the wine cellar (Amoroso, 2017, p. 51). It is well known that the ancient Romans were very devoted to their gods on a daily basis, as shown by the presence of a lararium in almost every household. There were various factors that swayed the devotion of the people towards one god or another, and that is how most cults rose or fell in popularity. Amongst these, in the area in and surrounding Pompeii, the cult of Isis/Isis-Fortuna flourished.

Context in detail: what is the significance of a lararium and its material evidence?



*Figure 8: statuettes of the gods in the lararium at Villa del Fondo Acunzo at Boscoreale. In order left to right; sacrificing priest or household member representative, Isis-Fortuna, Mercury, seated Jupiter, Alexander Helios, standing Jupiter, Isis-Fortuna. Photo by the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, USA.*

The statuette of Isis-Fortuna was located in what is known as a lararium. A lararium is a house shrine dedicated to the gods of the people that live within that household. Lararia (the plural of lararium) were often found inside homes, especially during the time the ancient Roman empire believed in and followed a large pantheon of gods. A lararium is of great importance when observing a household, as it can showcase the preferred gods and, therefore, the key beliefs of the people (Beard, 2008, p. 296-297). Through the gods in the lararia it is also possible to interpret the changing of beliefs; different gods showcase different belief preferences. Each one of the gods can be seen as patrons, guardians, or can represent differing things and ideologies. Isis, for example, was the goddess of motherhood, protection, and magic (Donadoni, 1997, p. 32-33). If a household had a new mother or if a temple needed a magical rite to function well, they usually would pray to the gods that were the patrons of such things, in this example Isis. Certain gods tended to always be present in lararia, though this was very time-based as the preference for one god over another changed throughout history (emperors, outside influences and location, being some factors that could affect this variation of preference). Some of these more present gods were often Jupiter (the head of the local pantheon) or Mercury (Beard, 2008, p. 295-298).

While it was common for a figure such as Jupiter to be reproduced twice or more times in a lararium, which can also be seen in the lararium at Villa del Fondo Acunzo (figure 8), the same cannot be said for other gods. In the case of Isis-Fortuna, we have a second reproduction of the goddess which tells us that she was incredibly important and beloved by this household, and it could also help in assessing the rise of popularity of her cult in the area. As previously stated, Pompeii was a maritime city with a strong focus on trade and seafaring ergo, having a god that is related to the protection of



sailors and fishermen would be of great importance to the people of the city. When the goddess Isis, who was already associated with protection, was assimilated into Roman culture and fused with Fortuna, she was also attributed the role of protector of seafarers (represented by the rudder she uses to guide people with). At the same time the cult of Isis was increasing in popularity and was already a big figure in Pompeian society, as can be seen by the presence of the Iseum Campense, this contributed to the increase in devotion towards Isis-Fortuna everywhere else. The reason the goddess Fortuna was preferred, compared to other potential deities, was most likely the similarities she shared with Isis. Both goddesses are connected to fortune, Isis has been recorded as being a master of her own fate and Fortuna is the goddess of fortune. Moreover, they share magical attributes, as both are connected to or use magic. Having such similar qualities allowed the people to easily view them as one entity and mix these similarities to create Isis-Fortuna (Versnel, 2015, p. 43-50).

Another consideration could be made upon the fact that a double representation of the goddess could also mean that the people of Pompeii were moving towards a more henotheistic<sup>8</sup> form of worship. Or, perhaps, they were starting to revere the Goddess Isis-Fortuna as more than just another member of the Roman pantheon. The ancient Romans were both polytheistic<sup>9</sup> and syncretistic however, it is interesting to note that at times they tended to veer towards henotheism. This henotheistic like focus on one god above others is usually very context dependent, like Isis-Fortuna, a goddess of fortune and protection, being beloved above other gods and almost placed on the same pedestal as Jupiter due to her attributes pairing with the needs of the people of the city of Pompeii.

Returning the focus briefly on lararia, it is interesting to note the location and area in which the lararium of the statuette was found. Observing the blueprints of the villa (figure 7) it is possible to see that the lararium has a dedicated room in the household, which shows that a lot more space and importance was given to this specific positioning. Daily worship was such a strong part of these people's day-to-day lives that, instead of incorporating the lararium with the rest of the house, as was often the case (as shown by Graham, 2021, p. 39-42), they preferred to dedicate a separate room for the rituals, offerings, and practices. The lararium of Fondo Acunzo, being located in a separate and more spacious area, could suggest that the whole family was involved in the worship of their gods, or at least that ritual worship was a prominent and daily habit for them that required its own separate space. This contrasts an example from Graham of a lararium placed in the kitchen

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<sup>8</sup> Henotheism is the belief in one god in a pantheon above others, it is believed to be the step before monotheism; the belief in one god.

<sup>9</sup> Polytheism is the belief in many/multiple gods, like those of the Roman pantheon.

where, most probably, only the head of the household, “paterfamilias”, would carry out the religious rituals (Graham, 2021, p. 37-40). From this it is possible to hypothesize that the people living in the Villa del Fondo Acunzo might have been strongly religious or perceived religion as more than just an aspect of their life but as an essential daily occurrence. The religious practices and rites bringing about a more personal, almost individual, lived religion (Rüpke, 2016, p. 5-6). The lararia were not only small niches to place statuettes of gods, they were social areas dedicated to worship and where the family came together in unity, a concept intrinsic to ancient Roman culture.

Turning the spotlight back to the statuette of Isis-Fortuna, one question comes to mind, how was the statuette used in the worship of the Goddess? Statuettes like the one in this thesis were often seen as small material representations of the gods the people worshipped. These figures could also be used as offerings in temples or could be used to connect to the gods they depicted, they were perceived as important material/religious objects. Often, offerings were given to the gods to ask for favour or good fortune, the same was applied, albeit on a smaller scale, in Pompeiian house shrines (Graham, 2021, p. 37-41). Going back to the original notes on the excavations of the villa from Della Corte (1921), it was noted that various other material finds were in the room with the lararium (room 12, figure 7). Continuing with the idea that this room was prevalently dedicated to the worship of the household gods, it is possible that these material finds were used and/or incorporated in the daily individual religious practices of the house. Some of the most common offerings of the time were known to be food offerings (or animal sacrifices), wine and drinks, coins, incense burning, and valuable items (Beard, 2008, p.279 and Graham, 2021, p. 38-42). When looking at the Villa del Fondo Acunzo, the material evidence that was recorded that could showcase such ‘offerings’ is; a two-handle scale, oil lamps, two clasps, four striped rings, a vase which probably contained oil, a decorated large wine urn, varied pottery, a funnel, a rectangular mirror, and thirty-five imperial coins (Della Corte, 1921, p. 440). All these could be seen as offerings to the statuettes of the gods. The offerings and their related rituals were most likely employed by the people of the house to showcase their devotion and to ask for favours and protection. Most likely, in regards to Isis-Fortuna, the people prayed for her protection of seafarers or fortune, which is presented in general by her iconography.

Compare with other statuette; what can the different locations, lararia, and symbols, tell us?

When focusing on a question such as, the importance of the cult of Isis-Fortuna in Pompeii and surrounding areas, it is also mandatory to compare one’s findings with others. Various statuettes of

Isis-Fortuna have been found near and in Pompeii, this tells us that this particular goddess held some key role in the everyday lives of the people. However, looking at details, such as location of the statuette, symbology present on it, and any other differences, can also aid in understanding the role and relevance of this goddess. Perhaps Isis-Fortuna was only influential in the household at the Villa del Fondo Acunzo? Are the symbols present on her iconography the same or is this another goddess altogether? Was she seen as less important compared to the other gods? This is why this thesis will also give a quick analysis of the statuette of Isis-Fortuna (figure 9) found in Villa rustica of Cn. Domitius Auctus (Scafati) and compare its location, symbology, and general context to see if indeed the cult of Isis-Fortuna was popular throughout the land or just in an isolated household (the statuette will be hereby referred to as Domitius statuette to avoid confusion with the one from Villa del Fondo Acunzo).



*Figure 9: silver statuette of Isis-Fortuna, front view “a” and back view “b”, found in Villa rustica of Cn. Domitius Auctus, photo by N. Amoroso, 2017, p. 56.*

The Domitius statuette was placed on a lararium near the wine cellar alongside statuettes of Venus, Agathos Daimon, and Bull (Apis, another adopted god). This choice of gods lacks Jupiter, which is interesting and odd, however the placement of the lararium indicates that these divinities were still



regarded as important protectors of the household and its people. Both statuettes' *lararia* are in key areas of the household, therefore showcasing the similarities in belief regarding the local gods.

The Domitius statuette has slightly different symbology from the one from Villa del Fondo Acunzo. For starters, the object itself is made with silver, an uncommon and rarer choice of material for the time, the one from Fondo Acunzo is made of bronze, a more commonly used material for such iconography. Instead of a cornucopia she holds ears of grain and a pomegranate in her left hand, it is also important to note the *situla* (a container) attached to her left wrist (Amoroso, 2017, p. 55). As Nicolas Amoroso describes so eloquently "This statuette, in its mixture of *Isiac* elements (the headdress and the knotted garment) and agrarian attributes, is a significant example of the polysemic nature of this kind of artefacts", a statement which rings true for the majority of iconography related to assimilated gods (Amoroso, 2017, p. 55).

In continuation, the Domitius statuette is 12.5 cm tall, including the base, but another key difference is the *basileion*. Whilst the headdress of the statuette in Boscoreale held ears of grain, this one sports a crescent in front of the *kalathos* (a part of the headdress). Both statuettes have a strong focus on agriculture, notable due to the fact they were found in *ville rustiche*, and possess what Amoroso believes to be a key symbol for identifying an Isis-God mix, the *basileion* (Amoroso, 2017, p. 51). The presence of such headdress, alongside the briefly aforementioned clothing, suggest that both these statuettes are indeed representation of the Goddess Isis-Fortuna and that this goddess was revered in each household. More similarities can be seen in the presence of the rudder in her right hand, showing that in either case the goddess is seen as a protector of seafarers. This protection of seafarers is an interesting detail of the goddess which was most likely added and assimilated into her cult/belief when it became more popular in Pompeii, due to the port being a large focus of the city. Based on the rarer material with which it was made, it is safe to attest that the subject of this statuette was regarded as being of great importance.

## Chapter 4: Results

The results from the observations made of the two statuettes at Villa del Fondo Acunzo and the Domitius statuette all appear to point in the same direction; a strong reverence and devotion to the Goddess Isis-Fortuna. The material with which the statuettes were made, the exquisite and detailed crafting and their specific location, often alongside other local key gods, are all evidence of assimilation and expansion of the cult of Isis, specifically Isis-Fortuna.

To summarize the descriptions and comparisons from chapter 3 a table has been drawn (table 1) to easily explain the main symbology and location of the three statuettes.

General Location	Statuette figure number in thesis	Material of statuette	Key Symbology	Lararium location	Further details
Villa del Fondo Acunzo (Boscoreale)	Figure 1	Bronze	Cornucopia, basileion with ears of grain, Tyche-Fortuna rudder. Complex layered clothing.	Near kitchen and work area	
Villa del Fondo Acunzo (Boscoreale)	Figure 3	Bronze	Cornucopia, basileion with ears of grain, Tyche-Fortuna rudder. Complex layered clothing.	Near kitchen and work area	
Villa rustica of Cn. Domitius Auctus (Scafati)	Figure 9	Silver	Basileion with crescent, Thyche-Fortuna rudder, ears of grain, pomegranate, situla. Complex layered clothing.	Next to the wine cellar	The cornucopia is replaced by the ears of grain and pomegranate

*Table 1: Presence of Isis statuettes in Pompeii lararia, information adapted from Amoroso, 2017; Arslan & Tiradritti, 1997; Versluys, 2020.*

To further emphasize on the importance of the cult of Isis and Isis-Fortuna one need not look further than the map from the 'Appendix'.



*Map of the geographic distribution of the “Isis-Fortuna” bronze figurines. By N. Amoroso, 2017, p.39 (base map: L. Bricault, Atlas, 2001, map n°1).*

This map showcases the distribution of the statuettes of Isis-Fortuna in a large part of Europe and the Mediterranean but, more importantly, it highlights how the area in and around Pompeii has a higher density of such finds, with a total of 26 finds in the region and 14 in and around the city. Such a strong concentration of find-to-area, especially compared to other locations, underlines the strong presence and importance of this religious figure. Ergo, this map supports the previous statement regarding the strong devotion of the local people of Pompeii towards the Goddess Isis/Isis-Fortuna. However, it is crucial to note that a preservation bias may also be the reason behind such a large concentration of finds, Pompeii was preserved via the eruption of the Vesuvius, a unique incident that is not present in other find location on the map. Despite this potential bias, it is impossible to negate that the combination of the considerable statuette presence and the temple of Isis, also situated in Pompeii, indicate that the people held a deep devotion to the goddess Isis and her cult.

## Chapter 5: Conclusion

### Answering of sub-questions and main questions

The spread of the cult of Isis, also outside of Pompeii, can be easily seen by the map present in the 'Appendix'. This map showcases all the bronze statuettes of Isis-Fortuna along with their density and their find location. It is a great example of how religious ideologies can be adopted and distributed all over the world.

To conclude and answer the main question of:

*"How does the material culture, like the Isis-Fortuna bronze statuette from the lararium of the Villa Del Fondo Acunzo in Boscoreale, impact the adoption and growth of the cult of Isis-Fortuna in Pompeii and the surrounding area?"*

One should look at the answers provided by the sub-questions. The cult of Isis gained high importance in Pompeii due to how the goddess herself was adopted and assimilated into Hellenistic/ancient Roman life. As seen in chapter 3, through the assimilation of clothing and symbology, the Goddess Isis/Isis-Fortuna became a protector of the people, a bringer of fortune and still retained some of her original properties through either inscriptions or her headdress (see figure 9, crescent on basileion). The cult of Isis-Fortuna grew exponentially in Pompeii, to the point that her statuettes can be found, not only in households, but on lararia next to other beloved gods of the local pantheon. To re-emphasize, through her statuettes and iconography, the people of Pompeii would worship and pray to Isis/Isis-Fortuna to garner fortune and protection, therefore, these religious symbols aided in establishing the goddess' popularity. In some cases, as seen by the examples in this thesis, Isis-Fortuna was almost regarded as one of the more important gods in the lararia, as there were either multiple statuettes of her or the one statuette that was present was made of rarer materials (silver) and presented more intricate detailing.

The statuettes can and should be used to perceive on a more localized area the importance of the Goddess Isis-Fortuna. Thanks to this research it is possible to safely assume that these two households, that of the Villa del Fondo Acunzo in Boscoreale and the Villa rustica of Cn. Domitius Auctus in Scafati, both worshipped and followed the cult of Isis-Fortuna.

Every fragment of material evidence tells a story, whether it be from its context, origins, materials, etc. Interpreting and researching said material evidence can unlock numerous new findings and information that perhaps could not be seen if one were to approach the topic from more general point of view. The statuette of Isis-Fortuna from the Villa del Fondo Acunzo revealed much of how Isis was worshipped and put on a pedestal (literally and metaphorically) and indeed helped better

understand how her cult was spread and beloved even by the more common people, the farmers of the land. Through this thesis it is possible to see that the worship of Isis was a prevalent characteristic in Pompeii and the surrounding area. Isis/Isis-Fortuna was a beloved goddess and the presence of her statuettes and temples only serves to reinforce this belief.

### Future prospects; how can this research help future research?

The idea of researching and observing single material evidence is not new however, it would be interesting to see this methodology used for other gods that have been assimilated into Roman culture or even to see smaller connections and context-dependent information that might have been missed when researching from a wider perspective. It would also be intriguing to see this methodology used to research modern gods. The ancient gods seem to be returning nowadays and it would be fascinating to see if there is a way of adapting this more detailed close-up research and comparison to modern iconography and belief systems.

Furthermore, gods, like clothing, have been falling in and out of fashion for centuries, it even seems as though a more polytheistic belief system is reappearing in modern times (Rountree, 2015, p. 1-2). The Goddess Isis was, and is, one of the most beloved icons in history. She has been venerated in ancient times and, with the reappearance of a more polytheistic belief system, she might be beloved once more. Gods have been present in pop culture and, though their iconography has changed or they have been reimagined, they have never truly ceased to exist. An example of this modern devotion to the old gods can be seen through videogame characters, retelling of old myths and legends, movies, documentaries, and series. Isis, to expand on the example and remain on theme, saw an increase in popularity once more with the series "The Secrets of Isis", a late 70s TV series produced by ©Filmation focused on a schoolteacher gaining ancient powers through the use of a magical amulet and reciting "Oh Mighty Isis". This more superhero-based reimagining of Isis is but one of the thousands of more recent examples of how the old gods are still alive today and being worshipped in new ways.

Analyzing from a more spiritual angle, various religious cults have emerged in recent times. As Rountree (2015, p. 1) says "Modern Pagan and Native Faith groups and movements have sprung up... in recent decades". Their book focuses on examining the lesser researched European pagan groups and their goals of reconstructing and reconnecting with ancient belief systems and paganism. Modern Neo-Paganism has a strong "valorization of human relationships" and a focus on "authenticity" and the self. This re-emergence of faiths (like Wicca, Witchcraft, Druidry, Goddess Spirituality, etc.) places a strong emphasis on rights of passage, rituals and is often personalized to

the individual or region (Rountree, 2015, p. 1-3). Like old paganism, Neo-Paganism is centered around lived everyday religion and retains a focus on the self and personal worship, much like rituals and beliefs in ancient Rome and with Isis-Fortuna.

### Concluding remarks

To conclude this thesis, I would like to draw the focus once more on the old gods and pantheons, on how religion has evolved, spread, and changed throughout time and how people, no matter the nationality, have always had a belief system. As much as some would like to deny it, religion and belief are an integral part of what makes us human. The cult of Isis/Isis-Fortuna and its spread and rise in popularity are but an example of how humans easily adapt and change things to fit in with their life. We, as a species, have always been great at adapting, assimilating, and adopting, and modern times have not changed this outlook, so why not do the same with our gods?

Do the gods ever die? I think it is safe to say that in one way or another, gods truly achieved immortality.

## Abstract

This research paper focuses on better comprehending the importance of the cult of Isis-Fortuna in Pompeii and the surrounding area. It does so by studying a statuette from Boscoreale in great detail and also comparing said statuette with other 2 examples (one from the same site and one from another key site in a Villa rustica in Scafati, Italy). This will allow us to gain a more in depth understanding of how Isis-Fortuna and her cult was worshipped by the middle/lower class people, as both these households are mainly agricultural. Great importance will also be placed on the context in which the statuettes were found, such as the villas themselves and the actual rooms and lararia (household shrines) where they were situated. Though the overall focus will remain the cult of Isis-Fortuna, it is important to go into more minute detail when observing these material finds to see them from a closer point of view instead of regarding them simply from a general context (which is often done with these kind of material finds). There is extensive use of literature and literary sources, as the paper is research based and theoretical. Some new hypotheses are made. The methodology itself is akin to what one would use during an archaeological dig, in the sense that it focuses on answering the overarching question by breaking it down with sub-questions that, initially, focus on a larger context and gradually go more into detail until the comparison of the statuettes is reached.

Questo lavoro di ricerca si concentra sulla migliore comprensione dell'importanza del culto di Iside-Fortuna a Pompei e dintorni. Lo fa studiando minuziosamente una statuetta rinvenuta a Boscoreale e confrontando anche detta statuetta con altri 2 esemplari (uno dello stesso sito e uno di un altro sito chiave proveniente da una Villa rustica a Scafati, Italia). Questo ci permetterà di ottenere una comprensione più approfondita di come Iside-Fortuna e il suo culto fossero adorati dalle persone del ceto medio/bassa, poiché entrambe queste ville sono principalmente agricole. Grande importanza sarà data anche al contesto in cui sono state rinvenute le statuette, per esempio le ville in cui sono state trovate, e le stanze e lararia (santuari domestici) in cui erano collocate. Anche se l'obiettivo generale rimarrà il culto di Iside-Fortuna, è importante entrare più nei minimi dettagli quando si osservano questi reperti materiali per vederli da un punto di vista più ravvicinato invece di considerarli semplicemente da un contesto generale (cosa che spesso viene fatta con questo tipo di reperti materiali). C'è un ampio uso della letteratura e delle fonti letterarie, poiché l'articolo è basato sulla ricerca ed è teorico. Vengono fatte alcune nuove ipotesi. La metodologia stessa è simile a quella che si userebbe durante uno scavo archeologico, nel senso che si concentra sulla risposta alla domanda generale suddividendola con domande secondarie che, inizialmente, si concentrano su un contesto più ampio e gradualmente entrano più nel dettaglio fino a quando si giunge al confronto delle statuette.

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Cover figure: statuette of Isis-Fortuna from; The Walters Art Museum (Baltimore, USA).

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Figure 1: statuette of Isis-Fortuna from; The Walters Art Museum (Baltimore, USA).

[art.thewalters.org](https://art.thewalters.org), <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/12000/isis-fortuna-2/>, Last Visited: 19/12/2022.

Figure 2: statuette of Isis-Fortuna from; The Walters Art Museum (Baltimore, USA).

[art.thewalters.org](https://art.thewalters.org), <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/12000/isis-fortuna-2/>, modified by Laura Martinelli.

Figure 3: other statuette of Isis-Fortuna from; the Walters Art Museum (Baltimore, USA).

[art.thewalters.org](https://art.thewalters.org), <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/40870/isis-fortuna-3/>, Last Visited: 19/12/2022.

Figure 4: pectoral heart scarab from a mummy found in Memphis (Egypt) from; The British Museum (London, England). [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA7865](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA7865), Last Visited: 08/03/2023.

Figure 5: winged Goddess Isis from the sarcophagus of Ramses III from; Musée du Louvre (Paris, France). <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010011413>, Last Visited: 08/03/2023.

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